

ON KHADDAR

By
Dr. Pattabhi Sitara

THE beginnings of conquest of any country are generally lost in obscurity but not so those of the economic conquest of India. Amongst the economic products for which India was famous in ancient times, the most notable was undoubtedly cloth. When India lays claim to an ancient civilization, the claim is really for the recognition of the antiquity of her arts and crafts. If we remember that modern industrial progress is after all only a century and half old, we can imagine how all ancient achievements from the wrought iron pillar of Delhi to the muslins of Dacca were wholly the handiwork of Indian craftsmen and artists. It may be news to many in the 20th century to be told that cotton was not known to England prior to the year 1298 when too it was known only as an article used for making candle wicks. Even in the domain of wollen manufacture, it was

in the year 1331 that King Edward III brought seventy families of Walloons who were weavers and settled them in England under Royal protection. In 1641 a book was published by one Mr. Roberts, named the "Treasure of traffic." It was the first publication which gave an account of the Manchester cotton industry at the time. Very soon England had to take measures in order to conserve its own textile trade and prevent the ingress of Indian cotton goods and silks. In 1666, therefore, an Act was passed by Parliament ordaining that all persons of whatever rank should be buried in wollens. The object of this was to increase the British woollen trade. It was in 1660 that muslins were imported to England and in 1700 the wearing of cotton goods was prohibited in that country. An Act of Parliament imposing a fine of £ 5 on the wearer and £ 20 on the vendor of cotton goods was passed in 1721 while in 1730 another Act of Parliament was passed allowing the goods with linen warp and cotton weft to be printed only on paying an excise duty of 6d per square yard.

Let us see what the conditions were that led to the genesis of these drastic measures in Parliament. It will be remembered that the East India Company was formed in 1600 and that it set foot in India at (Masulipatam) in 1612. It then went to Surat in 1613, to Madras in 1629 and Hugli in 1630. The factories that it established at these various places were not manufacturing centres but were merely depots where they were gathering together all the cotton (Khaddar) goods of India and stocking them for export to England ; and there they were also stocking the spices, the knives and scissors and the broad cloth that they were importing into this country for purposes of trade. It is on record that by 1669 the merchants of the East India Company named Messrs. Stryensham Master, Richard Hatton and Henry Mohan, on the one part and the merchants of Masulipatam on the other, entered into contracts for the supply of Khaddar and these are to be found in Appendix V of the Kistna District Manual. They related to the supply of Kalamkaries, Sutheranjies, Paliampores,

Sasergantis, Diapars, Diamptis, Roomalls, Allejahs, Kalavapovvulu, Percollas, Lungis, Sellas and Ijaris. Fabulous profits were made by the merchants of the East India Company which aggregated sometimes to 600 per cent. over the Khaddar cloth that was exported from India to England. Great was the sensation that prevailed in England that it should have been the misfortune of the people there to dress themselves in silks and cottons manufactured in India. The woes of the capitalists and merchants of England are thus graphically described by Macaulay. (We take some of these historical details from the Prize Essay on Hand Spinning and Hand Weaving by Varadachari and Puntambekar).

“Those, it is said, were happy days for the inhabitants both of our pasture lands and of our manufacturing towns when every gown, every waist coat, every bed was made of material which our own flocks had furnished to our own looms. Where were now the brave old hangings of Arras which had adorned the walls of the lordly mansions in the time of Elizabeth? And was it not a shame to see a gentleman whose

ancestors had known nothing but stuffs made by English hands out of English fleece flaunting in the calico suit and a pair of silk stockings from Morshidabad?" Clamours like this were also raised in an anonymous pamphlet called "The Naked Truth" published in 1696 which complained that the advantage of the Company lay in their muslin and other fabrics. It spoke of the muslin, half in anger and half in contempt. "Fashion is truly termed a witch, the dearer and scarcer any commodity, the more the mode; 30 shillings a yard for muslin and only the shadow of a commodity when procured" ? Only a few years before the appearance of this pamphlet, Parliament had passed an Act making it obligatory that the dead should be draped only in woollens "and there were not sanguine clothiers wanting who hoped that the same obligation should be extended even to the living." It fell to the lot of Daniel Defoe to voice the wrath of local commerce and he wrote in picturesque language that "the general fancy of people runs upon East India goods to that degree that the chintz and painted calicoes which before were made use of for carpets, quilts, etc., and to clothe children and ordinary people became now the dresses of our ladies ;

and much is the power of a mode as we saw our persons of quality dressed in Indian carpets which but a few years before their chamber-maids would have thought too ordinary for them ; the chintz was advanced from lying upon their floors to their backs, from the foot-cloth to the pettycoat : and even the queen herself at this time was pleased to appear in China and Japan, I mean China silk and calico. Nor was this all, but it crept into our closets, bed-chambers, curtains, cushions, chairs and at last beds themselves were nothing but calicoes or India stuffs ; and, in short, almost everything that used to be made of wool or silk relating either to the dress of the women or the furniture of our houses was furnished by the India trade."

Queen Mary was taunted that she should have set the fashion by wearing the Calicoes and printed cloths from India on her back and loins which had till then only been considered fit to be spread on the floor. In 1688 there was a great agitation in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Norwich and Spitfield counties amongst the woollen manufacturers against the inroads of Indian cotton fabrics. That was no wonder for by 1667, 160,000 lbs. of cotton fabrics.

were being imported into England. A Parliamentary statement was made in 1681 that three lakhs of pounds were being spent on the rugs, printed cloth, bed-sheets and door-curtains that were being imported from India. By that time the dividends on the shares of the East India Company rose so much so that a bonus equal to the share amount was granted to the shareholders. This led to the decay of the woollen manufacturers and the craftsmen engaged in that art. Parliament was moved to pass measures prohibiting the import and the wearing of silk cloths from India and heavy countervailing duties were levied upon the imports from India which ranged from 10 per cent. to 3,000 per cent. Guzerat, the Coramandal Coast and Bengal were the three countries that were largely exporting these cotton goods. A piece of muslin 20 yards long one yard broad took 10 to 60 days to weave. Each muslin was costing 100 to 400 rupees and they received fanciful and poetic names such as Vayuvastra, Upravana, Shabna from their resemblance to the web of a spider, Muslingraj, Aprawana

flowing water. A Hindu weaver was deported by Nawab Aliwardikhan for having carelessly allowed a muslin to be grazed by a cow under the hallucination that it was grass. Aurangazib himself is said to have scolded his daughters for having come to the court almost naked whereupon they demonstrated that they had seven layers of muslins and soothed his anger. Testimony is borne to the excellence of these manufactures by celebrated travellers like Tavernier and Bernier and trade was extensive for the Indian fabrics with Arabia, Persia, Egypt, Pegu, Malaka, Sumatra and the Mediterranean shores. It is hardly necessary to recite the story of the Dacca muslins and how muslins to the extent of a crore of rupees were exported from Dacca of which more than a third were going to England.

It was at this critical stage that England made rapid strides of progress in the domain of industrial development. John Kay of Bury invented the fly-shuttle in 1753 and the Mechanical Carder was invented by Lewis Paul in 1733. A prize was offered in 1761

by the Society of Arts for the best invention in spinning textile fibres by machinery. It was in 1764 that James Hargrieves invented the spinning Jenny and in 1767 Arkwright invented his Roller Spinning Frame. The same Arkwright patented a comprehensive piece of machinery for the improvement in cotton manufacture in 1775. One year earlier, Schele had discovered Chlorine. In 1778 a muslin was woven in Great Britain and the next year Samuel Crompton gave his Spinning Mule to the world. The climax was reached in 1782 when James Watt patented his Steam-Engine and in 1785 by the invention of the Power-Loom by Edmund Arkwright. The cotton trade in England became so far developed by 1791 that she imported American cotton to the extent of 1,89,361 lbs. that year. In 1798 Jacquard made practical the loom appliance now known as the Jacquard machine and organised manufacture was so far developed and the first evils of industrialism were so much in evidence by 1812 that the disturbances in Nottingham District were continued till five years

resulting in the transportation and hanging of numerous workmen. India's fate was sealed in 1814 when Horrocks applied the Power-Loom to cotton weaving and from that day forward it is a story of new discoveries and inventions, new improvements and patents all of which led to the destruction of the Indian textile trade and manufacture. The course of the stream was really reversed and a study of the development in England reveals the rapid marches made by the beginning of Jute manufactures in Dundee in 1832, the introduction of ramie first to the British manufactures in 1835, the patent taken out by John Mercer for the process known as mercerizing in 1850 and Samuel Culiff Lister's patent for his combing machinery in 1851. The story of the later developments is as much of the destruction of the cotton trade in India as of its development in England.

While thus England was developing from step to step,—indeed by rapid strides in the sphere of industrial organisation and textile manufacture—India which was 200 years ago largely a manufacturing country presents in

its history exactly a contrary course of events. Whatever reverses the Indian crafts might have suffered in the waves of conquest which commenced from the 11th century onward there was a great revival of the handicrafts during the time of Akbar, when the muslins and satins were as much the object of admiration by travellers like Bernier and Tavernier as embroideries, streaked silks, tufts of gold turbans, silver and gold cloth, brocades, network of gold and carpets of silk and gold. Babu Satischandra Das Gupta gives interesting details of the decay of the craft in Bengal in his *Khadi Manual*. Murshidabad was described by H. J. S. Cotton as being as extensive, populous and rich a city as the city of London; only there were individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city." In the words of the historian Murray, India's fabrics, the most beautiful that human art has anywhere produced were sought by the merchants at the expense of the greatest toils and dangers. When the East India Company obtained its charter from Queen Elizabeth

on the 31st December 1600, it was to trade with the East-Indies, not to exchange as far as possible the manufactured goods of England for the products of India, (Report, Para 2) for England had few manufactures then. The English merchants who came to trade in India were not satisfied with the steps that they had taken in England through their Government to kill the Indian trade. They themselves began to oppress the Indian merchants, the moment they attained political power in this country, especially since the battle of Plassey. They freely intrigued in the internal politics of India befriending one party and not seldom causing the betrayal of the rulers by their own men. After Plassey the British traders began to exercise extreme cruelty in securing fabrics for their trade and when Mir Kasim protested, we are told, he was dethroned and the British traders assumed the role of rulers as the Subadar of Bengal in 1765. The oppression was so great that in 1842, one Mr. Francis Carnack Brown appearing as a witness before the select-committee produced an Indian Charka before it and explained how there was an oppressive

Moturfa tax which was levied on every Charka in every house and on every implement used by the artisans. The East India Company deliberately entered into contracts with the Indian princes that they would give them a monopoly of the fabrics produced within their dominions and when the artisans failed to do so, they were subject to great persecution and harassment. A hundred years ago the port of Calcutta alone used to export two crores worth of cotton goods which has been equated at the present value of 10 crores. All that has disappeared, and when people explain that the weavers of Dacca cut their own thumbs, it must be remembered that if they were driven to that act of self-mutilation, the oppression must have been far greater than if the Company itself cut their thumbs by force. Any one that reads the six volumes published by Mr. Martin and Dr. Hamilton in the beginning of the 19th century dealing with the survey of the condition of the people and the industries of India would easily see the dismal ruin brought in by the East India Company by the deliberate destruction of trade-

of this ancient and civilized land. The story is told of how 700 families of weavers in the Districts round Jangalbari at once abandoned their country and their profession on account of the oppression of the Company. The atrocities committed by the officials of the East India Company and the Indian rulers at the time, subjugated by them especially in the latter half of the 18th century, are heart-rending and indescribable. The weavers were compelled to part with their goods at impossibly low prices to the Company's Gumastas who were empowered to collect them at the point of the bayonet. They were put in stocks and whipped for not executing contracts into which they had been forced to enter against their wishes and against all human commercial possibilities. The oppression was particularly great in the South of India, in Bengal and in the dominions of the Nawab of Surat. In fact, these were the best manufacturing areas of India. Indian merchants were prohibited from buying cloth from the weavers and they were required to hold a license for the purpose. The weavers

who found that the craft was not paying and wanted to abandon it were prohibited from doing so and were required to take passports if they wanted to leave their ancient abode. Heavy octroi duties were caused to be levied from place to place if the goods were in transit inland without being given to the East India Company. It was a common custom of the day that when the Governor was touring the Indian rulers sent out *firman*s that all cloth available should be given to the Governor and his Gumastas. At one time there was an atrocious proposal to divide the weavers between the English and the Dutch. This was turned down by the Court of Directors. There was the amplest evidence from the minutes left by Munro and other administrators of the time that the weavers were treated as the slaves of the Company's Officers and that the trade was completely monopolised and brought under so that by 1813 it almost perished and by 1829 India witnessed the sad spectacle of 70 lakhs worth of cloth being imported from England. We thus see that the graph of textile manufac-

ture was rising in England by the inventions and discoveries of the 18th century and by the flow of the wealth of India into England in the 19th, the Indian craft of textile manufacture absolutely perished and when in 1851 the first Indian cotton mill was projected by C. N. Daver, and was constructed by 1853, Lord Dalhousie discovered the supreme necessity of monopolising not merely textile trade but also cotton areas in India and took steps against the Nizam in 1853 to wrest the Berars from his possession. The story of this spoliation is to be found in books* dealing with the conquest of India. The wresting of Berars led only to the wrenching of Nagpur from the Bhonslas in 1854 immediately after the death of the ruling Bhansla by declaring the doctrine of escheat following the failure of right to adopt. Anyone that travels by the Grand Trunk Express notices that from the commencement of the Nizam's territory about 15 miles from Bezwada right up to Itarsi the whole tableland of Deccan

* Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown in India—by James Ludlow 1858.

is one vast stretch of cotton producing area and it was this area that was, through the machinations of Lord Dalhousie, seized irrespective of the equities or moralities of such a procedure and absorbed into British Territory prior to the rising of 1857.

The English administrator in India makes no secret of the destruction of this ancient craft in this country. Indeed in a recent lecture (Jan. 1930) Sir Basil Blackett, India's Finance Minister, makes a frank admission of this fact when he says

“ The effect of the West on India and in particular the reaction upon India of the industrial revolution in Great Britain and the consequent influx of machine made goods, while providing the masses of India with better articles at cheaper prices, had during the nineteenth century seriously impaired the village economy of India, and had reduced the output and the value to India of many of the indigenous manufactures, previously exported, for which India was famous, for example, her muslins. The Indian Government of the day was dominated by the ideas of the Manchester school and restric-

ted its intervention in economic spheres and its taxation to the minimum needful to maintain law and order.

What is this influx of machine-made goods and what are these better articles at cheaper prices which are being dumped upon India? From morning to evening the modern English-educated young man and even the rural population, notably young men and women use articles of foreign manufacture in a degree which it is hard to imagine. Euthymol tooth paste, Japan brushes, Vulcanite tongue-cleaners for morning ablutions, Kropp Razors, Strops and Pastes, or self-shaving apparatus of the Valet, Gillet or Jump Junior Brand with blades and machine sharpeners and concave mirrors, Cuticura or Vinolia Soaps, Rubber scrubbing gloves for a bath, Atkinson's vegetable Hair Oil, Hair brushes, Cosmetics, Himalayan Bouquet, Erasmic from London, Ascot Snow Face Cream, French Pompeia or Vinolia Cream from London, Erasmic old Lavender soap for toilet, Rolled gold pins, gold covered points for shirts, Derby ties and high Collars, Crevianette,

Marine and Glasgow for dress, Forks and Knives, Tea-sets, Cruet stands, Marble trays, Cavis Table Water Biscuits, Norwegian Sardines, Morton Herrings in Tomatto sauce, Lunch tongues sliced pine-apple, Cherries and Current Jelley, Desert Prunes, Australian butter,—all for breakfast and lunch and dinner, then, Gandhi Lavender water (Wold's) (Kareschatt-Germany) Heiko Scents of 64 varieties, Swiss watches, Cherry walking sticks, silk umbrellas, Cars of a hundred makes to go out in, overcoats, Dawson's Boots and Christy's hats, Tennis Bats and Hockey Sticks for evening sport, Deitz lamps, Gold medal cots, Mosquito curtains, Trunks, Port-manteaus, Brief Bags, Hold-alls for travel, Table fans, Butter machines, Orange juice squeezers, Swedish Optimus Stoves, Lux for cleaning silk, ironing machines, Jumperfly open knives, Rapid wove Court Note Papers, Cooptu's Penholders, Zqual Book form Patent, Vertilok, folders, Top-match Envelopes, Manilla Cigars and Virginia Cigarettes,—these greet your eyes, captivate your imagination and deplete your purse. Besides you have

Brasso metal Polish, Cobra and Blanco, Coffee, blazing Brussels Carpets, Czecho-slovakian Chairs, Carved tables and Electric Torch lights and fans, Heaters, Teapots, Handlamps, paper clips, Pins, Taga and what not of furniture in the markets—but not a viss of cotton. When all the goods of England and America and the whole of Europe and Japan are available in every village market in India, is it not really comic—rather it is tragic that you cannot get cotton in the Indian Bazaars,—much less hand-spun yarn.

It is to counteract this tremendous drain from India that Gandhi has made a beginning in devising the resuscitation of handspun and handwoven cloth. The proposal was not taken seriously when it was foreshadowed at the Special Congress in Calcutta in September 1920, but at Nagpur in December of that year, it was forced upon the Congress although other varieties of Swadeshi cloth including Mill-spun Hand-woven, Mill-spun Mill-woven, mill woven with foreign yarn, were all included under the heading of Swadeshi. By a huge moral up-heaval the country has

now been got to recognise that Khaddar means Hand-spun Hand-woven cloth, that it is the hall-mark of every patriot and that a Congressman dressed in other than Khaddar habiliments is a target of attack not only by his fellow-Congressmen but by politicians of other schools of thought who have learnt to look upon him as a betrayer of the Congress cause. This development of public opinion has not indeed come in a day; slowly and steadily had the Congress atmosphere been permeated with this cult of khaddar and in the space of four years, *i.e.*, by the 1st of January 1925, we had made the wearing of khaddar compulsory, obligatory spinning a condition of membership to the Congress executive and finally a quota of self-spun yarn, the one subscription for being or becoming a Congressman. It has been borne in upon the people that the Charka is the only alternative to the sword, that sword of wrath and wreckage which the Congress and the country have once for all abjured. The cult of khaddar has elevated manual labour once again to that dignity which has been

member too how in olden times the bride was not qualified for marriage until she was able to spin and weave,—a tradition that survives till to-day in Assam (Praggyotishpura.) In seeking therefore to revive the cloth industry of India, we are only trying to establish a proved principle and not hazarding an experiment. It is hardly necessary to speak of the amount of leisure that people have in villages which unfortunately they are beguiling in cards-play, vain gossip or pernicious gambling at home or in law courts. All this must be put an end to. Administrators like Sir M. Visweswarayya have been hard put to it to discover some collateral occupation for the agriculturists and the women, without being drawn away from the privacy as well as the sanctity of their homes. The genius of man has not been able to discover any such occupation until the resourcefulness of Gandhi hit upon the restoration of this happy craft of Khaddar manufacture. Hand-spinning is a simple process which requires no more capital than a quarter of a rupee worth of slivers or cotton for the instruments are already there

and on the lowest computation there must be in India about 50 million Charkas. Even the blind, the maimed, the disabled and the crippled can spin. It has been said that spinning is not a paying occupation. It is not. It has never been claimed to be such. At best it cannot fetch more than one anna eight pies a day but what is the average income of the Indian? It is one anna nine pies per day and that including the millions of the millionaire, the crores of the Koteswara and the lakhs of the Lakshadikari. They yield the average of one anna nine pies for these millions, and there must be millions of population indeed who are earning nothing. Is it wrong then for these millions who are earning nothing to be provided with an occupation which yields them as much as the average income of a man in India without dislodging them from their homes and families? What India must take notice of is her immense man-power. It is the total out-put of yarn produced, or capable of being produced by the unnumbered numbers of her population that can make India hold her own against any other country, against all

machinery and against the onslaughts of the new-fangled industrialism of the West.

It is not cotton alone that was spun in olden days and provided an occupation to the people of the villages. Gunny in Bengal was one other substance and the spinning and weaving of silk is equally well-known. Professor Ray points out that the hand-woven jute was a great subsidiary industry of Bengal and in 1850-51, Gunny Bags and cloth exported from Calcutta were valued at Rs. 2,159,782. In Patna City in Bihar District alone there were 3,30,426 spinners and the average estimate of the thread spun by each spinner in a year was Rs. 7-2-8 and the total value in the District was Rs. 2,367,277. If out of this amount a half—to be more exact Rs. 1,286,272—was taken away for raw material there remained a profit of Rs. 1,081,005 for the spinners. Nor was there any distinction of caste, for in Behar the spinners are Hindus and the weavers are Mussalmans. They are the complements of each other in life. Imagine a village with a population of 4000 all told being self-contain-

ed in regard to its clothing and if the average of each individual's requirements is 13 yards as has been estimated, the village would require in the year 54,000 yards of cloth costing roughly Rs. 27,000. If a third of this is equated to the price of cotton which in any case is being grown in our country, there is a balance of Rs. 18,000 representing the profits of trade, transport charges, spinning and weaving wages and so on, left in the village, and this by engaging the leisure hours not of all the people in the village, but only 200 spinners in that village. Would you call it a crime? Would you call it bad economics or worse patriotism? Imagine this village being richer every year by an addition of Rs. 27,000 and it is only when you are able to visualise such a condition that you can also picture to yourself the extent of ancient wealth for which this country was noted and the depths of modern poverty from which this country is now suffering. Food and raiment are the two essentials of life and whatever luxuries a country may possess that which cannot grow its own food and manufacture

its own raiment cannot lay title to civilization. The Empire Marketing Board in a pamphlet that has recently been circulated advertising Bengal and Burma rice, has claimed for India that she possesses an ancient civilization and that the rice plant was known so early as 349 B.C. But India's capacity for weaving her own fabrics has been shown to be even older than that and the instruments with which she has been able to achieve her magnificent results are the simple Hand-Loom and the still simpler Charka of to-day. Only the Fly Shuttle which was invented about the year 1733 in the West has been incorporated into the Hand-Loom of India in the beginning of this century and has helped to double or even to treble the out-put of the unsophisticated loom. The tragedy of a country's incompetence to supply its own needs by way of clothing was witnessed by India during the Great War when the prices of all fabrics rose prohibitively high so much so that stories of suicide for want of clothing were to be heard now and again during those years of tribulation. The Hand-loom industry is indeed an

ancient one in India and does not owe its resuscitation to the Non-co-operation Movement as indeed Hand-Spinning does. When the fly-shuttle was introduced even earlier than the Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal in 1905 men like E. B. Havell estimated that there were 60 lakhs of weavers in this country and South India has the honour of possessing nearly a quarter of them. To estimate the number of Charkas in the country then even at 500 lakhs would be no exaggeration. On the average a trained spinner is easily able to spin 300 yards of uniform yarn per hour with good twist and of counts between 10 and 15 or even 10 and 20. Reckoning five hours as the period of such work a person is easily able to spin 1,680 yards a day which comes to about 4 lbs. per month or 48 lbs. per annum. A pound yields 4 square yards of cloth and 48 lbs. would yield 192 square yards. If that is so the 5 million Charkas in the country should yield 96 crores of square yards of cloth or roughly 100 crores. We know that in 1906 the cloth that was imported into India was only 107 crores of yards. In 1914 the year of the

commencement of the Great War it was 320 crores of yards while in 1922 it fell to 167 crores of yards of cloth. It is evident then that by mobilising the charkas in the country, we can eliminate almost the whole of the imported cloth from this woe-begone land and the capital we require is easily managed. What we want is the will to spin,—the will to conquer.

When we plead for the propagation of the Charka and Khaddar, intellectual people argue why they cannot use mill cloth. This kind of perverse argumentation is not new to the country. A pure intellectualism supported by a gospel of pure individualism has made people absolutely logical and perverse instead of making them reasonable and practical. Likewise, people argue when you plead for the acceptance of the Sarda Bill and raising the marriage age to 14 why they cannot marry their girls earlier and if necessary perform widow marriage. That looks logical. It is a fine proposition,—fine only for the arguer to get over the present situation but by no means fine when he should

be confronted with that future situation. Mill cloth is not ignored even under strictest Congress resolutions. The various grades of swadeshi have been enumerated and if you consider that there are poor people who cannot immediately afford to purchase Khaddar, or obtuse people who cannot follow its cult, there is no reason why they should not be permitted to wear mill cloth, *i.e.*, cloth woven on handlooms or Indian mills with yarn spun on Indian mills. Naturally such concession must be reserved for the really poor and genuine folks amongst us, not for those who would fain play the part of capitalists and advocate the Western industrialism for this country. But let this much be remembered, that in buying the mill cloth you enrich the 100 rich men of cities while in buying Khaddar you feed and sustain the widowed and the maimed and the helpless in towns and villages. Indeed, it must be owned that the use of machinery is not precluded from the programme of the Indian patriot. If that were so, Professor Ray, as he himself has said, should be belying himself because he

has been the founder of the Bengal Pharmaceutical Works and the patron of several other machine industries, nor should Gandhi be driving in a Motor Car to-day. The fact is there is a clear border-line between industries which permit the aid of machinery and those which involve the play of arts and crafts. Artistic industries are the asset of any nation. A nation is said to be civilized which has its own arts and crafts with their distinctiveness and individuality and variation of taste and temperament. Go to any part of the world it is the arts and crafts that invest that part with its own genius. To clear distances rapidly, you may use the Motor Car, to lift water from the canal and irrigate land, you may use the pump, to crush stones or polish turmeric you may use rollers and engines, to save mechanical labour, you may employ the steam Road Roller but when you weave carpets, when you manufacture cloth, when you print fabrics, when you do embroidery, you are in a different domain altogether which forbids the use of machinery. They constitute the craft life of the nation. It is for this that

we are pleading in India. Nor is it a practical proposition that we should be able to supply India with mill made cloth. The same cannot be said of Khaddar. A Charka to be put into operation requires a capital of 4 as. worth of slivers or cotton. A Hand-loom to be put into operation requires a capital of Rs. 3/- worth of yarn. As for the trained skill and expert knowledge, they are there languishing, ready to be availed of, and having the power of being converted into a mine of gold.

That even to-day, a third of the clothing of India is supplied by her own Hand-loom industry is admitted on all hands. Indeed it was Mr. E. B. Havell that contended in 1905 that hand-loom industry any day could hold its own against the Mill industry in India as well as in England. Nor can such a statement be exaggerated because 150 years after the invention of the Steam-Engine and Mechanical Aids to weaving, India cannot boast of more than 344 mills all told and the capital sunk in them is 81 crores and in each of these may be estimated to range from 25 to 40 or even 80 lakhs. On the average then India has less.

than one mill to each of the 350 Districts. The output of cloth in each such mill is roughly estimated at 4,800 lbs. equivalent to about 15,000 yards a day; putting the average need per head of India at $13\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 yards of clothing, per annum, the day's supply is enough for 1,000 people, In a year, therefore, one mill can supply 3,00,000 of people, *i. e.*, 3 mills are necessary to clothe a million people and to clothe 350 million people we require 5,100 mills. In effect, reckoning Indian India as a half of British India and therefore the total number of Districts in India to be 350, it comes to this: each District must have not less than 3 mills, *i. e.*, one mill is necessary for two or three Talukas or Tahsils. How can two or three Tahsils find 25 to 40 or even 50 lakhs of rupees for a Spinning and weaving Mill? Granted that the money can be found, it will take years to collect this and an order entered to-day for the plant is executed only $2\frac{1}{2}$ years hence and when the Plant arrives and is put up and is brought into working order, it will be another two

years so that even if you had the money it would take five years for you to see the mills at work. And then you will have to face the problem of Floating or working Capital, the problem of capturing markets and competing with well-established rivals of reputation and popularity. All this takes 10 years on the supposition that money is flowing evenly from two or three Tahsils, an impossibility in itself, but by that time you discover that you are left behind in the race, that your Machinery is antiquated and that your profits if ever you come to the stage of reckoning any, have disappeared. In the meantime, Lancashire invents new facilities and new short cuts and contrivances so as to steal a march over every other country in the world and over itself and this poor little thing, a mill started in a far off corner of India simply languishes. But even if you succeeded, you would be paying to Birmingham for machinery what you wanted to avoid paying to Lancashire for cloth. There is the other factor still that when the capital has been found, the machinery has been honestly sent and correctly fitted up and

efficiently kept at work, then you have the fear of strikes which have reduced the working time of Bombay mills to half the year in 1928-29. This is the fate of mills on the financial and mechanical planes but on the moral plane, they involve labour divorced from creative capacity, the disruption of families involving injury to morals, the detachment of wife from husband, the bringing up of children in creches and the absence of that satisfaction in the labourer which the craftsman feels in owning the goods that he has manufactured and in endowing them by variations of colour and design, with that living beauty which abounds in all artistic crafts.

What sustains and is sustained by the Hand-loom industry is the collateral crafts of printing and dyeing by which alone you can subserve the tastes and fashions of people which vary from caste to caste and from District to District. And in a country having a population of 35 crores and an area of 18 lakhs of square miles, you can easily imagine what a real variety of taste and temperament, what variations of form and beauty, what

glories of colour and design must have come into existence during the past 5000 years. Indeed, it has been well said that the index of a country's civilisation is furnished by its arts and crafts and the craft of cloth-making has attained in the hands of the Indian weaver and printer a degree of skill and eminence and beauty which is inconceivable to the Westerner. If only we are able to conserve the wages of spinners and weaving involved in the cloth necessary for the whole country we can avoid a drain of 40 crores of rupees annually, for the cloth imported into India amounts to Rs. 66 crores and the yarn to 6 crores. Out of the 72 crores a third represents cotton which we ourselves supply mostly. Therefore, the imports may be reckoned strictly at 48 crores. Out of this we shall not be far wrong in reckoning 8 crores as trade profits and transport charges, leaving 40 crores as the net value of the imports. As against this we export rice to other countries to the extent of exactly 40 crores. The Empire Marketing Board in the pamphlet already referred to has stated, while praising the quality of Bengal and

Burma rice, that India grows more rice than she needs. This is incorrect because men like Sir Charles Elliot and Sir William Wilson Hunter have estimated that a fifth of the population goes with one meal a day which means that six crores of people have no second meal. Imagine a town like Rajahmundry-Rajamahendravaram—situated on the banks of the Godavary with the waters of the river with their unnumbered gallons simply flowing to the ocean while the 68 thousand people of the town have not a drop of water to drink. Why? Because the Municipality has not brought water to the doors of the inhabitants. So it is with the stream of rice that flows away to foreign countries while the crores of people living on the banks are left to starve. Why? Because there is no Government that puts enough money into the hands of the people to buy the rice with. Of rice there is plenty in the country, of hungry men there are enough, yet there is no means of bringing the starving stomachs the food that is next door to them but cannot be taken in because there is no money to purchase the food with. If

only the 40 crores that is being drained away by the cloth imported could be conserved by the support of the Hand-spun, Hand-woven cloth industry, then the Indian people would not be starving and rice would not be finding its way abroad. And too, out of Rs. 100 worth of mill cloth, Rs. 71 goes to the capitalist while Rs. 29 goes to labour. But out of Rs. 100 worth of Hand-spun, Hand-woven cloth Rs. 79 goes to the craftsmen while Rs. 21 covers the remaining expenses. In a Rupee of Khaddar 3 as. 9 p. goes to spinning, 4 as. 9 p. goes to weaving, 3 as. 9 p. goes to cotton, 2 as. for carding, $\frac{1}{2}$ a. for bleaching, 1 anna for salesmanship, $\frac{1}{4}$ a. for transport. Thus the Hand-loom industry conserves the collateral industries of spinning, printing and dyeing and bleaching, and through them conserves the food of the country and puts it into the mouths of craftsmen. These are simple propositions in Indian economics. Indeed these constitute the new economics of India of which the writers in the West are woefully ignorant. We do not study them nor does the Government.

All crafts receive support only from a co-operative organisation that finances them but it is singularly sad to note that for a million people and 3,30,000 weavers dependent on this Industry in Madras Presidency there should be only 63 co-operative societies exclusively for weavers while the credit societies of which more than 60 per cent. are weavers are only 76 in number. The working capital covered by these societies is Rs. 1,32,632 yielding a divisible profit of Rs. 3,442 in the year 1927-28. The Townshend Report on Co-operation has stated that steps so far taken to help the weavers' community are not adequate.

Only recently the 1929 Provincial Co-operative Conference assembled in Madras exhorted co-operative central banks to afford special facilities to Khaddar societies and to weaving societies in particular and to primary rural credit societies in general, to help this Handicraft. Public opinion is day by day consolidating in favour of the patronage of cottage industries, people are fast realising in the East, and it is hoped, they in the West are

also alive to the fact, that machine industries have their own limitations and while power is quite good enough to crush stones, to lift weights and to abridge space and time it cannot and ought not to encroach upon artistic crafts. Nor is production in mass and for export any longer the cry of the age. Economists have discovered that production for export or more production to relieve unemployment is merely like the fox hunting its own tail. The industrial civilisation of the West is based upon the theory that the inventions of to-day must destroy the discoveries of yesterday. Thus the battleship was swallowed by the cruiser, the cruiser by the dreadnought and this by the super dreadnought and all by the submarine, the submarine by the torpedo. The gamut of destruction is complete. We see the same nearer home in the motor-car models that change every year. It is said that proprietors of Singer's sewing machines were once collecting old parts and throwing them into the bed of a river in order to compel the purchase of new parts. Indeed the civilisa-

tion of the West is a civilisation of parts rather than "wholes". This had led to the abandoning of land for forests and game, and the making of the country dependent upon other nations for food. England gets its rice from India, wheat from Russia, meat from Australia and New Zealand, Dairy products from Holland and Belgium and Denmark, and now its eggs from Lucknow. Let India not repeat this mistake when England is beginning to see her folly. Norway and Sweden are now producing enormous hand-spun, hand-woven cloth, and the writer saw a bale at Sabarmati with Gandhi. It is exquisite in every way. It is our misfortune that we copy all that is rejected by London (L. R.)—Universities and Education, mills and industry, gewgaws and knick-knacks and L. R. Teakwood.

The next argument that we have to deal with in regard to the manufacture of Khaddar is the argument relating to cheapness. People complain that Khaddar is not sufficiently cheap and that they would gladly buy it if that were not as dear as it is. It is really astonish-

ing to see how simple these critics are. If Khaddar were as cheap as or cheaper than Lancashire cloth, would you require Gandhi, the National Congress and a patriotic cult, to spend their time and talents in propagating the cult of Khaddar? Water flows from a higher level to a lower level and the purchase side of economics always flows from the dearer to the cheaper. Our whole complaint is that our goods are made so dear in England that they could not be purchased by the English people in the 18th and 19th centuries. Our whole grievance is that our goods have been made so dear in India that they have been made to disappear in the face of the competition with those imported from Lancashire. While that is the position, to say that you will wear Khaddar provided it is cheap is to beg to question. Indeed is it not evident to the meanest understanding that things become cheap only when they are produced on a large scale? Have we not made Khaddar appreciably and considerably cheaper during the past eight years? When we started the manufacture of Khaddar, we were selling 25 counts

would be considerably less than upon other kinds of cloth. Costly silks are dispensed with; expensive flannels are no longer required; a simplicity of dress and demeanour is soon cultivated and much is saved in the quantity of cloth no less than in quality and only a couple of years' experience can convince the cynic and critic who is not willing to try the experiment but who is free with his arguments of a purely intellectual nature. On the point of cheapness, we might as well be permitted to ask one plain question. Yes, Khaddar is dear, Lancashire cloth is cheap and your position is that you must at once buy Lancashire cloth. So is salt. Our salt is made dear. Liverpool salt is dumped upon us. It is made temptingly white, pure and cheap. Are we not raising a hue and cry that this dumping of Cheshire salt must be summarily stopped? Let that alone. We have all heard and been taught how salt is being imported into this country as keel ballast of the empty vessels that have to come to India in order to carry its vast exports which are not only vast in value but also in volume. Do our friends

know that last year five crores rupees worth of wheat was imported into this country and Sir Basil Blackett has in his last Budget speech pointed out that export of Indian rice was reduced on account of competition with the output of rice from the Mediteranean Sea-Board? It will not be long before the English farmers pressed under unemployment in their own country will be forced to go out in quest of "fresh fields and pastures new" to far off lands like Australia. We have all heard how Colonel Amery former Minister for Colonies has matured a scheme for the emigration of the English unemployed not indeed those belonging to the lower but those who belonged to the upper and the middle classes endowed with funds and invested with prestige. Imagine thousands of these farmers going to the virgin soil of Australia and supplying their machine-made tools, engines and pumps to the art of agriculture and then imagine how much of paddy will be produced and how cheap it will be brought merely as keel ballast once again to this unfortunate country, would the ryots say that the

paddy and the wheat imported into this country are cheaper when brought from abroad than the grain produced here and therefore they should hereafter buy only foreign grain and abandon their ancient fields? What would they then grow in these fields, Ganja, Opium, Jute or Tobacco? The question of cheapness is really an unworthy issue to be raised in this connection as it is an unreal issue.*

When we exalt the question of Khaddar on to the pedestal of a patriotic plank in the Congress platform and the platform of Swaraj, people will turn round and ask whether it is not the duty of the country to carry on an effective boycott of British cloth instead of making that boycott extensive and apply to foreign cloth and whether it will not be a sufficient retaliation against Britain to abandon the purchase of its goods (cloth) in favour of the cloth imported from other

* This paper was written in 1930. It is being published in 1931. And now as feared, a quantity of Japanese rice has come to Bombay and upset the level of prices in India—as has been complained against by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

countries like Japan, Germany and America. Really that is the danger with which the country is confronted at the present moment. There is no doubt that the boycott of foreign cloth has had its own telling effect upon the production and trade of cloth in England.*

Congress Committees and those interested in the boycott of foreign cloth will read with interest the following remarks made by a British correspondent on the last day of the last year (1929), relating to the conditions of Lancashire cotton industries :—

“ Traders will not be sorry to see the last of 1929, for it has been one of the most depressing periods on record. The trade stagnation has left in its trail bankrupt firms, old-established concerns gone out of business and balance sheets which are anything but healthy.

The spinning section remains in a deplorable position. The production of American yarns is in excess of demand and prices are weak. Egyptian spinners are in hardly a better position.

* And upon the politics of India.

From a financial point of view, the past year has been a period of anxiety. According to my records 123 cotton companies have gone into liquidation, but of this number 51 have been formal, for the purpose of reconstruction or amalgamation. The number included 40 spinners, 38 manufacturers, 8 spinners and manufacturers, 4 finishers and 33 merchants and agents. There have been 54 bankruptcies and deeds of arrangements and the unsecured liabilities have totalled to £1,164,921 and the net assets £361,529. The bankruptcies, etc., comprise 1 spinner, 9 manufacturers, 3 finishers, 41 merchants. Receivers have been appointed in 34 cases consisting of 10 spinners, 11 manufacturers, 4 spinners and manufacturers, 1 finisher and 8 merchants. Ninety-eight companies have arranged mortgages, debentures and general charges, etc., amounting to £6,800,000. Forty-one cotton companies comprising of 39 spinners, one manufacturer and 1 spinner and manufacturer have calls on the shareholders of unpaid share-capital, the total amount being £1,492,707. During the year 187 cotton companies have been registered with a nominal capital of £5,869,290, these firms consisting of 13 spinners, 26

manufacturers, 3 spinners and manufacturers, 18 finishers and 127 merchants.*

While this is so this depression in English trade is no consolation or comfort to us because side by side with it we have the story from Japan and its aggressive invasion of the Indian market both by its yarn and its cloth. In the beginning of this century the Japanese trade in fabric or yarn with India was practically negligible. In 1914, says a magazine, Japan exported 940 bales of yarn into India. These were valued at 216,850 yens. Twelve years later, in 1926, the amount of Japanese yarn imported into India increased to 216,850 bales and their value to 28,086,000 yens (about 42 million rupees). The ratio of Japanese yarn to the total imported yarn of India was a little over 2 per cent. in 1914-15, nearly 45 per cent. in 1922-23, and 65 per cent. in 1925-26.

Out of the total of 50 million lbs. weight of yarn consumed every year in India her mills are calculated to produce not more than half the quantity. The major portion of imported yarn of India comes from Japan and England. It is remark-

* All this is nothing compared to the catastrophe created in Lancashire and the rest of England by the Satyagraha movement of 1930-31 in India.

able that, while the proportion of Japanese yarn export to India increased more than thirty-fold in twelve years' period, that of England decreased from 87 per cent. in 1914-15, to 52 per cent. in 1922-23 and to only 31 per cent. in 1925-26.

The large bulk of yarn imported into India either from Lancashire or Japan is of counts between 30 and 60.

The value of British cotton yarn imported into India in the commercial year ending 31st December, 1924, was estimated at four crores of rupees; while that of British cotton piece-goods was nearly 54 crores of rupees.

Japanese greys have now predominated. They have ousted English makes and the condition of the mills in Japan made it possible for the goods to steadily gain ground. It is reported that about 800/900 bales are being cleared every month."

Then again the latest report from Japan shows how that little country has invaded not only India but England herself. "Not only did Japan threaten Lancashire in her exports of piece-goods, but she bids well to capture the Indian raw cotton market so that Lan-

cashire might have to depend on Japan for Indian cotton" declared Mr. Barnard Ellinger, reading a paper prepared by himself and Mr. Hugh Ellinger, cotton spinners of Manchester, on Japanese competition in Cotton Trade at the Royal Statistical Society, London.

The paper pointed out how Japan is satisfied with the world's demand for cheap bulk cotton by using a type of raw material which, although not so good as that used in Britain, was sufficiently good to satisfy requirements. Japanese spinners also were very clever in mixing cotton. Each mill had its own mixing which is kept a secret. Mr. Ellinger stressed the advantage Japan held in organisation, for in the British industry it was only the fringe, the finishing sections and subsidiary trade, that was organised whereas Japan had organised the heart of the industry, cotton buying, distributing and chief productive sections.

The paper concluded thus:—"No problem confronting the British cotton industry was more urgent than that of solidifying small firms into larger units while the rationalisation of

trade must include the distributing section." Advocating the formation of a series of big combines interlocked by the financial community of interests, Mr. Ellinger recalled that Lancashire still exported even now approximately half the cotton goods that were exported from all the countries in the world and expressed the belief that if she had the will and power so to organise as to meet the requirements of the present century, she would regain her former prosperity.

Meanwhile *The Morning Post* draws attention to the sale, in Lancashire cotton-spinning towns, of shirts manufactured in Ireland from cloth imported from Japan which, it says, were sold at lower prices than locally made garments. Cheap Japanese vests are also selling readily. The paper asks if Lancashire is going to submit to the penetration of that home market by cottons of the Orient and opines there is probably little profit on imported shirts which probably represent the dumping of the Japanese surplus.

Shall we transfer our allegiance from England to Japan? Let it be remembered now.

at least that it was through cloth that we lost our kingdom. Lord Birkenhead in his Statement to the Commons in 1927 said: "We went to India in that commercial guise which has frequently in history been our earliest approach to future dominions." Shall we knowingly this time and deliberately allow Japan to make a similar approach to India in a commercial guise in order to establish a future dominion or act with the grim determination to get rid of England's domination?

Great efforts are being made by the Indian princes and the people in order to make India self-contained and restore the self-respect of this ancient country. The Mysore Government has achieved through Khaddar in the year 1928 the task of finding a supplementary occupation for 1,000 families of agriculturists without losing in the attempt a rupee of the State Treasury. We make no apology for inviting the reader to peruse the whole of the scheme and its description as given by the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee's Pamphlet No. 2. It is fortunate that Indian States have become awakened to the importance of the

problem. England knows that Lancashire is being hit hard from one side or another. What she is unable therefore to force on British India, she is fast contemplating to dump upon Indian India. The Jamsaheb of Jamnagar while verbally decrying the report of having placed an order for £ 2 million worth of Lancashire cloth, admitted nevertheless that he promised support to Lancashire. Here is an interesting extract from an issue of January 1930 of *The Commercial* (Published by the *Manchester Guardian*) containing an important article discussing some aspects of the outlook for Lancashire trade with India. The author, Dr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, who is Foreign Minister of Patiala State, and whose recent address to the members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce made a great impression on traders here, gives it as his opinion that in British India Lancashire goods not only have no preferential advantage over foreign goods, but owing to the existing political situation, are rather at a disadvantage. "When competition is keen," he says, "and prices approach the same level, political

sentiment may on critical occasions suffice to turn the scale against the United Kingdom." He is careful enough to point out, however, that what is commonly called India is politically not one country but two countries, British India and the Indian States. The Indian States, with their population of 70,000,000 people, embrace more than one-third of the entire Indian sub-continent, and, in Dr. Rushbrook Williams' view, are likely to offer in the near future an increasingly valuable market for British goods. "Moreover," it is added, "there is reason to believe that their influence will be exerted along economic lines, as it has always been exerted along political lines, in a direction fostering and strengthening the ties with Great Britain."

"The present tariff system in India is such that the proceeds of the British Indian tariff which is imposed by a body upon which the Indian States are not represented, and which is levied even on goods consumed in those States—are credited, with certain small exceptions, to the British Indian Exchequer, so that the Indian States are indirectly taxed for the protection of British Indian industries.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Navanagar port of Bedi, which is one of the few possible points at which the Indian States could have access to the sea, should recently have enjoyed a considerable increase of trade. It remains to be seen whether goods entering India through Bedi will continue to be exempt from the British Indian tariff and the position at present is an interesting one."

In this great process of rehabilitation of Khaddar, every man, woman and child in India can render adequate assistance. Yet, the very mill-owners have an opportunity of serving the country through Khaddar, and Gandhi has prescribed the following six methods in which they can render that assistance :

1. They can sell Khaddar through their agencies.
2. They can lend their talents to the movement.
3. They can by a Conference with the All-India Spinners' Association determine the varieties they should manufacture in terms of boycott.

4. They can cease to manufacture Khaddar whether in that name or in any other.
5. They can standardise their prices so as neither to suffer loss nor to increase their profits.
6. They can render financial assistance to the movement.*

Yes, the Khadi movement is a patriotic movement. Indeed it is a national movement and it is a Swaraj movement. Khadi easily brings the movement into touch with every living soul in India. In speaking of the national movement we often exhort every citizen to do his or her duty by the country. It may not be given to everyone of these to play some part in Non-co-operation but where is the man, woman or child that is not clad and may not be clad in home-spun fabrics? They may be coarse to look at but they are soft to the feel. They may excite the pity of the observer but they fill the wearer with joy and satisfaction. They

* Some of these have been accepted by the mill-owners who have subscribed to the declaration formulated by the Congress during the great struggle of 1930-31.

are durable. They keep the body warm in winter and cool in summer. A recent discovery by Dr. J. C. Bose has attributed to them the additional power of minimising sound. They solve the problem of unemployment in India. They raise the standard of self-respect in the country. They constitute the uniform of every soldier of the Non-violent Army of India in the warfare for the recovery of Swaraj. Nay, the constructive programme chiefly consisting of the manufacture and propagation of Khaddar has been well described as the drill and discipline which this non-violent army has to undergo from day to day in its preparation for civil disobedience. The process of spinning is a process that engages your mind, occupies your time, composes your thoughts and subdues your passions. Try it when you are in a bad temper. Have a foretaste of it when you are perturbed in mind and you will find half an hour's spinning has softened your *Tamsik* feelings and transformed you into a *Satvik* creature. It is not given to everyone to be the commander of an army or be the builder of a temple.

But even as a soldier that is truly patriotic would no more complain against the outpost where he is charged with the duties of being a sentinel than the humble devotee against the sort of tabernacle wherein he may have a chance to worship, even so the humble Khadi worker may not complain against the absence of limelight irradiating his sphere of work, for he is contributing to the nation's recovery of its self-sufficiency and self-respect and to the removal of starvation from the hungry stomachs that are helpless. India is truly at the parting of ways. She has to choose between the spinning wheel and the steering wheel, between Khadi and Kaki and to her to-day there is little doubt that her salvation rests in her adherence to the Charka and Khaddar. The last battle has revealed that if only people are serious about Khaddar, they need not lose a single life or shed a single drop of blood in emancipating their country, for an army of 70,000 men, women and children clad in Khaddar has won a notable victory for Sathya over asathya, for dharma over adharma, for ahimsa over himsa, for

unarmed India over mighty England with her puissant armies running into lakhs, finances running into crores, with her bombs, aeroplanes, cruisers, submarines and dreadnoughts.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

TWENTY years ago when the agitation on behalf of Indians in South Africa was at its height, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, a warm friend and admirer of Mr. Gandhi with whom he had worked for the Indian cause in South Africa wrote, at the request of the publishers, a sketch of Mr. Gandhi for the benefit of readers in India. The first edition was sold out within a short time and the publishers have already issued as many as eight editions, with additions as occasions demanded. In this the ninth edition, an attempt is made to bring the story of Mahatma Gandhi's life up-to-date. It is a clear and succinct narrative of his remarkable career in South Africa and India, including a sketch of the Non-Co-operation movement, his historic trial and imprisonment, together with a full account of his great march to the salt pans of Surat, his arrest and internment, the Slocombe interview, and the famous Sapru-Jayakar negotiations, the Round Table Conference, the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, the Rupture and the Agreement with Lord Willingdon down to his departure for London to attend the second Round Table Conference.

Apart from its purely biographical interest, the sketch is a rapid review of the social and political history of modern India, as the Mahatma's life and activities are so intimately bound up with almost

every phase of the nation's activity during the last fifteen years.

It is hoped that this critical and comprehensive study of his life and career, coupled with appreciations of the Mahatma by such distinguished persons like the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. and Mrs. Polak, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Dr. Holmes, M. Romain Rolland, Mr. C. F. Andrews, Bishop Whitehead, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Mr. George Slocombe, Lord Irwin and others, will be welcomed by the public not only in India but in other countries as well.

Advantage has been taken of the issue of this new edition to include the text of the Agreement with Lord Willingdon, while the full text of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement of 5th March, 1931, is printed as an appendix.

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Returns to India	1895
Goes again to South Africa	1896
Arranges for Ambulance Corps in the Anglo-Boer War	1899
Returns to India	1901
Back to South Africa	1902
Presents Memorial to Mr. Chamberlain	1902
Founds the Transvaal British Indian Association and THE INDIAN OPINION	1903
Renders help during the Plague in Johannesburg	1904
Deputation to Lord Selbourne	Nov. 22, 1905
Leads Stretcher-bearer Corps in Natal Native Rebellion	1906
Takes the Oath of Passive Resistance against Anti-Asiatic Law	1906
Emigration Act receives Royal Assent	Dec. 26, 1907
Addresses mass meeting in Johannesburg protesting against the Emigration Act and his subsequent arrest	1907
Upholds Voluntary Registration and consequent assault by the mob	Feb. 1908
Leaves for London	1902
Invites Gokhale to South Africa	1912
Levy of the £3 tax and the revival of Passive Resistance	Sept. 1913
Smuts-Gandhi Agreement	1913
Truce with the South African Government	Jan. 1914
Passing of the Indian Relief Act	July 1914
Leaves for London and arranges for the Indian Volunteer Corps during the Great War	Sept. 1914
Returns to India	Jan. 1915
Government awards Kaiser-i-Hind Medal	1915
Founds Satyagrahashram in Ahmedabad	1916
Hindu University Speech	Feb. 4, 1916
Arrest in Champaran	April 1917
Supports the Congress-League Scheme	1917
Settles the Ahmedabad Mills Strike	1918
Attends the Delhi War Conference	1918

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Suspension of Satyagraha and Fast	...	April 18, 1919
Agitation against the Khilafat and the Punjab Wrongs	...	" 1918-1919
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Letter to Lord Chelmsford	...	June 14, 1920
Returns Kaiser-i-Hind Medal and starts Non-Co-operation	...	Aug. 1, 1920
Special Congress at Calcutta	...	" 1920
Open Letter to the Duke of Connaught	...	Feb. 1921
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Arrest of the Ali Brothers and their Apology	...	Sept. 1921
Prince of Wales' Landing, and riots in Bombay	...	Nov. 1921
Pandit Malaviya's Deputation to Lord Reading	...	Dec. 1921
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Trial of Gandhi and Imprisonment	...	" 1922
Release from Jail	...	Feb. 1924
Resumes Editorship of YOUNG INDIA	...	April 1924
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Visit of the Paddison Deputation to South Africa	...	Sept. 1926
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The Great March	...	" 12, 1930
Breaks Salt Law at Dandi	...	April 6, 1930
V. J. Patel resigns the Assembly Presidentship	...	" 25, 1930
Viceroy promulgates Press Ordinance	...	" 17, 1930
Gandhi is arrested under Regulation 25 of 1927 and interned at Yerrawada	...	May 4, 1930
Gandhi's second letter to Lord Irwin	...	" 5, 1930
Mr. Abbas Tyabji's march to Dharsana Salt field	...	" 8, 1930
Mr. Abbas Tyabji's arrest	...	" 12, 1930

Congress Working Committee meets	...	May 16, 1930
Mr. Slocombe's interview with Mahatma Gandhi in Yerrawada Jail	...	" 20, 1930
Mass raid at Dharsana	...	" 21, 1930
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's arrest and conviction	...	" 23, 1930
Mass raid on Wadala Salt Pans	...	" 24, 1930
Pandit Malaviya's arrest and release	...	" 27, 1930
Publication of the Simon Report	...	June 10, 1930
Mr. Slocombe interviews Pandit Motilal	...	" 20, 1930
Pandit Motilal is arrested and convicted	...	" 30, 1930
Pandit Malaviya is nominated member of the A. I. C. C.	...	July 4, 1930
Peace talks begin between Viceroy and Sir T. B. Saprú and Jayakar	...	" 20, 1930
Sir T. B. Saprú and Jayakar meet Gandhiji in Jail	...	" 23, 1930
Viceroy permits the Nehrus to confer with Gandhi on peace proposals	...	" 31, 1930
Vallabhai Patel and Malaviya are arrested	...	Aug. 3, 1930
Mr. Abdul Kalam Asad becomes President of the A. I. C. C.	...	" 7, 1930
Pandit Malaviya is released	...	" 9, 1930
The Nehrus meet Gandhiji and Mrs. Sarojini in Yerrawada. Dr. Saprú and Mr. Jayakar are also present	...	" 13, 1930
Mr. Abdul Kalam Asad is arrested and convicted.	...	" 21, 1930
Dr. Ansari succeeds A. K. Asad	...	" 25, 1930
Congress Working Committee is declared unlawful.	...	" 26, 1930
Sir Saprú and Jayakar see Lord Irwin with Gandhi's proposals	...	" 27, 1930
V. J. Patel, Malaviya and Dr. Ansari are arrested.	...	" 28, 1930
Failure of Peace negotiations ; documents and correspondence released	...	Sept. 5, 1930
Personnel of the Round Table Conference is announced	...	" 10, 1930
Mr. Alexander of the Society of Friends meets Mr. Gandhi in Yerrawada jail	...	" 12, 1930
Viceroy's letter to Saprú and Jayakar re: repudiation of debts	...	" 14, 1930
Lord Irwin promulgates his Ninth Ordinance empowering forfeiture of properties of Associations declared unlawful	...	Oct. 11, 1930
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is released	...	" 12, 1930
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is re-arrested and convicted to 2 years' R. I. and a fine of Rs. 600	...	" 29, 1930

Mr. Sen Gupta is sentenced to one year's R.I.	...	Nov. 2, 1930
Round Table Conference meets in London	...	" 2, 1930
Mr. Mahadev Desai, Gandhi's Private Secretary is arrested and convicted	...	" 25, 1930
Sardar Vallabhai Patel is arrested	...	Dec. 7, 1930
Viceroy issues two more Ordinances	...	" 24, 1930
Mrs. Kamala Nehru is arrested	...	" 29, 1930
Mr. V. J. Patel, ex-Speaker of the Assembly, is released	...	Jan. 6, 1931
Messrs. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and 25 others are unconditionally released	...	" 26, 1931
The A. I. C. C. meets in Allahabad	...	Feb. 1, 1931
Pandit Motilal Nehru is dead	...	" 6, 1931
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru meets Mr. Gandhi	...	" 7, 1931
Mr. Gandhi meets Lord Irwin	...	" 17, 1931
Mr. Gandhi addresses a mammoth meeting in Delhi	...	" 18, 1931
Congress Working Committee pledges to stand by Gandhi	...	" 22, 1931
Gandhi addresses Muslims on unity	...	" 23, 1931
Mr. Gandhi and Lord Irwin come to an agreement	...	March 3, 1931
Congress Working Committee ratifies Irwin-Gandhi Agreement and calls off Civil Disobedience Movement	...	" 4, 1931
Gandhiji addresses American and Indian Journalists on Delhi Pact	...	" 5, 1931
Mr. Gandhi resumes the Editorship of <i>Young India</i> and <i>Navajivan</i>	...	" 5, 1931
Mr. Gandhi enters Ahmedabad and receives a purse of Rs. 70,000, a gold Takli and 10 mds. of handspun yarn	...	" 10, 1931
Mr. Baldwin makes a speech blessing the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement	...	" 12, 1931
Mr. Gandhi interviews the Viceroy for the first time after the Truce	...	" 19, 1931
Serious rioting in Cawnpore results in 50 deaths and many wounded	...	" 26, 1931
Indian National Congress meets in Karachi under the Presidentship of Sardar Patel	...	" 28, 1931
Congress ratifies Gandhi-Irwin Pact	...	" 31, 1931
All-India Muslim Conference meets in Delhi	...	April 5, 1931
The Central Sikh League ratifies the Irwin-Gandhi Pact	...	" 10, 1931
Mr. Gandhi bids farewell to Lord Irwin	...	" 16, 1931
Lord Willingdon succeeds Lord Irwin as Viceroy	...	" 17, 1931

Mr. Gandhi arrives in Simla and interviews Lord Willingdon ...	May 13, 1931
Mr. Gandhi announces that he would fully participate in the Round Table Conference discussions if he goes to London ...	„ 31, 1931
Congress Working Committee decides that Gandhiji should attend the Second R. T. C. ...	June 10, 1931
Mr. Gandhi dines with young Europeans of Bombay at Taj Mahal Hotel ...	„ 23, 1931
Mr. Gandhi attends the Congress of cloth merchants of Bombay at Congress House ...	„ 24, 1931
Lord Willingdon makes his first political pronouncement at the Chelmsford Club ...	„ 28, 1931
Mr. Gandhi wires to Lord Willingdon <i>re.</i> the non-observance of the Truce by certain Local Governments ...	July 10, 1931
Viceroy assures Gandhiji that the Truce terms will be duly implemented ...	„ 11, 1931
Mr. Gandhi interviews Lord Willingdon <i>re.</i> Irwin-Gandhi Pact ...	„ 18, 1931
H. E. Sir Ernest Hotson, Acting Governor of Bombay, is shot at, at the Fergusson College ...	„ 22, 1931
Gandhi Reception Committee is formed in London ...	„ 24, 1931
Mr. Gandhi gives an ultimatum to the Collector of Surat. Viceroy asks him not to precipitate a crisis ...	„ 25, 1931
Mr. Gandhi congratulates H. E. Sir E. Hotson, Governor of Bombay, on his narrow escape from gunshot ...	„ 28, 1931
Congress Working Committee condemns violence and disaffiliates the London Branch ...	Aug. 5, 1931
Gandhiji wires to Viceroy <i>re.</i> allegations against breaches of the Truce and requests investigation thus enabling him to proceed to London. ...	„ 11, 1931
Government of India's reply is considered unsatisfactory and the Working Committee issues statement withdrawing Congress Participation in Round Table Conference. Mrs. Sarojini, and Pt. Malaviya cancel their passage to London ...	„ 13, 1931
Release of Mr. Gandhi's correspondence with the Viceroy, Governor of Bombay, etc. ...	„ 15, 1931
Mr. Gandhi opens a private temple belonging to Sir Chunibai for the use of untouchables in Ahmedabad ...	Aug. 1, 1931

Mr. Gandhi wires to Viceroy to intervene in Bardoli affair and thus enable him to proceed to London	...	Aug. 11, 1931
Viceroy's reply is deemed unsatisfactory. Mr. Gandhi decides not to go to London	...	" 13, 1931
Mr. Gandhi releases for publication all his letters and his charges on the Government of India <i>re</i> : non-fulfilment of Truce terms	...	" 19, 1931
Viceroy replies to Mr. Gandhi's letter and agrees to interview Mahatma Gandhi	...	" 22, 1931
Government of India replies to Gandhiji's charge-sheet	...	" 23, 1931
Mr. Gandhi arrives in Simla and interviews Mr. Emerson	...	" 25, 1931
Mr. Gandhi interviews Viceroy and the latter agrees to appoint a Committee to enquire into Bardoli troubles.	...	" 27, 1931
Mr. Gandhi sails for London by S. S. "Rajputana"	...	" 29, 1931

MAHATMA GANDHI

THE MAN AND HIS MISSION

A SCENE IN JOHANNESBURG

THE scene is laid in Johannesburg. Summer is coming and the days are lengthening out. At Park Station, at 6 o'clock on a Sunday evening, in September, 1908, whilst it was still broad daylight, a small animated group of dark-skinned people might have been observed eagerly looking in the direction from which the mail train from Natal, that stops at Volksrust, was expected. The watchers were Madrassi hawkers, who were apparently awaiting the arrival of one affectionately regarded by them. Punctually to time, the train steamed in and there was observed, descending from a second-class compartment, attended by a prison-warder in uniform, a small, slim, dark, spare man with calm eyes and a serene countenance. He was clad in the garb of a South African native convict— a khaki military cap, that did not protect him from the sun, a coarse jacket, bearing a numbered ticket and marked with the broad arrow, short trousers, one leg dark, the other light, similarly marked, thick grey woollen socks and leather sandals. But it was plain that he was not a South African native, and upon closer scrutiny, one became aware that he, too, was an Indian, like those who respectfully saluted him, as he turned quietly to the warder for instructions. He was carrying a white canvas bag, which contained his clothing and other effects found upon him when he

was received by the gaol authorities, and also a small basket containing books. He had been sent by the Government to travel nearly two hundred miles, for many hours, without food or the means of procuring it, as the warder had no funds for that purpose, and but for the charity of a European friend—a Government official—he would have had to starve for twenty-four hours. A brief consultation ensued between the prisoner and the warder. The latter appeared to realise the incongruity of the situation, for he bore himself towards the prisoner with every reasonable mark of respect. The latter was evidently a person of some importance, to whom a considerable amount of deference should be shown. The subject of conversation was whether the prisoner preferred to go by cab or to walk to the gaol. If the former, he (the prisoner) would have to pay for it. He, however, declined the easier method of locomotion, choosing to walk three-quarters of a mile in broad daylight, in his convict suit to the gaol and resolutely shouldering his bag, he briskly stepped out, the Madrassi hawkers shamefacedly following at some distance. Later, he disappeared within the grim portals of the Johannesburg gaol, above which is carved, in Dutch, the motto, "Union makes strength".

Five years have passed. On the dusty, undulating road from Standerton to Greylingstad, for a distance of three miles, is seen a long, trailing "army" of men who, on closer inspection, are recognisable as Indians of the labouring classes, to the number of some two thousand. Upon questioning them, it would be found that they had been gathered from the coal mines of Northern Natal, where they had been working under indenture, or as "free" men, liable to the £3 annual tax upon the freedom of themselves, their wives, their sons of

16 years and their daughters of thirteen. They had marched from Newcastle to Charlestown whence they had crossed the border into the Transvaal, at Volksrust. They were now marching stolidly and patiently on until they reached Tolstoy Farm, near Johannesburg, or they were arrested, as prohibited immigrants, by the Government. Thus they had marched for several days on a handful of rice, bread and sugar a day, carrying with them all their few worldly belongings, hopeful that, at the end the burden of the hated £3 tax would be removed from their shoulders. They appeared to place implicit trust in a small, limping, bent, but dogged man, coarsely dressed and using a staff painfully marching at the head of the straggling column, but with a serene and peaceful countenance, and a look of sureness and content. A nearer inspection of this strange figure discloses the same individual that we have already seen entering the forbidding portals of the "Fort", at Johannesburg. But how much older looking and care-worn? He has taken a vow to eat only one poor meal a day, until the iniquitous tax upon the honour and chastity of his mothers and sisters shall have been repealed. Upon him, as the foremost protagonist of the movement, has fallen the main burden and responsibility of organising one of the greatest and noblest protests against tyranny that the world has ever seen during the preceding seven years. Time has left its mark upon him?

FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO INDIA

Nine more years have passed. Bent down by the weight of years, but resolute of heart, that same figure is yet the cynosure of all eyes. The scene is laid now in Ahmedabad where thousands of Khadder-clad pilgrims march in solemn array to the court-house and await "the man of destiny". It was twelve noon on the 18th of

March. That same frail figure in a loin cloth, with the dear old familiar smile of deep content, enters the court-house. The whole court suddenly rises to greet the illustrious prisoner. "This looks like a family gathering," says he with the benignant smile of his. The heart of the gathering throbs with alternate hopes and fears, but the august prisoner, pure of heart and meek of spirit, is calm like the deep sea. In a moment, the great trial had begun; and as the prisoner made his historic statement, tears were seen trickling down the cheeks of the stoutest. "I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulders," says he with perfect candour. "To preach disaffection to the existing system of government has become almost a passion with me * * * I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen." And then follows the terrible indictment of the Government. The Judge himself is deeply moved. He feels the greatness of the occasion and, in slow and deliberate accents, he says: "It would be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and even saintly life." "But," he continued, "I have to deal with you in one character only * * * to judge you as a man subject to the law who has by his own admission broken the law. committed, what an ordinary man must appear

be grave offences against the State." A sentence of six years' simple imprisonment is passed: but the Judge adds: "that, if the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I." And the prisoner thanks the Judge, and there is perfect good humour. Was there ever such a trial in the history of British Courts or any other court for the matter of that? And finally he bids farewell to the tearful throng pressing forward to touch the bare feet of him whose presence was a benediction!

The man is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Dewan's son, Barrister-at-Law, scholar, student, cultured Indian gentleman, "farmer and weaver," and leader of his people. Because he preferred to obey the dictates of conscience, because he placed honour before comfort or even life itself, because he chose not to accept an insult to his Motherland, because he strove so that right should prevail and that his people might have life, a civilised, Christian Government in a Colony over which waves the British flag, deemed that the best way to overcome such dangerous contumacy was to cast his body into gaol, where at one time he was compelled to herd with and starve upon the diet of the most degraded aboriginal native felons, men barely emerging from the condition of brute-beasts, or rather, with all their human aspirations and instincts crushed out of them by the treatment accorded to them under the "civilising" process of the Transvaal's colour legislation. And, again obeying the behests of conscience, believing that he best serves India so, he again chooses the refuge of prison, convinced like Thoreau that he is freer than his gaolers or those who mourn for him but do not liberate themselves from bondage.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on the 2nd October, 1869. Though he has a Brahmin's spirituality and desire to serve and teach, he is not a Brahmin. Though he has a Kshatriya's courage and devotion, he is not a Kshatriya. He belongs to an old Bania family resident in Kathiawar, politics being a heritage of the family. His forefathers were Dewans of the State of Porbandar in that Province, his father having been Dewan of that State for 25 years, as also of Rajkote and other States in Kathiawar. He was likewise, at one time, a member of the Rajasthanik Sabha, having been nominated thereto by the Government of Bombay. Mr. Gandhi's father was known to, and loved by, all with whom he came in contact and he did not hesitate, if need came, to oppose the will of the Rana of Porbandar and of the Political Agent, when he thought that they were adopting a wrong or unworthy line of conduct. This particular trait has evidently descended to his youngest son. Mr. Gandhi's mother was an orthodox Hindu lady, rigid in her observance of religious obligations, strict in the performance of her duties as wife and mother, and stern in her determination that her children should grow up good and honest men and women. Between her youngest son and herself existed a strong affection, and her religious example and influence left a lasting impression upon his character. Mohandas Gandhi received his education partly in Kathiawar and partly in London. It was only with the greatest difficulty that his mother could be prevailed upon to consent to his crossing the waters, and, before doing so, she exacted from him a threefold vow, administered by a Jain priest that he would abstain from flesh, alcohol and women. And this vow was faithfully and whole-heartedly kept amidst all

the temptations of student life in London. Young Gandhi became an under-graduate of the London University and afterwards joined the Inner Temple, whence he emerged in due course a barrister-at-law. He returned to India immediately after his call, and was at once admitted as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court, in which capacity he began practice with some success.

VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

In 1893, Mr. Gandhi was induced to go to South Africa, proceeding to Natal and then to the Transvaal, in connection with an Indian legal case of some difficulty. Almost immediately upon landing at Durban, disillusionment awaited him. Brought up in British traditions of the equality of all British subjects, an honoured guest in the capital of the Empire, he found that in the British Colony of Natal, he was regarded as a pariah, scarcely higher than a savage aboriginal native of the soil. He appealed for admission as an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal, but his application was opposed by the Law Society on the ground that the law did not contemplate that a coloured person should be admitted to practise. Fortunately, the Supreme Court viewed the matter in a different light and granted the application. But Mr. Gandhi received sudden warning of what awaited him in the years to come.

In 1894, on the urgent invitation of the Natal Indian community, he decided to remain in the Colony, in order that he might be of service in the political troubles that he foresaw in the near future. In that year, together with a number of prominent members of the community, he founded the Natal Indian Congress, being for some years its honorary secretary, in which capacity he drafted a number of petitions and memorials admirable in construction, lucid and simple in phraseology, clear and concise in the manner

of setting forth the subject-matter. He took a leading part in the successful attempt to defeat the Asiatics' Exclusion Act passed by the Natal Parliament and in the unsuccessful one to prevent the disfranchisement of the Indian community, though the effort made obliged the Imperial authorities to insist that this disfranchisement should be effected along non-racial lines. At the end of 1895, he returned to India, being authorised by the Natal and Transvaal Indians to represent their grievances to the Indian public. This he did by means of addresses and a pamphlet, the mutilated contents of which were summarised by Reuter and cabled to Natal, where they evoked a furious protest on the part of the European colonists. The telegram ran thus: "A pamphlet published in India declares that the Indians in Natal are robbed, and assaulted, and treated like beasts, and are unable to obtain redress. *The Times of India* advocates an enquiry into these allegations."

This message was certainly not the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, though it had elements of truth in it. About the same time, Mr. Gandhi returned to Durban with his family, and with him, though independently of him, travelled several compatriots. The rumour arose that he was bringing with him, a number of skilled Indian workers with the express object of ousting the European artisans from the field of employments, and the two circumstances combined to stimulate in the colonists, high and low alike, all the worst passions, and feeling ran so high that the Attorney-General, Mr. Escombe, felt himself obliged to side with the popular party, and accordingly gave instructions that the vessel bringing Mr. Gandhi and his companions should be detained in quarantine. The quarantine was only raised when the ship-owners announced their intention of taking legal action against the Government.

The vessels now came alongside the wharf, but the crowd that assembled became so hostile that a police inspector, who came on board, warned Mr. Gandhi of his own personal danger if he landed then, and he urged him to delay the landing until night. A little later, however, a well-known member of the Natal Bar came on board specially to greet Mr. Gandhi and offer his services, and Mr. Gandhi at once determined to land without waiting for darkness to come, trusting, as he himself expressed it, to the British sense of justice and fair-play. He was soon recognised, however, set upon, and half-killed, when the wife of the superintendent of police, who recognised him, ran to his rescue, and, raising her umbrella over him, defied the crowd, and accompanied him to the store of an Indian friend. Mr. Gandhi was, however, in order to save his friend's property, obliged to escape disguised as a police constable.

The affair was at an end, popular passions calmed down, and the newspapers apologised to him, though the incident demonstrated the temper of the mob towards the Indian community. Years afterwards, meeting Mr. Gandhi one day, Mr. Escombe expressed profound regret at his connection with this unsavoury business, declaring that, at the time, he was unacquainted with Mr. Gandhi's personal merits and those of the community to which he belonged. Half an hour later he was found dead in the streets, stricken down by heart-disease.

BOER WAR AND THE INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS

In 1899, at the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, Mr. Gandhi, after considerable opposition, induced the Government to accept the offer of an Indian Ambulance Corps. The Corps was one thousand strong and saw active service, being on one occasion, at least, under heavy fire, and on another, removing the dead body of Lord Robert's

only son from the field. The Corps was favourably reported on, and Mr. Gandhi was mentioned in despatches and afterwards awarded the war medal. His object in offering the services of a body of Indians to do even the most menial work was to show that the Indian community desired to take their full share of public responsibilities, and that just as they knew how to demand rights, so they also knew to assume obligations. And that has been the key-note of Mr. Gandhi's public work from the beginning.

Writing in the *Illustrated Star* of Johannesburg in July 1911, a European, who had taken part in that campaign, observed :—

My first meeting with Mr. M. Gandhi was under strange circumstances. It was on the road from Spion Kop, after the fateful retirement of the British troops in January, 1900. The previous afternoon I saw the Indian mule-train moved up the slopes of the Kop carrying water to the distressed soldiers who had lain powerless on the plateau. The mules carried the water in immense bags, one on each side, led by Indians at their heads. The galling rifle-fire, which heralded their arrival on the top, did not deter the strangely-looking cavalcade which moved slowly forward, and as an Indian fell, another quietly stepped forward to fill the vacant place. Afterwards the grim duty of the bearer corps, which Mr. Gandhi organised in Natal, began. It was on such occasions the Indians proved their fortitude, and the one with the greatest fortitude of all was the subject of this sketch. After a night's work, which had shattered men with much bigger frames I came across Gandhi in the early morning sitting by the roadside—eating a regulation Army biscuit. Every man in Buller's force was dull and depressed, and damnation was heartily invoked on everything. But Gandhi was stoical in his bearing, cheerful, and confident in his conversation, and had a kindly eye. He did one good. It was an informal introduction, and it led to a friendship. I saw the man and his small undisciplined corps on many a field of battle during the Natal campaign. When succour was to be rendered they were there. Their unassuming dauntlessness cost them many lives, and eventually an order was published forbidding them to go into the firing-line. Gandhi simply did his duty then, and his comment the other evening in the moment of his triumph, at the dinner to the Europeans who had supported the Indian movement, when some hundreds of his countrymen and a large number of Europeans paid him a noble tribute, was that he had simply done his duty.

RETURN TO INDIA

In 1901, owing to a breakdown in health, Mr. Gandhi came to India, taking his family with him. Before he went, however, the Natal Indian community presented him, Mrs. Gandhi, and his children with a valuable gold plate and jewellery. He refused, however, to accept a single item of this munificent gift, putting it on one side to be used for public purposes, should the need arise. The incident but endeared him the more to the people, who realised once again how selfless was the work that he had so modestly and unassumingly undertaken. Before the Ambulance Corps left for the front, its members had been publicly entertained by Sir John Robinson, then Prime Minister of Natal, and on the occasion of the presentation to Mr. Gandhi by the Indian community, he addressed a letter to the organisers of the ceremony, in which, after excusing his unavoidable absence, he said :

It would have given me great pleasure to have been present on the occasion of so well-earned a mark of respect to our able and distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Gandhi. . . . Not the less heartily do I wish all success to this public recognition of the good work done and the many services rendered to the community by Mr. Gandhi.

On his arrival in Bombay. Mr. Gandhi once more resumed practice, as he then had no intention of returning to South Africa, believing that with the end of the war, a new era had arrived.

BACK TO SOUTH AFRICA

Scarcely, however, had he returned from the Calcutta Congress, where, under Mr. (now Sir) Dinshaw Wacha, he did some very useful organising work unobtrusively, when he received an urgent telegram from Natal, peremptorily calling him back to South Africa to draft the memorials to Mr. Chamberlain, whose visit was imminent, to take charge

of the work required to secure the removal of existing grievances and to place Indian affairs finally on a higher level. Without a moment's hesitation, he obeyed the call of duty, and a new chapter opened in his life. In Natal, he had been able to overcome official prejudice and was high in the esteem of all those heads of departments and ministers with whom his public duties brought him into contact. But when, after heading a deputation to Mr. Chamberlain in Natal, he was called to the Transvaal for similar purpose he found all officialdom hostile, and he was refused the right to attend upon Mr. Chamberlain as a member of a deputation of Transvaal Indians: and it was only after the utmost endeavours that he prevailed upon the Indian community to send a deputation that did not include him. Finding that the situation was becoming rapidly worse, and being without a trained guide, the Transvaal Indians pressed him to remain with them, and this he at last consented to do, being admitted to practise as an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. In 1903, together with other communal leaders, he founded the Transvaal British Indian Association, of which, until his final departure from South Africa, he was the honorary secretary and principal legal adviser.

FOUNDING OF "THE INDIAN OPINION"

About the middle of 1903, it had occurred to him that, if the South African Indians were to be brought into closer association with each other and with their European fellow-colonists, and to be politically and socially educated, it was absolutely necessary to have a newspaper, and, after consultation, he provided the greater part of the capital for its inauguration, with the late Mr. M. H. Nazar as editor, and thus the *Indian Opinion* was born. It was first published in English, Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil. For various reasons,

it afterwards became necessary to dispense with the Tamil and Hindi columns.

Towards the end of 1904, however, finding that the paper was absorbing most of the money that could be spared without making any appreciable financial headway, he went to Durban to investigate the situation. During the journey, he became absorbed in the perusal of Ruskin's "Unto This Last", and he received certain impressions that were confirmed whilst on a visit to some relatives, who had started a trading enterprise in an up-country village. His conclusions were that the town conditions in which the paper was produced were such as almost to compel unlimited waste, to act as a check upon the originality and individuality of the workers, and to prevent the realisation of his dearest desire to so infuse the columns of the paper with a spirit of tolerance and persuasiveness as to bring together all that was best in the European and Indian communities, whose fate it was to dwell side by side, ever mutually hostile to or suspicious of each other, or feebly co-operating in the securing of the welfare of the State and the building-up of a wise administration of its assets.

THE PHOENIX SETTLEMENT

Accordingly, he determined that the very first thing to be done was to put an end to the divorce of the workers from the land, and from this determination, arose what has since become known as the Phoenix Settlement. Phoenix is situated about 12 miles from Durban, in the midst of a sugar-growing country, and Mr. Gandhi invested his savings in the purchase of an estate of about 100 acres of land about two miles distant from the station, on which were erected the press buildings and machinery. A number of

selected Indians and Europeans were invited to become settlers, and the original conditions were these—that they should have entire management of all the assets of the press, including the land itself; that each should practically vow himself to a life of poverty, accepting not more than £3 (Rs. 45) a month, expenses being high in South Africa, and an equal share in the profits, if any; that a house should be built for him, for which he should pay when able, and in whatever instalments might seem suitable to him, without interest; that he should have two acres of land as his own for cultivation, payment being on similar conditions, and that he should devote himself to working for the public good, *Indian Opinion* being meanwhile the mainspring of the work. Whilst the fundamental principles remained, it became necessary later, in the light of further experience, to modify these conditions. Subsequently, the Phoenix settlers extended the scope of their labours, to the task of educating some at least of the children of the lakh-and-a-half of Indians in South Africa.

SERVICE IN PLAGUE AREAS

In 1904, an outbreak of plague occurred in the Indian Location, Johannesburg, largely owing to gross negligence on the part of the Municipal authorities, in spite of repeated warnings of the insanitary conditions prevailing. A week before the official announcement of the outbreak, Mr. Gandhi sent a final warning that plague had already broken out, but his statement was officially denied. When, however, a public admission of the existence of plague could no longer be withheld, but before the Municipal authorities had taken any steps to cope with the disease, he at once organised a private hospital and nursing home, and, together with a few devoted friends, personally tended

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the plague patients; and this work was formally appreciated by the Municipal authorities.

LEADING A STRETCHER-BEARER CORPS

In 1906, a native rebellion broke out in Natal due to many causes, but realising that bloodshed was imminent and that hospital work would necessarily ensue therefrom, Mr. Gandhi offered, on behalf of the Natal Indians, a Stretcher-Bearer Corps, which, after some delay, was accepted. Meanwhile he had sent his family to Phoenix, where he thought it was most proper that they should live, rather than in the dirt, noise, and restlessness of the town. He himself volunteered to lead the Corps, which was on active service for a month, being mentioned in despatches and publicly congratulated and thanked by the Governor for the valuable services rendered. Each member of the Corps has had awarded to him the medal especially struck for the occasion, and as an indication of the manner in which the Transvaal Government appreciated the work so selflessly performed by Mr. Gandhi and his Corps, it may be noted that, together with at least three other members of the Corps, as well as some who belonged to or helped to fit out the old Ambulance Corps, he was flung into gaol to associate with criminals of the lowest type.

The work of the Corps was, besides that of carrying stretchers and marching on foot behind mounted infantry, through dense bush, sometimes thirty miles a day, in the midst of a savage enemy's country unarmed and unprotected, to perform the task of hospital assistants and to nurse the wounded natives, who had been callously shot down by the colonial troopers, or had been cruelly lashed by military command. Mr. Gandhi does not like to speak his mind about what he saw or learnt on this occasion. But many times he must have had searchings of conscience as to the

propriety of his allying himself, even in that merciful capacity, with those capable of such acts of revolting and inexcusable brutality. However, it is well to know that nearly all his solicitude was exercised on behalf of aboriginal native patients, and one saw the Dewan's son ministering to the needs and allaying the sufferings of some of the most undeveloped types of humanity, whose odour, habits and surroundings must have been extremely repugnant to a man of refined tastes—though Mr. Gandhi himself will not admit this.

ANTI-ASIATIC LAW AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Scarcely had he returned to Johannesburg to resume practice (he had left his office to look after itself during his absence) when a thunderbolt was launched by the Transvaal Government by the promulgation of the Draft Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. After years of plotting and scheming, the anti-Asiatics of the Transvaal, having first secured the willing services of an administrative department anxious to find an excuse for the continuance of its own existence, compelled the capitulation of the executive itself with the aforementioned result. Mr. Gandhi at once realised what was afoot, and understood immediately that, unless the Indian community adopted a decided attitude of protest, which would be backed up, if necessary, by resolute action, the whole Indian population of South Africa was doomed, and he accordingly took counsel with the leading members of the community, who agreed that the measure must be fought to the bitter end. Mr. Gandhi was chiefly responsible for the initiation of the policy of passive resistance that was so successfully carried out by the Indians of South Africa during the next eight years. Since that day, Mr. Gandhi's history has been mainly that of the Passive Resistance struggle. All

know how he took the oath not to submit to the Law on the 11th September, 1906; how he went to England with a compatriot in the same year, and how their vigorous pleading induced Lord Elgin to suspend the operation of the objectionable piece of legislation: how, when the law finally received the Royal assent, he threw himself into the forefront of the fight and by speech, pen, and example, inspired the whole community to maintain an adamant front to the attack that was being made upon the very foundations of its religion, its national honour, its racial self-respect, its manhood. No one was, therefore, surprised when, at the end of 1907, Mr. Gandhi was arrested, together with a number of other leaders, and consigned to gaol. Or how, when he heard that some of his friends in Pretoria had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, the maximum penalty, he pleaded with the Magistrate to impose that penalty upon him too, as he had been the acknowledged leader and inspirer of the opposition against this Law. To him it was a terrible shock that his followers were being more harshly treated than he himself, and it was with bowed head and deep humiliation that he left the court, sentenced to two months' simple imprisonment only. Happily, the Government realised the seriousness of the situation, and after three weeks' imprisonment of the leading passive resisters, General Smuts opened negotiations with them, and a compromise was effected between him and the Indian community, partly written, partly verbal, whereby voluntary registration, which had been repeatedly offered, was accepted conditionally upon the Law being subsequently repealed. This promise of repeal was made personally to Mr. Gandhi by General Smuts in the presence of official witnesses. When, shortly afterwards, Mr. Gandhi was

nearly killed by a few of his more fanatical countrymen (who thought he had betrayed them to the Government) as he was on his way to the Registration Office to carry out his pledge to the Government, he issued a letter to the Indian community in which he definitely declared that promise of repeal had been made. General Smuts did not do so until several months later. No one was, however, astonished to find Mr. Gandhi charging General Smuts with breach of faith, and absolutely refusing to compromise himself or the community that he represented by accepting further legislation that would, in the end, have still further degraded the Indians of South Africa. Having convinced his colleagues that such acceptance on their part was impossible, the struggle re-commenced.

Twice again, during the period of passive resistance, was he sent to gaol, and then the Government sought to seduce his followers from their allegiance, by imprisoning them in hundreds and leaving him free. In 1909, whilst his friend and fellow-worker, Mr. Polak, was in India, on behalf of the South African Indian community, he and a colleague had gone to England to endeavour to arouse the public conscience there to the enormities that were being perpetrated in South Africa in the name of the British people. Whilst he failed in his main purpose to secure from General Smuts, through the mediation of the Imperial Government, the removal of the racial bar in the Immigration Law, he nevertheless sowed the seeds of the subsequent settlement, for his suggestions were embodied, and their adoption was recommended by the Imperial Government in their Despatch to Lord Gladstone, shortly after the creation of the Union of South Africa in the following year.

MR. GOKHALE'S HISTORIC VISIT

In 1911, the second "provisional settlement" was effected after the Union Government had, notwithstanding prolonged and sympathetic negotiations with Mr. Gandhi, found themselves unable to discover a formula acceptable alike to the Indian community, the Government themselves and Parliament. Nor did the year 1912 show any better promise in the direction of a final settlement. Meanwhile, there occurred the historic visit to South Africa of India's great statesman-patriot, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who, even then, was suffering from ill-health. Mr. Gandhi, who, for years had regarded him as his own political leader, had invited him to South Africa, not primarily for political reasons, but so that he might nurse his *guru* back to health. Circumstances combined, however, to impose upon Mr. Gokhale a greater physical strain than had been anticipated in spite of Mr. Gandhi's own devoted personal service. It was pathetic and beautiful to observe the way these two old friends refused to see anything but the best in each other, in spite of their fundamental differences, of temperament and often of outlook. To Gandhi, Gokhale was the gallant and selfless paladin, whom the whole of India looked up to as her noblest son. To Gokhale, Gandhi was the very embodiment of saintly self-abnegation, a man whose personal sufferings, splendid and valourous leadership and moral fervour, marked him out as one of the most outstanding figures of the day, the guiding leader of his people, who had made the name of his adored Motherland, revered and honoured throughout the Empire and beyond, and who had proved beyond dispute the capacity of even his most insignificant countrymen to live and die for her.

FURTHER STAGES OF THE STRUGGLE

During his visit, Mr. Gokhale extracted a promise (afterwards denied) from the principal Union Ministers, that they would introduce legislation repealing the £3 tax. When, therefore, in 1913, Mr. Gandhi discovered that the Government were not going to fulfil their pledges of 1911, and that they refused to repeal the £3 tax, he denounced the "provincial settlement", and, in September, announced the revival of Passive Resistance and its bodily extension to Natal, where he promptly organised and carried through the now historic strike. The events of this last phase of the struggle are of historic interest—the campaign of the Indian women whose marriages had been dishonoured by a fresh decision of the Supreme Court at the instigation of the Government, the awakening of the free and indentured labourers all over Natal, the strikes, and the historic march into the Transvaal, the scenes enacted later in the effort to crush the strikers and compel them to resume work, the arrest and imprisonment of the principal leaders and of hundreds—many thousands—of the rank and file, the enormous Indian mass meetings held in Durban, Johannesburg, and other parts of the Union, the fierce and passionate indignation aroused in India, the large sums of money poured into South Africa from all parts of the Motherland, Lord Hardinge's famous speech at Madras, in which he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion and his demand for a Commission of Inquiry, the energetic efforts of Lord Ampthill's Committee, the hurried intervention of the Imperial authorities, the appointment over the heads of the Indian community of a Commission whose *personnel* could not satisfy the Indians, the discharge from prison of the leaders whose advice to ignore the Commission was almost universally accepted,

the arrival of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson and their wonderful work of reconciliation, the deaths of Harbat Singh and Valliamma, the strained position relieved only by the interruption of the second European strike, when Mr. Gandhi, as on an earlier occasion, undertook not to hamper the Government whilst they had their hands full with the fresh difficulty, and when it had been dealt with, the entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust, and co-operation that was found to have been created by the moderation of the great Indian leader and the loving influence spread around him by Mr. Andrews as he proceeded with his great Imperial mission.

All these things are by now matters of history, as are the favourable recommendations of the Commission on practically every point referred to it and out of which Passive Resistance had arisen, the adoption of the Commission's Report in its entirety by the Government, the introduction and passing into law of the Indians' Relief Act, after lengthy and remarkable debates in both Houses of the Legislature, the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, in which the latter undertook, on behalf of the Government, to carry through the administrative reforms that were not covered by the new Act, and the final letter of the Indian protagonist of Passive Resistance—formally announcing the conclusion of the struggle and setting forth the points upon which Indians would sooner or later have to be satisfied before they could acquire complete equality of civil status—and the scenes of his departure for his beloved Motherland.

MR. AND MRS. GANDHI IN LONDON

Faithful to his instinct for service, Mr. Gandhi hurried to England, where he heard that Gokhale was critically ill, and arrived, on the outbreak of the Great War, to

find that his friend was slowly recovering from the almost fatal attack that had overwhelmed him. Here, too, his sense of responsibility revealed itself. He recognised that it was India's duty, in the hour of the Empire's trial, to do all in her power to help, and he at once set about the formation of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps in London, enrolling himself and his devoted wife, who had herself been barely snatched from the jaws of death . but a few weeks earlier, amongst the members. But the years of strain, his neglect of his own physical well-being, and his addiction to long fasts as a means to spiritual purification, had undermined a never very robust constitution, and his condition became so serious that private and official friends insisted upon his proceeding immediately, with Mrs. Gandhi, to India.

RETURN TO THE MOTHERLAND

On his return to the Motherland, at the beginning of 1915, Mr. Gandhi was naturally very much before the public eye. His progress through India, from the day of the public landing and welcome at the Apollo Bunder, was, in the nature of a veritable triumph, marred only by the sudden death of his beloved teacher, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who had sacrificed health and life itself upon the altar of his country's welfare.

The Government of India marked their appreciation of Mr. Gandhi's unique services by recommending him for the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal, which was conferred upon him by the King-Emperor amongst the 1915 New Year Honours. To Gokhale he had given a promise to make no public utterance on Indian affairs until at least a year had passed, and he had visited the principal centres of public life in India. This promise, which was faithfully

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kept, was extracted, because Gokhale, hoping to see in him his own successor, had been somewhat disturbed by the very advanced views expressed by Mr. Gandhi in the proscribed pamphlet—*Hind Swaraj** whose pages, we now know, were written to show the basic similarity of civilisation the world over, the superiority of India for the particular Indian phase of that civilisation and the stupidity of the barriers of luxury created by the modern industrial civilisation of the West, that constantly separate man from man and make him a senseless machine drudge, and that threaten to invade that holy Motherland that stands in his eyes for the victory of spirit over matter. He had condemned some things of which he had disapproved, in Gokhale's opinion, somewhat hastily, and the older man had thought that, after an absence from India of so many years, during which he had perhaps idealised certain phases of Indian life, a year's travel and observation would be a useful corrective. Which of the two, if either, has correctly diagnosed the situation, time alone can show.

But one thing is clear. Mr. Gandhi has consistently maintained these views in the face of adverse criticisms from friends and foes. And it is interesting that writing over a decade after the publication of the book, Mr. Gandhi observed in *Young India* (26th January 1921):

It is certainly my good fortune that this booklet of mine is receiving wide attention. In my opinion it is a book which can be put into the hands of a child. It teaches the gospel of love in the place of that of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It pits soul force against brute force. It has gone through several editions and I commend it to those who would care to read it. I withdraw nothing except one word of it and that in deference to a friendly friend.

* HIND SWARAJ OR INDIAN HOME RULE. By Mahatma Gandhi. Price Annas Eight. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

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SATYAGRAHASHRAM

Mr. Gandhi, however, made his headquarters at Ahmedabad, the capital of his own Province of Gujarat and here he founded his *Satyagrahashram*, where he has been endeavouring to train up from childhood public servants upon a basis of austerity of life and personal subordination to the common good, the members supporting themselves by work at the hand-loom or other manual labour. (The Rules and Regulations of the *Ashram* are printed as an Appendix to this book.)

TRAVELS IN INDIA

True to his promise to Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Gandhi, on his return to India, started on an extensive tour through the country. Though his idea was merely to visit every place of importance and acquaint himself thoroughly with the conditions of the country and thus acquire first-hand knowledge of men and things, he had of course to speak wherever he went. He was given a warm and enthusiastic welcome at every station, and the magnificent demonstrations in his honour bore an eloquent testimony to the great regard in which his countrymen have always held him. Mr. Gandhi accepted these marks of affection and respect with his accustomed grace, but spoke out his mind on every subject as the occasion demanded. One characteristic feature of these speeches was that Mr. Gandhi seldom repeated second-hand opinions and his views on every subject were, therefore, refreshingly original. As a reformer, his interests were encyclopædic and he touched life at many points at once. It is convenient, therefore, in a review of his travels and opinions, to record his views on the many public questions that confronted him as he passed from place to place in his first great pilgrimage through the country. Undeterred by fear or any exaggerated sense of conventional respect-

worked out the great problems of life in harmony. Surely then, we shall evolve a civilisation which may well be the envy of the world. This ideal will be achieved for the glory of Britain and India. Then Oh, : England and India, as God's greater children, unite in that aim, and work according to the design of Providence to produce that result which may go down in the annals of the world as the purpose of God, namely service of His Creation—**Humanity.**

Oh ! England ! rise above your immediate political or trade interests, hold India's hand in her hour of need and make India great that England may be greater ; and Oh ! India ! submerge all your communal or political differences and embrace the hand of England and make her great in order that India may be greater.

Thus, both united in bonds of unity and friendship, fulfil that destiny that Christ, Mahommed and the Vedas taught ; the destiny of self-realisation, and through it the cause of Man throughout the world. May we thus leave some footprints behind so that our progeny may know that East and West, which were differentiated by races, colours and religions, have, through friendship with England, arrived at that great position which will be the glory of God and the pride of Man.

SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI

My Lord Chancellor, when, on his return to India, His Excellency Lord Irwin made the historic announcement of October 1929, giving a more precise definition of the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the ultimate goal of India, than had been done in the declaration of 20th August 1917, and stating that His Majesty's Government intended to invite the representatives of British India and Indian India to a Round Table Conference in London, so that an agreed settlement of the Indian constitutional problem might be arrived at, the two great organisations of the Indian Mussalmans—the All-India Muslim League and the All Indian Muslim Conference—welcomed that announcement in the main for two reasons.

In the first place, they realised, that, when the Government and the people of a country are confronted with such difficult and complicated political problems as is the case now in India, a Round Table Conference at which the representatives of the parties concerned may have a full and frank exchange of views in order to bring about an agreed settlement, is the most effective way of realising the end in view.

In the second place, they believed that where the political situation is so grave, as it is at present in India, calling for immediate solution, a Round Table Conference is also the most expeditious way of meeting the situation.

And now that this Round Table Conference has been opened by His Majesty our King-Emperor in person, in a gracious speech, vibrating with the love of India and with sympathy for the legitimate aspiration of her people, I, for

one, refuse to believe that, with some of the best brains of England and of India assembled round this table, we shall not arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problems, which, both India and England have to face, a solution which, while satisfying the legitimate aspiration of the Indian peoples will thereby strengthen the link which binds England and India together.

My Lord Chancellor, ninety-seven years ago, during the debate on the first Government of India Bill in 1833, the late Thomas Babington Macaulay, who had taken a prominent part in the preparation of that Bill, observed as follows :

The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fateful result for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the mind of India may expand under our system, till it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not, but never will I attempt to avert it or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history.

That was the glorious vision which the late Lord Macaulay saw, when introducing that measure in the House of Commons. The dawn of the day, when that vision may be realised, has now come.

Unfortunately, thereafter, if I may venture so to put it, the British Parliament succumbed to what can only be described as sleeping sickness in its relations with India ; for we find that it was not until 1861, some thirty years after, that a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons for the first time recognising the need for associating Indian representatives in the work of legislation in that country. But that association was a very limited one, secured only through nomination. Again, the British Parliament went to sleep.

and slept for over 40 years, and it was not until the year 1909, that the elective principle was introduced into the Legislative Councils of India. Meanwhile, India had gone on advancing rapidly. The influence of Western education, the study of British constitutional history, the study of French and Italian history, had aroused in the minds of educated Indians dreams which Macaulay, at any rate, had contemplated when the Bill of 1833, was introduced.

The result was that the tardy measures taken at such long intervals by the British Parliament, instead of satisfying the aspirations of the Indian peoples, gave further impetus to those aspirations. It is a curious fact in history that political aspirations have a very strange way of growing. What may satisfy a people to-day, if not given in time, will not satisfy them to-morrow. That is what is happening in India.

Shortly after the Act of 1909, a great war broke out, a war which gradually drew into it almost all the leading nations of the world. During that war, India came forward to prove her devotion to the British connection in that life and death struggle, in which the very existence of the Empire itself was in danger. India came forward to prove her devotion to the British connection by taking her share of the burden spontaneously and by providing for the armies of England over one million recruits—soldiers who vindicated the honour and the name of their country on the various battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The part taken by India during this unparalleled world conflagration gained for her, her legitimate position in the international affairs of the world as a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles and an original member of the League of Nations. But, within the British Commonwealth of Nations, curious as it may appear, she still continued to-

occupy an inferior position. After the conclusion of peace, until the appointment of the Royal Commission, unfortunately, a succession of events took place in India, which added to the various causes of unrest in that country influencing the Indian mind. When His Majesty's Government was pleased to appoint the Royal Commission, India was absolutely excluded from that Commission. No representative of India was appointed to it, with the result that the unrest in that country increased tenfold. And now, we have to face a situation, which in all earnestness is indeed grave.

When I see articles in the newspapers stating that all the unrest in India is confined only to the educated classes and that the uneducated masses, or Indians living in rural areas, have no sympathy whatever with the national movement which is going on in India, I am more than surprised. It would be very amusing, if it were not so tragic. Do writers who indulge in that sort of writing realise that hundreds of thousands of India's soldiers who took part in the Great War and who have seen with their own eyes what other people are in their own countries, have returned to India and after demobilisation have dispersed all over the rural areas of the country, living in villages, talking to their fellow villagers? They have told their fellow villagers what they have seen in Europe and in the near and middle East. Do these writers realise what a deep and widespread effect the stories, which these demobilised soldiers have told their country-men, have had in the villages and remote corners of rural India—what a deep and wide-spread effect they have had on the minds of Indian villagers?

Just look for a moment at what is going on now in India. This civil disobedience, which we have openly

condemned, not only in England, but in India—is that movement limited to the educated classes? No doubt the movement is led by the educated classes; but who are the men who are facing all the trials, all the troubles, which this Civil Disobedience movement has given rise to? They belong to the uneducated masses. To say that the uneducated masses are entirely out of touch with the national movement that is going on in India is, if I may venture to say so, the action according to the Oriental saying of a man who closes his eyes when the cat is approaching him thinking that thereby he is safe.

Fortunately among the British Delegation here, there are at least three statesmen who know that I am a Punjabi, and that we Punjabis are not easily alarmed. Indeed, the greater the difficulty the more firm, the more cool and the more calm Punjabis become. They also know that I have proved, in the last 40 years of my public life in India, the strongest and firmest supporter of the British connection in India—so much so that on occasions I have been called a reactionary by my own countrymen. It is I who say that the situation in India is very grave, very grave.

If a solution calculated to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian peoples and thereby to strengthen the tie which binds England and India together is not attained by this Conference, I tremble to think what the situation will be. Now that we have met in order to try to find that solution, it is my business, as spokesman to-day of my community, of the Muslim group, to tell you what we, the representatives of the Muslim community in this Conference think. Our position is very simple. To repeat what I said in the Viceregal Lodge at Delhi in November, 1924:

“ We want our countrymen in India to rise to that stature to which other people have risen in their own countries. We want India to attain Dominion status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.”

I say, we want India to rise to her full stature within the British Commonwealth of Nations for this reason: in the new conditions which have been brought into existence as a result of the wonderful progress which science has made and as a result of the world forces, which are now actually in operation as a consequence of the Great War, no country in the world, however rich or powerful, can afford to lead an isolated life.

The tendency of modern international movements is towards the association of Nations and countries for the purposes of security, of mutual help, and co-ordination of effort. Therefore we, Mussalmans of India, realise that the British Commonwealth of Nations is there for India to be associated with it and to continue to be associated with it for her own benefit and in her own interest. That is the deep-rooted conviction in our minds, and that is the reason of our traditional loyalty.

At the same time, it is perfectly natural for the seventy-one millions of His Majesty's Mussalman subjects to insist upon this—that in the constitutional and administrative evolution of India they must have their legitimate share, both in the Provincial and in the Central Government.

I do not desire, on the present occasion, to enter into the details of the claims which the Mussalman community has put forward in this connection. That is a matter which will have to be discussed in the committees. Some of our own committees are already considering that matter, and I trust they will be able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. To my mind, in view of India's vast extent, in

view of her territorial divisions well recognised for centuries past, and in view of the other complicated conditions, which obtain in India, there is only one form of government, one basis for the future constitution of India, which alone will suit the circumstances of the case, and that is the federal system. We therefore welcome the declarations, made by Their Highnesses the Maharajah of Bikaner and the Maharajah of Alwar, on behalf of their Princely Order, that the Indian States are willing to come into an All-India Federation.

To me, as a constitutional lawyer, a self-governing India side by side with an Indian India having its relations within the Crown is a hopelessly impossible conception. A Federation of India must include both British India as well as Indian India. In so far as British India is concerned, we must, as it is the case in every other kind of structure, build upwards and not downwards.

Therefore, I welcome the recommendation made in certain quarters of granting Provincial Autonomy to the Provinces. These will be the federal units of our All-India Federation in the future; but the Mussalman Group have no hesitation in saying that that is not enough—that the responsibility must be introduced in the centre.

How far that responsibility should go is a matter which will be discussed in the committees hereafter. We are willing that, for the transitional period, certain vital reservations might be made. That is to the interests of India itself, and in consequence we have no objection to that. But you have seen that the Report of the Royal Commission has been condemned in India by every school of political thought, mainly on the ground that it does not propose to introduce responsibility in the Centre.

To the British Delegation, I have one final appeal to make before I sit down. Believe me, a happy and contented India will be a source of immense strength to the British Commonwealth of Nations. Take your courage in your two hands. The situation is grave. When a situation is grave, far-sighted statesmen should require that it should be handled with wisdom and generosity. Taking your courage in your two hands, do what you did in South Africa shortly after the conclusion of the South African War.

What has been the result? During the sittings of the Imperial Conference, which I had the honour of attending on behalf of my country, nothing struck me more than the way in which the representatives of South Africa, throughout the deliberations of the Conference, upheld the tie which binds South Africa and England together.

Believe me, the legitimate satisfaction of legitimate aspirations brings contentment, and contentment awakens feelings of love and affection for those who have satisfied those legitimate aspirations. If the aspirations of an educated India are satisfied, the result will be that the tie between India and England will be strengthened. Then all your Imperial problems—the problem of Empire defence, the problem of inter-Imperial trade, even the problem of Empire unemployment—will be solved within a measurable distance of time.

That is my appeal to the members of the British Delegation. Wisdom and sympathy is what is required on this occasion—that wisdom and sympathy with which Lord Irwin is handling the situation in India to-day. To those who have been attacking Lord Irwin, I would say this; but for Lord Irwin handling the situation, as he has done in India, to-day the situation would have been ten times worse. (prolonged applause).

In the name of India, and in the name of the British Commonwealth of Nations, of which India forms an integral part, and hopes to be an equal partner with the other Dominions, I earnestly beg of you representatives of the British Delegation, representatives of the Indian Delegation and representatives of the British Indian Delegation, to realise the gravity of the situation, and to give their undivided attention to a satisfactory solution of the grave problem, with which we are confronted—a solution which, while satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the people of India, will, at the same time, strengthen the link which binds England and India. (loud applause).

olity, he retained his independence, indifferent to the applause or contumely of his listeners.

ANARCHICAL CRIMES

Speaking at the Students' Hall, College Square, Calcutta, in March 1915, when the Hon. Mr. Lyon presided, he said, with reference to anarchical crimes, that

whatever his personal views were, he must say that misguided zeal that resorts to dacoities and assassinations cannot be productive of any good. These dacoities and assassinations are absolutely a foreign growth in India. They cannot take root here and cannot be a permanent institution here. History proves that assassinations have done no good. The religion of the country, the Hindu religion, is abstention from "himsa", that is, taking animal life. That is, he believes, the guiding principle of all religions. The Hindu religion says that even the evil-doer should not be hated. It says that nobody has any right to kill even the evil-doer. These assassinations are a Western institution, and the speaker warned his hearers against the Western methods and Western evils.

That was a striking pronouncement of a public man denouncing anarchical crimes not on mere grounds of political inexpediency but on deeper grounds of morality and religion. That was the first public utterance of a man who scorned the shibboleths of lip loyalty quite as much as the subterfuges of secret societies. Mr. Gandhi thus vindicated his great principle that the means are a part of the end and that in his politics at any rate he would countenance no questionable methods for the attainment of quite undeniably legitimate and honourable aims. It was the same principle that he vindicated at the Karachi Congress of 1931 when he denounced political violence while appreciating the heroism of Bhagat Singh. Thus he struck a blow at the root of all Machiavellian politics that the end justifies the means.

LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH RAJ

At the British Law Dinner in April of the same year, he observed in proposing (at the request of the President,

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF REWA

Mr. Chairman, I find that now my turn comes to speak, after so many eminent brother Delegates from India have spoken before me. We have heard most illustrious speeches made by the Indian Princes and by the most capable British Indian leaders—leaders who have a command of law, advocacy, and it will be a somewhat difficult task for me to express the claims of India, and my own views, in any better language than has already been used.

When I was asked to attend this Conference to represent the conservative element among the Indian States, I was aware that the occasion would be one of the first importance.

I am forced to confess, however, that the extreme importance of the occasion has been very much more fully brought home to me, by the opening speeches to which I listened yesterday and to-day. It seems to me, without exaggeration, that a nation is being brought to the birth. More than ever before, I am conscious of the measure of the task before us, and I realise that we shall require every ounce of wisdom, patience, goodwill, adaptability, and imagination which everyone of us has to contribute, if these great problems are to be successfully solved.

I am conscious that a heavy burden of responsibility has been laid on me. It must seem strange to some that, in a country, whose ways of life are so ruled by custom and tradition as India, there should be no political party which calls itself conservative. Yet I believe that there is scarcely one of my fellow Delegates, who would submit,

without protest, to the designation of Conservative. So far, at least, as designation goes, I stand alone. My task is in some ways a thankless one. It is made more difficult by the fact that on the personal side, I am entirely without experience of the public discussion of affairs ; and I ask the forbearance of all here, and of those in India for whom I speak, if through inexperience, I prove an indifferent advocate of my cause. At the same time, I feel greatly honoured that I have been chosen to take part in these deliberations, and however faulty my advocacy may be, I am encouraged and upheld by the conviction that half the humanity shares the views which it falls to me to propound. I feel certain that not only among the millions who till the soil of India, but among all sober-minded politicians and statesmen there must be a large measure of support for, and sympathy with, those who counsel a cautious advance, and preach the dangers of precipitation and short cuts.

I believe, moreover, that when once power is given to India to shape her own destinies, a strong party of experienced and responsible politicians will emerge, which will call itself the Conservative Party, for the chief ingredient in conservatism is, in my view, a sense of responsibility. Such a sense of responsibility has not, so far, had an opportunity to develop and the constitutional advancement of India will provide it with the opportunity for which it is waiting.

The energy that is now being devoted to gaining that advancement will, when the victory is won, be converted to the consolidation and preservation of the position that has been gained. I do not claim that the conservative point of view has a monopoly of wisdom and foresight ; but I do not, on the other hand, admit that the progressive

point of view rallies to its banners the whole available stock of energy or idealism. I do, however, suggest, that, in the world at large, the conservative elements are the great repository of experience, and that they have therefore much of value to contribute to the common stock.

In this country of England, where one of the great parties of the State has been for many years known as the Conservative Party, it may appear to many to be mere waste of time and breath to say that the conservative attitude does not begin and end with blind and obstinate resistance to all changes of any kind. I believe, none the less, that there are in India those who suspect the conservative attitude to consist merely in distrust of, and opposition to, change as such, and I wish, therefore, to begin with a sincere assurance that this is not the case.

The Princes, whatever their views, whether conservative or advanced, are in the fullest sympathy with all the legitimate aspiration of the leaders of thought in British India. The Princes of India welcome the emergence of India as a nation among the nations of the world, and gladly and whole-heartedly support the efforts of representative Indians by which this claim to nationhood is being established.

There are, however, I will confess, some aspects of our Indian problem in regard to which the men of conservative principles will, I believe, obstinately, though not blindly, resist all change. They will resist with all their power any sign of failing in loyalty to the Crown, and any attempt to sever India's destinies from the British Empire, of which we are proud to be a part. I hope and believe, however, that to this extent every member of this Conference is a conservative; and I content myself with saying that I yield to none in my loyalty to these ties, and

in the sincerity of my desire for India's happiness and prosperity in the future.

Before I begin to state my position, I wish to make one point clear. To guard against possible misunderstanding, let me say here that, in my approach to these problems, I am dealing mainly with those aspects which concern the States.

Perhaps I can best define the conservative attitude by saying that we differ from other schools of thought less, as to the object to be achieved, than as to the pace and the method of achievement. A good car needs a brake as well as an accelerator; a ship requires an anchor as well as an engine. The proverbial difference between 'haste' and 'speed' is a truth so commonplace that we are apt to be impatient when we are reminded of it, but it is the function of the conservative to insist on the truth of truths so old, that they are sometimes forgotten. Each one of us as an individual learns such truths for himself by experience, sometimes bitter. I merely ask that we should apply to the problems of statecraft the caution and restraint, which we exercise in the daily round of our individual lives.

One of the most difficult aspects of the problem which concerns us all, is in my view the variety of the interests which have to be reconciled. We are met, not to prove before an impartial tribunal that one view and not the other is true, that one policy should be adopted, one community or one set of interests should be favoured, and the others set aside, overlooked, or suppressed. We have to reconcile all points of view and achieve a measure of agreement. It is possible to coax into the parlour those who cannot be driven into the fold. For this purpose, the quality which we require in the largest measure is mutual

confidence. The quality of confidence is a plant of slow growth. It is not a commodity that can be weighed out in parcels and distributed. Its growth cannot be artificially forced. It grows in the soil of safety and it requires a peaceful atmosphere of security for its nourishment. Until this spirit of mutual confidence and goodwill animates us all the path of the Indian nation will be a difficult one to tread. I feel so strong the danger of pressing ahead in disregard of the health of this tender plant, on whose life and growth our safety depends, that I make no apology for my insistence on the danger of precipitancy and the need for caution in our rate of advance.

The Indian States—I speak for the conservative element—wish to safeguard their individual existence. They ask for guarantees that the changes in the Government of India, which are foreshadowed, will leave them free to pursue their own ideals in the manner of their heritage and tradition. They ask that their position will not be modified without their own consent, that changes will not be forced on them and that the treaties into which they entered with the British power in India will be honoured in the spirit and in the letter.

It may be thought by some that there is a sinister intention underlying the request for guarantees and safeguards the intention to make permanent the divisions which exist in India and so to prevent her from attaining the full stature of a nation. This is not the desire of the States.

We have no desire to stand in the way of reforms for British India. We wish only to be assured that the reforms which the Indians of British India desire, do not impose on us changes which we do not desire. We wish to preserve the individual and historical identity of the

States which our forefathers carved out for themselves and handed down to us. If these interests can be secured, we make no further claims. If these interests can be secured without our participating in the common Councils of India, we have no wish to thrust ourselves in, simply for the sake of participation. If, as may well be the case, they cannot be secured, except by participation, we desire no greater measure of participation than is needed to achieve these ends.

Similarly as to the pace of the advance, if the changes which are decided on for British India necessitate changes in the relations between the Government of India and the States, we desire that such changes may be made step by step; that they shall be restricted at each stage to a minimum, and that the effect of each step shall be carefully considered before a fresh step is taken. Many of the changes which are adumbrated are, from the conservative point of view, in the nature of an experiment. The more fundamental the changes, the greater and more daring will the experiment be. There is a Latin proverb which teaches us that experiments should be made on subjects of comparatively little value. The States do not regard themselves as objects of comparatively little value (Laughter), and they are reluctant to be the subject of experiment, because the daring nature of an experiment, even its brilliant successes, are slight consolations to the object whose existence is sacrificed for it. We wish to know the nature of our destination. We are unwilling to set out for a destination hereafter to be revealed.

There are those who see in visions of the future a picture of an India united in religion, race, and creed, pursuing one ideal and standing as one nation without diversity of interests or outlook among its peoples. This

hope the future may bring true, but not the world of the present.

We desire that the interests of the present shall not be completely subordinated to those of the future : and we are not willing to surrender the substance of our position to-day, for the shadow of a position which we may one day achieve in a Federated India. We do not desire federation, if this involves the gradual disappearance of all that the States have stood for in the past.

I have one more thing to say. Rights and obligations are complimentary. They are the two sides of one medal. This is as true of the nation as of the individual. It is perhaps inevitable that, in negotiations such as these, the rights should be emphasised by one side or the other, and the obligations glossed over. Let us, I mean everyone here, recognise that every right involves an obligation. If we ask for rights, let us honestly and squarely face the implications of our claims. Let us strive, not in a spirit of bargaining, but in a statesmanlike spirit of compromise and accommodation to satisfy each other's anxieties, in the confident hope that by concessions to the fears or prejudices of the doubting, a rich harvest is to be won, for, by the confidence thus inspired, the ground is prepared for that spirit of mutual trust and goodwill, to create which is the real aim of all concession.

His Majesty the King Emperor reminded us, in the gracious words with which he opened this Conference, that "ten years is but a brief span in the life of a nation." These are weighty words which I hope will be pondered deeply by all who share in the decisions of our destinies. I have singled them out, not because I would have the Indian nation mark time even for a moment when the way is clear to go forward, but because I feel that

however rapid the pace of development, which the facts may admit, the distance that we have to travel is more than a day's journey. It requires stages for its completion. If I may vary my metaphor, the structure of a constitution is so massive that it cannot be erected on a fragile foundation, and it is in the laying of the foundations that the greatest foresight, caution and sagacity are imperatively necessary. If by the united labours of the experienced statesmen of our two countries the foundations of a worthy edifice can be well and truly laid, we can, then more safely hope that the youth of India may be left to complete the building.

The state of India to-day is such as to bring tears to the eyes of all who love her. It may be that in the inscrutable ways of Providence, she is being led through pain and travail to a future of joy and happiness. I pray that this be so. I am reminded on this occasion of the words of a great British orator, Edmund Burke, when the fate of another nation was in the balance—"I think" he said, "we ought to inaugurate our discussions on this subject with the ancient invocation of the Church of 'Sursom Corda'—'Lift up our hearts' ", and conclude my speech with some memorable words of his—"magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom;" and "a great Empire and little minds go ill together."

LORD PEEL

No one is more sensible than myself of the profound interest and importance of this Conference, and I think no man can contemplate without emotion this assembly here of so many representatives of India, with the Princes and the British Delegation, gathered together in this old Palace of St. James in order to deliberate on this question affecting the constitution and the future of India. Indeed, I feel in listening to the speeches of my old colleague the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as if I were back again, seven or eight years ago, to the time when we were colleagues in an Imperial Conference and when we battled together and fought together, I believe, not unsuccessfully for the further recognition of the position of Indians in the Dominions and elsewhere.

I think and I know that those gentlemen and others who know me, will not imagine that I am lacking in sympathy with the ideals and aspirations that have been expressed here and in India, and in whatever I say I am impressed solely by the duty of speaking courageously and frankly to the audience here. My hopes and views about India's future do not differ greatly from those who have expressed most passionately their own aspirations.

May I interpellate this, and may I say first of all how extremely interested I am in the last speech heard from the Maharaja of Rewa—how well he understood conservatives and conservatism. They hold on to what is best in the past, and they look forward to what is best in the future; and, at the same time, with a lack of arrogance

which, I hope, you will note. We do not claim to have a monopoly of all the virtues. (Laughter and applause.)

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made some observations about the interest of members of Parliament in Indian affairs, and about the very small number of men who control matters both here and in India. There seemed to be implied in his observations the suggestion that, while many members of Parliament know very little about India, there was not a deep and profound interest among the people of this country in the affairs and in the future of India, and in their connection with India.

Speaking in the presence of members of Parliament, I would not like to suggest that there are those outside who know more about political affairs than they do, but I do assure you of this—and it would be a great mistake for anybody in this assembly to form a contrary impression—that the pride of Englishmen in the history of their achievements and of their connection with India, and in the future of India, is deep and profound. Do not let any man go away from this assembly with the impression that the interest, the profound and even instructed interest, in Indian affairs is confined to half a dozen men in Parliament or in the Services.

I comment for a moment, if I may, on the observation made by Mr. Jayakar, because I wish to hang a remark upon it. His observation was to the effect that England's main interest in India is commercial. He said "There are 500 or 1,000 families who send their younger sons to India to make a career for themselves." Here again, though I have no doubt he did not intend it, I seemed to note a view somewhat depreciatory of those great Services which have worked for so many years with a selfless devotion to Indian interests and Indian causes. May I say that I felt

the Hon. Mr. Corbett, the Advocate-General) the toast of the British Empire:—

As a passive resister I discovered that a passive resister has to make good his claim to passive resistance no matter under what circumstance he finds himself, and I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire, as it is not true of any other Government. (*Applause.*) I feel, as you here perhaps know, that I am no lover of any Government, and I have more than once said that that Government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (*Loud applause.*)

The speech doubtless made a deep impression not only by the vigour and originality of his exposition but also by a certain consistency to his own ethical principles. "The right to rebel", as an inalienable right of a British citizen—that was quite a characteristic and rather curious vindication of the British Raj. And so we find in every one of his public utterances Mr. Gandhi familiarised his countrymen with his singular opinions.

ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS

Addressing the students of Madras at the Y.M.C.A., when the Hon. Mr. (now the Rt. Hon.) V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presided, Mr. Gandhi made his now famous onslaught on European civilization. He made it plain that in tolerating a foreign rule, India never bargained for foreign culture. We were quite content to have our own; and Mr. Gandhi argued that we dare not give up our cultural inheritance at the risk of our soul.

I am and I have been a determined opponent of modern civilization. I want you to turn your eyes to-day upon what is going on in Europe, and if you have come to the conclusion that Europe is to-day groaning under the heels of the modern civilisation, then you and your elders will have to think twice before you can emulate that civilisation in our Motherland. But I have been told, "How can we help it, seeing, that our rulers bring that culture

a little hurt at that observation? Like others, my own family has sent out many men to India, who have devoted themselves to the cause of India, and I think it a pity, when we are gathered here to talk about the relations of these countries, that we should say anything that would depreciate, to however small an extent, what I believe to have been the devoted services rendered by so many of my countrymen in the building up of India.

Anyhow, I can assure you of this, that no observation of mine will depreciate the services rendered by Indians to the Empire. (Applause.) I know, and I can speak not merely for a party in this, but on behalf of my countrymen, that whatever may be the constitutional issues, they feel most strongly and most deeply the contributions that India has made to the Empire, and they are full of sympathy with, and full of gratitude for the great devotion and the great energy which Indians, Princes and peoples alike, threw themselves into their great contribution to the War. (Applause.) Therefore, when we are approaching what is no doubt a very great subject, let us at least free our minds, if we can, from any idea that there exists, either in my own party or in the country, any indifference or lack of zeal or lack of sympathy towards the problems, which you gentlemen are here discussing.

Naturally, we must come down to practical affairs, though I myself have listened with profound interest and sympathy to some of the emotional appeals, that have been made to us, by the eloquent speakers who have preceded me, because I am not at all one of those who think that these matters can be settled by dry and hard legal or constitutional formulae. I am very sensible and sensitive indeed to the great part which sentiment and emotion play in the building up of human affairs. But, of course we

have to consider that the result of our deliberations may be embodied in a Bill and that that Bill is to be presented to Parliament for its consideration or for its criticism or adoption, and that being so, I think it may be my duty to say a word or two as to the attitude or the feeling in many Conservative circles towards some of the impressions they have formed, or which have been shaped in their minds by the happenings of recent years, because I want to pay the only compliment that I can pay to this assembly, the compliment of frankness, and I believe that any contributions that we can make should be not only sincere, but should be true as far as we can make them, so that we may join together, as it were, in building up on that basis of frankness and sincerity and fact the structure which we do hope to build.

I shall have to say a word or two on that in a moment but let me make a quotation from the Viceroy's declaration itself. I was very glad to hear the enthusiasm and applause with which our present Viceroy's name was received, and it is therefore with all the more confidence that I want to read out to you, to refresh our memory, shall we say, a passage in that address delivered on the 15th January 1930 to the members of the Legislative Assembly :

I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, provide a solution for the problems which have to be solved, before that purpose is fully realised. The assertion of a goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a different thing from the goal's attainment. No sensible traveller would feel that the clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey; but it is an assurance of direction.

I lay special stress upon those words, because I think there has been certainly in some political circles in India, though not mentioned here, a misinterpretation of them;

and they have regarded the statement of the goal as the same thing as the statement of the immediate purpose. Criticisms of statements as bad faith or breach of faith are often very easy to make, but, even though denied, travel far, and I wish to state here that there is no promise in that statement of the immediate translation into fact of the full measure of Dominion Status, and that it is pointed out there as a goal which may be attained in a swifter way or in a shorter time, if things go well with the political development of India, and therefore, while we are united on the goal, we may, as the Maharaja stated, differ as to the pace or rapidity with which we may attain that goal.

Now I have one or two things to say, if you will allow me to say them to you on the recent events in India, which have, to some extent, disturbed and harrassed and upset the more Conservative bodies or Conservative opinion in this country. I have to say so, because, unless we deal frankly with these matters, we cannot really form a conception of the attitude which Parliament may adopt towards subsequent Bills. In many ways, Conservative feeling has been deeply moved by recent events in India; it has been deeply disturbed by the great non-co-operation movement. Conservatives have never believed that non-co-operation on a large scale could be non-violent. They have never believed that the experiments already tried in India some years ago with unfortunate results could be tried again in India with more fortunate results.

They are harrassed also by an anxiety that, if we agree here upon some constitution, and if the representatives of India go back to work [it, there is a party, very strong party and an organised party in India which will, as it were, wrest the opportunity from the hands of those who are here, and will merely use those powers that are

granted for furthering their own separatist and independent ends.

We were told that that independence and those declarations of independence by the Congress were due to frustrated ambition, frustrated desire for further Self-Government. I am not going for a moment into the psychology of those declarations. I will only say that declarations of that sort of independence and separation from the Empire have been made. I regret that they have been made, but they have had some definite influence upon Conservative opinion in this country. Further than that, declarations have been made even about repudiations of debts, or in the milder form (but coming to exactly the same thing as far as credit is concerned) of an examination into the debts incurred by India to see that they have been properly incurred. One can easily see, and one knows, that had a most unfortunate effect among the commercial and trading classes of this country. It has given a shock to their confidence, possibly made them rather more conservative in their views than they were before.

We have had an observation about monopolies from Mr. Jayakar. I do not know quite what he meant by these monopolies. Referring to what would be done, if India had Self-Government, he said, 'Let me give them one warning—that they will not enjoy the monopoly they have, in so far as it is enjoyed, on the simple ground that in their skin there is less pigment than in mine.'

What are those monopolies? I submit that there is no monopoly—legal, constitutional or of any other kind—except that monopoly which is obtained by skill, by energy and by commercial success. I say advisedly that there is no single commercial operation in India, which cannot be undertaken just as well by any Indian as by any Britisher.

Therefore, I submit without fear of contradiction or challenge, that there is no such thing as a monopoly such as has been referred to. Then, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru told us that the Moghuls were conquerers and that they became domiciled. He seemed to draw some distinction between the position of the British in India and the Moghuls in that respect. What I am going to say is this—and our feeling in regard to this point is strong—that quite apart from any legal constitutional rights founded on Acts of Parliament our position in India, and our services to India, have given us a strong claim on moral grounds alone to be considered, a claim which I think has not been fully dealt with by any of the speakers who have addressed us.

I am not going to allude—because they are so familiar to you—to our achievements on the material side, our work in the destruction or diminution of famine, or the great works of irrigation, or what we have done for law and order and the whole machinery of government. All that long history of education in political theory has been, as I think many Indians will admit, one of the great contributing causes to the growth of that national sentiment, to which such eloquent expression has been given in this Conference already. Therefore when we are talking of the British position in India, let us remember that we have been there now a long time.

Do not talk of us, as one or two speakers have done, as aliens. Talk of us as those who have contributed greatly to the constitution and to the growth, moral and material, of India, as those who have won a place in India of consideration—of partnership, if you like to use that word on account of our previous service.

I want to allude with some—I was going to say hesitation—to the work of the Statutory Commission, because

we have been told by one speaker already that it has met with general condemnation in India. I assume that everybody here present has read carefully and pondered both volumes of the Report of the Statutory Commission, and really I am often amazed when I look at it that so little regard appears to have been paid by some people to that Report. I am one of those unrepentant persons who having read it and studied it, consider it to be a great contribution both in thought and report to the great Indian problem.

It has been treated, as in some respects it might be called, a very revolutionary document, and I want to make that statement good. Just take the position as regards the provinces—take the question of the proposed introduction of full self-government in the provinces. (A Delegate: Absolutely bogus.) I will come presently to the question whether it is bogus. These proposals, I submit, are very wide and far-reaching. What is to be done by these proposals? First of all, dyarchy is to be swept entirely away, and the councils in the Provinces are to be furnished with exceedingly wide powers over the great populations in these provinces. Really they are not provinces, they are countries. They are countries with 20, or 30, or 40 millions of people. Is it nothing that these wide powers are to be fully transferred to Indian Ministers whose laws and whose administrative acts will touch most closely the intimate lives of these millions of people in the different provinces in education, in local government, in health, in agriculture, and even in regard to the more disagreeable subject of taxation? I submit that a change of that kind proposed in the self-government of the provinces is more far-reaching than many have given it credit for.

Under these circumstances, is there really anything inherently unreasonable in proposing that, while the pro-

vinces are adjusting themselves to these new conditions, settling down, learning their new powers, applying the arts of government to these great populations, that during that time—not a long time perhaps—there should be no substantial change in the central government? I know that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said it would be strange, if responsible Ministers in the provinces were to be under the control of an irresponsible government at the Centre. Many Governors of Provinces will tell you that they are very little under the control of the Government at the Centre, whether responsible or irresponsible, but surely at this time of day, it is a little late to talk of irresponsible government. All governments, whatever their form, are very well aware of, and are extremely sensitive to, the opinions, the thousand and one sympathies and interests and movements of thoughts which govern them, as they govern more technically responsible governments.

Again,—I am still dealing with the rather conservative side of opinion in this country—take the question of police. Many must be aware that the transfer of the police is viewed with very great anxiety in many quarters, not only in this country but also by some of the Governments in India. While we have every hope that what was suggested by Sir Muhammad Shafi may come to pass, and that with agreement all these old difficulties and communal troubles may disappear, yet we must at the same time be well aware that, even in the last few years, we have seen most unfortunate exhibitions of communal troubles, and that there are some people who think that perhaps that impartiality, which European or British control over the police can give, may be of some advantage. Possibly conservative opinion may to some extent put too high a value on the length of time during which some

countries have enjoyed representative institutions, and may think that the habits acquired by those countries can only be attained by the long experience of years. It may be that they think that those habits must be deeply rooted before the full strain of self-government in a vast country like India can be thrown upon them. We have seen recently in other countries, where parliamentary institutions have been too rapidly set up, that they have failed and withered, because they had not the roots on which they might grow. We feel this not from any desire to delay in India the realisation of her aspirations, but because Parliament does feel, and must feel a tremendous responsibility towards India.

It is not by any means forgetful of its promises and declarations, but its long association with India has laid great responsibility upon it, and it cannot, therefore, by lassitude or easy good-nature telescope too rapidly the process by which self-government is attained.

As has been observed to-day already, it may be that Parliamentary Institutions in India are not a growth but a graft, and I have always been one of those who were not anxious for the too rapid development of a particular form of Parliamentary Institutions in India, because I felt that India itself might have a strong contribution of its own to bring to constitutional problems, and that it was a pity to stereotype too early the particular form which that constitution ought to take.

May I, before I sit down, say a few words on what I think is really the subject we are discussing—whether the future constitution of India should be unitary or federal? On the unitary point, I have not much to say; I can hardly conceive myself that, in a country so vast, so diversified and so populous, it is possible to set up or maintain what

is called a unitary government. You would have, I am sure, the centre of government so far removed from living contact with the peoples of India that there could be very little sympathy—that sympathy which must be established between the ruler and the ruled. I, therefore, incline most strongly to that federal idea which builds up units, of great variety, if need be, within the whole and which contribute to the wholesome thing of the richness and the variety which they themselves contain.

It might be useful to meditate upon the relation that could be established between the Princes and the States of India, and the Provinces. One would be impressed, I think, by the fact that some unity must be established between them, because, otherwise, one might see the Princes on the one side with their States, and the Provinces on the other side, moving in separate orbits almost, in opposite directions, not towards that unity which seems to be necessitated by the growing forces of civilisation with the practical application of science and industry drawing them together. This idea has been planted, has flourished, and has grown rapidly. With all respect, I should say that, in this matter, the Report of the Government of India seems to me to be somewhat out of date. It seems to contemplate the setting up of such a scheme as being a remote possibility in the future, but not, I think, in the present.

I feel—as I think has been indicated by some of the speeches delivered during these two days, notably that of the Maharaja of Bikaner which met with answering sympathy from other speakers—that this idea of some sort of federal union between Princes and Provinces has grown rapidly and has enlisted a large amount of sympathy from great sections of opinion. That seems to be a

tremendous gain, because it is very difficult to see how it is possible to get an organised unity in India, except on some federal basis. It certainly would be one of the most remarkable federations in history. You have had federal government with the grant of powers from centre to the units, and on the other hand units seeking to get more power. Here you would have the movement both ways, from the states and from the centre to the provinces.

Of course, many grave questions remain to be considered, the question of what should be the powers of the Central Government, and whether those powers should be equal as regards the provinces and the States, or whether as regards the States the powers of the Central Government should be greater than as regards the Provinces, whether on the basis of that, you can construct assemblies and constitutions which would give full play to the different feelings and claims of the Provinces and of the States.

We have listened very carefully to the claims made by the Princes for their States, and everyone will see that great problems arise in the attempt, it may be, to harmonise the interests in this way of Princes and of Provinces. I will not say a word about the "residuary powers"; that is one of those phrases so dear to constitutional lawyers, which may perhaps disappear altogether and be found to have been divided equally, or in some proportion, between the States and the Provinces.

I argue, therefore, that though many problems have got to be faced, yet so fruitful is this idea that it would be a misfortune, if anyhow some of the foundations for carrying out that idea could not be laid in this Conference; because what one is afraid of is this—that when you set up institutions in a country, they tend to gather round them sentiment, feeling, knowledge, sympathy and interest which,

to our Motherland." Do not make any mistake about it at all. I do not for one moment believe that it is for any rulers to bring that culture to you, unless you are prepared to accept it, and if it be that the rulers bring that culture before us, I think that we have forces within ourselves to enable us to reject that culture without having to reject the rulers themselves.

He concluded :—

I ally myself to the British Government, because I believe that it is possible for me to claim equal partnership with every subject of the British Empire. I to-day claim that equal partnership. I do not belong to a subject race. I do not call myself a subject race. (*Applause.*) But there is this thing: it is not for the British Governors to give you, it is for you to take the thing. I want and I can take the thing. That I want only by discharging my obligations. Max Muller has told us,—we need not go to Max Muller to interpret our own religion—but he says, our religion consists in four letters "D-u-t-y" and not in the five letters "R-i-g-h-t". And if you believe that all that we want can flow from a better discharge of our duty, then think always of your duty and fighting along those lines you will have no fear of any man, you will fear only God.

BRAHMINS AND PANCHAMAS

If Mr. Gandhi was plain-spoken in regard to his political opinions and in his views of British rule and foreign culture, he was no less outspoken in his condemnation of his own countrymen. In his speech at Mayavaram on May 22, 1915, he touched on social reform and uttered some home truths in that centre of orthodoxy :—

In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a class of people whom I would call "untouchables". If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself.

Are the Brahmins in Mayavaram equi-minded towards the Aryan and will they tell me, if they are so equi-minded, that others will not follow? Even if they say that they are prepared to do so and others will not follow, I shall have to disbelieve them until I have revised my notions of Hinduism. If the Brahmins themselves consider they are holding high position by penance and austerities, then they have themselves much to learn; then they will be the people who have cursed and ruined the land.

This was the beginning of a social controversy which has not ended yet. Indeed, Mr. Gandhi's social heresies

once they are started, are hard to bend away from the course on which they were started. Therefore, if we really do want, as I believe this great assembly does want, to exhibit its sympathy in practical action for these great constitutional changes leading in a federal direction, I submit that our minds should work in that direction—that we should attempt not only to do nothing contrary to the federal idea, as the Report of the Statutory Commission suggests, or as the Government of India's Report suggests, but we should attempt perhaps to lay some stones immediately on which that great federal idea can be built.

India indeed is amazing in the extent and in the variety of its resources, in the beauty of its scenery, in the contrast of its races and its religions and its peoples. I do not think it is merely a dream to suggest that that variety and that contrast within a unity should be reflected in the great constitution combining Provinces and Princes together in one common whole.

I have made some criticisms. I have to say something about conservative opinion in this country, about provincial developments and the question of development at the centre.

But I should like to affirm, in my last few sentences, that, at the same time there is no one who feels more strongly than I do, and I believe the party also, the vast importance of bringing India, sooner or later, by processes quicker or slower as the case may be, into its equal part in the great community of the British Commonwealth. I am not one of those who can see the British Empire, with its great constituent nations without India in it. I am certain the loss would be great to that Commonwealth of Nations. I am equally certain—I am confident that the loss would

be great to India as well. We cannot be of great use and service to each other. (Applause).

I say, speaking here to so many representatives of India, that the contribution which they can bring in thought, in knowledge, not merely on the material side, but on the spiritual side as well, will enormously enrich the content of what may be in the future the community of British Nations. It is the very variety, which we find in India, from the other Dominions, which constitutes the great attraction for the resources of constructive statesmanship.

In this strange world where, as we grow older, we are more impressed perhaps by the fleeting and the transitory aspect of things than by permanence and stability, I trust that this fruitful vision of unity may endure—and may endure so long as human hearts beat to the music of noble causes. All men's imaginations are stirred by high conception to great achievement. (Applause).

SIR HUBERT CARR

Mr. Chairman, it is obvious that the section of the British India Delegation to which I belong, approaches this question from rather a different standpoint to that of many of the previous speakers. I feel strongly, however, that although we are racially separated, we are united in a desire for the welfare and progress of India.

It would be absurd for me to suggest that we have the same impelling urge in that desire as those who are born in India but we do have a very sincere sympathy with that desire, not from any standpoint of superiority, but because we recognise in that genuine desire that which we ourselves would entertain, were we sons of India. I think—perhaps we all think that the keenness of the desire has led to India travelling faster than any of us had expected and we are inclined to think that she has arrived at the present point a little out of breath.

We feel that it is a most happy condition that we are drawn here to-day really to get away from the turmoil which is liable to warp judgment and really to look at the whole problem in the surroundings which have been laid for us here.

We are, of course, very largely actuated by anxiety that the present order should not give way to immature ideas which would lead to a breakdown. Everybody must feel the risks which are facing India, and little excuse is wanted, when one looks at the appalling conditions which happened from too rapid changes of government in Asia.

Much has already been said by Lord Peel which represents the views of the British community in India. I will not attempt to follow him, but with regard to the main question of federal or unitary government, we are united in believing that federal government, is the line which offers the best chances of successful progress to a united India. We believe in the full application of the federal principle not only in bringing the States and the Provinces together at the centre, but also in its application to other departments of government—finance, railways, and so on.

When we come to the question of responsibility at the centre, we are frankly doubtful whether that is possible at the present time. It has been said that given responsibility, many of the difficulties with which the present Government has to contend will disappear. I do not think experience warrants us placing great faith in that, nor do I think the remarks that have already been made here really induce us to follow that line of thought. It was said yesterday that that which satisfied India twelve months ago does not satisfy her to-day, that which satisfies her to-day will not satisfy her six months hence. I rather agree with that, but it does not induce in me faith to say that now is the time to make any great move. I should like to see further consolidation of thought in Indian political opinion as to what is best at the centre before any strong move is made.

There are several points which lead me to take that view, but I will only touch on them briefly, as I do not want to occupy your time too long. For instance, in the matter of dealing with disturbances and maintaining law and order, I have no doubt that the present Government and system of government is perfectly capable of taking care of the country at present. We do not advocate any

more than the most ardent patriot here, that the methods of force are the methods we wish to see applied ; but they are methods which may have to be applied at times, not only by the Government as constituted at present, but by any national Government of the future. It must be admitted that hitherto the Legislative Assembly has not proved itself ready to grant the Government such powers as they have often found necessary for coping with the the conditions that prevail in the country.

The talk about the repudiation of debt and the examination of national indebtedness, as has already been pointed out, not helped to inspire confidence in those whose future is wrapped up in India and we feel very strongly that any Government that is going to be for the good of India must retain not only the confidence of its own nationals but also international confidence.

I have mentioned some of the difficulties and considerations which build up our present attitude. It is not one of lack of sympathy ; it is not one of wishing to go back or to stand still ; we recognise the impossibility of that. But we do most sincerely hope for the fullest consideration of the schemes that are going to be put forward before any minds are closed to the possibility that pace of realisation is not the best criterion.

Our community are entirely unrepentent still as to the Statutory Commission and its formation. We believe that Parliament had every right and was wise to find out the conditions in India as visualised by their own members ; but, with that feeling, we were intensely strong that no legislation should take place before all schools of Indian thought had had the opportunity of expressing their views. That is why my community, when first the calling of this Conference was announced, immediately welcomed it as

ensuring that use of Indian experience without which none of us can hope to attain the aim we seek to achieve in the future.

As regards our own position out there, it is one of friendship and common interests, and we have welcomed the assurance as to the way in which it is intended to treat British interests in India in the future. It makes it easier for us to welcome forward moves in the political field, and we do welcome India's claim to a position in the Empire as a Dominion. There are admittedly grave difficulties which call for time to overcome, but we are proud as members of the British Delegation to face those difficulties with the certain hope that we are going to overcome them.

LIEUT-COL. GIDNEY

I address this Conference in a dual capacity, as an Indian in speaking for India and as a member of the Anglo-Indian community representing my views with regard to the future constitution of India. I should be indulging in a truism, were I to say that both the unitary and federal types of government have their good points. In the past, India has been ruled, and her present nationalistic spirit developed, under the stimulus of a centralised form of government. To replace this suddenly by a federal government is obviously a leap in the dark, the more so when one finds it connotes the close material co-operation of the Indian States. If we are to judge by ~~the~~ terms published in the Press on which these States would be willing to enter such a federation, their connexion with British India would for some time be more in the nature of a sentimental than a practical association.

At the same time, we really appreciate the willingness and desire of the States to join the federation and, on the assumption, that such a federation would soon materialise into a corporate body, it would be ridiculous for any one of us to refuse such an offer; and therefore, on behalf of the community I have the honour to represent, I raise my voice in favour of a federal form of government and welcome it as best for the future of India.

With your permission, Sir, I should like to go a little further and say a little more on this. In the creation of this federal government, this consummation of which no one here can foretell, I am afraid that, judging from some of the speeches I have heard, we have in a measure, by

seeking for a federal government first before stabilising our provincial governments, placed the cart before the horse. My conception of a practical measure would be to give India immediately complete provincial autonomy and when the provinces have stabilised themselves, allow them absolute freedom to federate with those States which are willing to enter into association with them, and so form a number of federated units which could eventually combine in an All-India Federation with a strong, responsible and representative central Government.

I am aware there are some States which will refuse to enter into this pact, and perhaps some special provision will have to be made for their affiliation with a federated India on terms acceptable to them. But, whatever the decision of this Conference may be, I am prepared to accept it, as a member of a minority community, for I am wedded to neither one form nor the other of government.

All I ask is that ample provision be made for the development of self-governing institutions in India and that we be given ample power to deliver the goods that we are manufacturing at this Round Table Conference; and at the same time I ask for the adequate and statutory protection and safeguarding of minority interests.

By that, I do not mean the sort of provision that already exists in the Instrument of Instructions in the 1919 Government of India Act, which no Governor has up to date put into operation, nor do I mean any authoritative directions from the Secretary of State. What I desire to express in clear and unmistakable terms is that all minority communities must be afforded full protection, be it by means of a Magna Charta or in any other way, and given a right of appeal to the Central Government or, if necessary, to some higher authority against any infringement by a

Provincial Government of this statutory protection, the Central Government being armed with adequate powers for the purpose.

This protective clause should in the first place prohibit discriminatory legislations against minorities; secondly, it should guarantee their entry into the public services, and thirdly, secure their adequate representation in all legislatures. Such a provision is guaranteed in other Dominions, and particularly in the constitution controlling the New Zealand Government. The stability of a majority Government depends on the protection it affords to the minorities. This was in a large measure overlooked, when freedom was given to Ireland, with the result that an Ulster was created to the permanent prejudice of a United Ireland. The demand for self-government for India has often been compared to the similar demand made by Ireland. Let us hope that in its attainment no Ulsters will be created in India.

It is true that in numbers we are one of the smaller of the Indian minorities represented here to-day, but our stake in India, our interest in her future destiny, and the part played by us in her defence, development and past fortunes, and to be played by us in the future, are in no way commensurate with the mere numbers of the Anglo-Indian community. In the first place, we represent in our very bodies that fusion of East and West, India and Britain, which in other Indians and other Britons can exist only as fusion of interests in politics and economics. If India is our Motherland, Britain is our Fatherland, and whatever may be the case of other communities, our loyalties are to both these great lands; in the connection between them we find our truest welfare, and in the growth of affection and union between them we find our

highest happiness and contentment. Indeed, we are your joint responsibility and neither party can disclaim its honourable obligation to protect us.

Moreover, small as our community is, it has played a mighty part in the making of British India. Its military services from the old John Company day to the present Great War, when we gave 80 p. c. of our manhood at the call of the King and Empire, is an unparalleled record. To-day Sir, we form 27,000 out of an auxiliary force of 34,000.

Modern India has been truly described as a creature of communications, and I claim that my community has played the leading part in making and working these communications, which are the framework of the nervous system of modern India. I go further, and say that, without my community, these communications would not have been developed as early or as completely as they now are. I appeal confidently to the history of India to prove what I am saying. In all India, there will not be found any community more steadfastly loyal, more industrious, more law-abiding, and, in a word, more fully possessed of the virtues of good citizenship than the Anglo-Indian community, and in pleading the cause of my people, I beg most earnestly that my kinsmen, Indian and British, will try to appreciate the value to the future India of such a body of citizens as we represent.

In the memorandum to the Simon Commission, this community asks for temporary economic protection for 25 to 30 years, after which it is prepared to sink or swim with the rest of India. During this short period it merely asks that the number of posts it occupies to-day in the various services be not reduced—that its educational grants be not lowered and that it be very liberally assisted with generous

brought on his devoted head the fury of a considerable section of conservative opinion in the country—a section which is hard put to it to march with the times. And yet Mr. Gandhi has gone his way, pressing his opinions in diverse ways with the persistency of a reformer.

Swadeshi industries and Swadeshi culture, or rather the neglect of these, then came in for severe handling, and he gave utterance to some unwelcome truths in the matter of leadership by example and by precept.

There are, I understand, one thousand handlooms. So much the worse for the leaders! (Loud applause.) If those one thousand handlooms are kept chiefly in attending to the wants of our women, double this supply of our handlooms and you will have all your wants supplied by our own weavers and there will be no poverty in the land. I ask you and ask your friend the President, how far he is indebted to foreign goods for the outfit and if he can tell me that he has tried his utmost and still has failed to unfit himself or rather to fit himself out with Swadeshi clothing and therefore he has got this stuff, I shall sit at his feet and learn a lesson. What I have been able to learn to-day is that it is entirely possible for me, without any extra cost, to fit myself with Swadeshi clothing.

Surely here we find the genesis of the great Khaddar campaign and the yarn franchise of the latter-day Congress!

These passages on diverse subjects culled from Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings reveal the mentality of the man as he was in 1915. The succeeding years have merely tended to confirm these opinions, and in many ways Mr. Gandhi has progressed in the direction of his own genius. It is remarkable that, in the light of subsequent history and recent experience, there is a singular uniformity, we had almost said, continuity, in Mr. Gandhi's original ideas. They have seldom been shaken by opinions however influential nor by all the vicissitudes of circumstances. This only brings in relief the firmness and tenacity of his convictions which have grown with the passage of years in the very direction indicated by his attitude to the varied problems that confronted him in the days when, like a

scholarships to enable it to educate itself and enter the higher services in larger numbers.

Surely these demands are not excessive, when one considers the great economic, military and administrative services rendered by this community to India and the British Empire. If this protection is refused, we sink ; if it is granted, we swim, and shall without doubt, play as great a part in the future as we have already done in the past. Indeed, Sir, I assure you that the decisions now being taken at this Conference are matters of life and death, literally life and death, for us.

Of late years, our economic position has steadily deteriorated. Nevertheless, so far as it is in our power, we are endeavouring to make it possible for the more promising of our younger generation to receive the education and training which will fit them to compete with the members of other Indian communities. But—and this is a point which I would ask all present to consider dispassionately—the deterioration in our economic condition is due very largely to no fault of our own, but to a deliberate policy on the part of Government.

The members of other communities are now in a position to undertake many of the duties which have fallen to us in the past, and particularly in that sphere of work which hitherto has provided my community with its main employment—I mean the Railways. It was inevitable, of course, that the competition of other Indians for the posts which we held in these and other services should become more and more strenuous as education spread, but we are suffering under the dread conviction that, as a small and poor community, we are being sacrificed to the demands of other more powerful communities, and I repeat again, not

communities whose attachment to India is in any more real or deep than our own.

If our experience of the past few years is to continue, indeed, I can see no hope for us. And there is another thing I want to say with all the seriousness and emphasis I can command, and it is this, the treatment accorded to the Anglo-Indian community, small as it is, but with a record of consistent and devoted loyalty to India and Britain will be a touch-stone by which the quality of Indian and British statesmanship and equality will be judged in the future. We can be dispossessed of all that we have, and truly ruined, and dispersed as a community. That can be done quite easily. But if it is done, it will be done to the everlasting discredit of the two countries to which we belong. I do not want to make a begging appeal to retain as privileges the Government posts and other benefits which we have enjoyed in the past by virtue of service, tradition and fitness; rather I want to ask if it is not possible to give us something in the nature of a "Bill of Rights", to embody in the fundamental document of the new Indian Constitution, a declaration with all the authority of India and Great Britain behind it, to the effect that we shall not be expropriated from our employments and the other positions, which we have created by our labour and our service, merely because we are partly Indian and partly European. In short, I want to ensure that a reformed India will not result in a deformed Anglo-India.

We are not before you as beggars, but as suitors in a just cause; an Indian community devoted to our Motherland but, it must be admitted, under some suspicion because of our unflinching loyalty and devotion in the past to our Fatherland. Our bitter experience has forced us to

the conviction that nothing less than that for which I am now asking will be of any use to us, namely, a solemn declaration in the fundamental document of the Constitution, that we shall be allowed full access to all the work for which we are fitted, and that we, as a community, shall be given the opportunity of playing our part in the future development of India, military, political and cultural as well as economic.

Sir, let me end on the note on which I began. My people and I are Indians, but Indians whose roots are deep not only in the soil and traditions of India, but in the soil and history of this country, where we are meeting to-day.

We are a synthesis of India and Britain as no other people are or can be, and I would like to remind my Indian kinsmen that it was a man of my own community, the great poet and statesman Louis DeRozio, who, more than a hundred years ago, long before any of the developments of modern days could possibly have been foreseen, woke from its long sleep the lyre of the Indian Muse with the noble poem, which opens with the stirring and filial declamation :

“ Harp of my land, which mouldering long hath hung ”
and ends with a touching appeal for

“ My fallen country, one kind thought from thee.”
and this is what I ask for Sir, a kind and generous gesture, and this is what I ask of my Indian friends, and this is what I ask of my Indian Princes, whom for a generation we have served nobly and well—a kind and generous gesture not, thank God, for my fallen country, but for my country resurgent.

H. H. THE CHIEF OF SANGLI

Mr. Chairman: I associate myself wholeheartedly with the speakers who have preceded me in their expression of sympathy and devotion to His Majesty the King, of the sympathy of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India with the aspirations of British India and of hope and faith that, in the solution of the issues which confront us, we shall be animated by the goodwill, patience and wisdom which His Majesty commended, and in doing so, I feel sure I am echoing the sentiments of those who no less than others are amongst the Rulers of States.

As regards the main question that we are discussing to-day, namely, whether the future Constitution of India should be unitary or federal, Their Highnesses who have spoken before me have already shown that a United and Greater India can only be created with the consent and association of the sovereign States of India with the Government of British India. I need not therefore deal with that point. I would only say that if federation be agreed upon, those whom I represent would be willing to assist in the achievement of that goal.

At this stage, it might be well to state in broad outline the problem of the smaller States. Their essential features are identical with those of the other States, namely, (1) they are not British territory, their subjects are not British subjects and they are not governed by the law of British India, and (2) the British Crown is responsible for their external relations and territorial integrity. They all manage their internal affairs and maintain their troops or police forces, except the very small estates and jagirs. For international purposes, the territories of these States are in the same position as those of British India, and their subjects are in the same position as British subjects. These facts

establish that their rights, and indeed their interests, are identical with those of the rest of the States.

It will thus be plain that the methods of All-India co-operation that may be devised by the Conference would apply to these States. It is true that some of the States—especially those which are included in the group known as estates, jagirs and others—are very small, and their cases will require investigation in order to fit them in the scheme that might be ultimately framed, in order that they might enjoy all its benefits in common with the rest of the States.

In this connection, I may remark that the importance of the smaller States is not to be judged by the size of individual units, but by the aggregate figures of their area and population, their widespread territorial distribution and their large number. I would ask this House to remember that, if a little over twenty States be excepted, no one of the remaining States has a population exceeding half a million: and yet they include in their number States which have as ancient a lineage, as proud a history, as large a jurisdiction and as rich potentialities of development as any other. They further share in the general political awakening, the stirrings of new life and new hopes or in His Majesty's words—"the quickening and growth in ideals and aspirations"—which characterise the whole country, and they are animated by the common ideal of being placed firmly on the road to the political stature which is their due. The fact that His Majesty the King-Emperor has emphasized the wisdom of paying due regard to the just claims of minorities at once shows his deep interest in them and inspires the hope that the legitimate claims of all States regardless of size will receive due recognition and that, at this birth of a new history, the foundations will be well and truly laid, and an enduring union of the States and British India will be brought into being.

FOURTH DAY, NOV. 19.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

Mr. Prime Minister : In rising from my place at this comparatively late stage of the general discussion, I feel I have somewhat of an advantage over the speakers who have preceded me. This is the third day of the general discussion which, I am sure, we must all agree, has greatly clarified our ideas. It remains, therefore, for me to deal with those points only which I think might be clearly brought out, in order to summarise what I take to be the general view of the Indian States Delegation.

My brother Princes have already laid stress upon the intimacy of those personal ties with His Majesty's person and throne, of which I and every Prince are so proud—ties which bind the Princes of India to the Crown of Britain. These ties remain indissoluble, in the truest sense, links of Empire. But I would point out that they operate in two ways. They constitute, on the one hand, a link between the Indian States and Great Britain. On the other hand, they constitute a no less important link between the Indian States and British India, since they bind the two halves of India, politically distinct though they may be, into the higher unity, which comes of common attachment to a common Sovereign. It is my earnest hope, as I am sure that is the hope of all my brother Princes, that the dual operation of these bonds will play its own great part in the birth of that United India for the achievement of which we are all striving.

I make no secret of my own belief that the connection between my own country and the British Commonwealth is one that has been designed by Providence for the benefit of humanity at large. India herself comprises within her borders no less than one fifth of the human race. If, as I hope and pray, she remains within the British Empire, as a partner equal in dignity with her sister commonwealth, there will result such a free and voluntary co-operation between East and West as the world has never known. What may such an alliance not achieve for the peaceful progress of mankind at large? The culture of the East like the culture of the West, has its own characteristic contribution to make. It is for us here to see that our strengths are jointly cast into the same scale—the scale of justice, of progress, of co-operation.

Like all my brother Princes, I have been greatly impressed by the eloquent appeal made to us by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, when he opened this general discussion, that we should recognise we are Indians first and Princes afterwards. May I, with all earnestness, say how readily we respond to that appeal? We yield to none in our devotion to India, our motherland. But may I also point out that by remaining Princes, we do not cease to be Indians. Our Order is supposed, in certain respects at least, to be conservative. I should myself prefer to say that we are conservators. We feel indeed that we are the conservators of a great tradition, of an ancient civilisation and of a proud culture.

At a time when the dynamic, machine-made civilisation of the West threatened to overwhelm much of our ancient Indian culture, it was the Indian States which proved themselves the conservators of the traditional arts and crafts.

It was within the Indian States that Indian talent, whether in the sphere of arts or of politics, for long, found their feet, and indeed perhaps for a time, their only scope.

It was within the Indian States, to speak of the past alone, that men like Sir Salar Jung, Sir T. Madhav Rao, and Sir Seshadri Iyer, discovered opportunities of self-realisation, of work for the motherland, that were not available to them in British India. And to-day, is it not the case that the Indian Princes can count, among their Ministers and advisers, statesmen, of whom the whole of our country may well be proud? I feel strongly that the Indian States have it in their power to make a contribution no less valuable to the Great India of the future, than the contribution of British India herself. Nor is this contribution confined to a historic continuity of culture, a proud sense of citizenship, a solidity of political institutions transcending differences of caste and creed.

The Indian States can contribute something else which until the millennium arrives, is no less important to the life of a country than the arts of peace namely, the capacity for self-defence. It is in the Indian States that there still flourish most prominently such organised military life and tradition as still exist in India, and I suggest that in the future, may be found amongst the most practically valuable of the contributions that the Indian States can make to India, and through India to the Empire.

Mr. Prime Minister, I believe I am speaking for my brother Princes as much as for myself, when I say we all look forward to the birth of a greater India; whether that greater India will take the form of a United States of India, we may know more clearly before this Conference comes to the conclusion of its work.

Our readiness to work for this ideal, and to facilitate its achievement, has already been made manifest; and I am happy to think that both His Majesty's Government in England and my colleagues, the political leaders of British Indian thought, fully appreciate the anxiety of the Indian States that India shall rise to her full stature within the British Commonwealth of Nations. I believe, and I am happy to think that my belief is shared by many, that the readiest and the quickest method of achieving this enhanced status and dignity, lies along the road of federation. For federation I am prepared to work, knowing that only through federation can the Indian States join with British India in the formation of the greater India which we all desire.

Here I think, it is necessary to be clear in our ideas: for it is not only the future of our own States and our own peoples, but the future of India as a whole that is involved. I believe that, at every step, we should reflect upon the immense issues concerned.

What do we, Indian Princes mean, when we say we are prepared to join with British India in constituting an All-India federation? Let me say first what we do not mean. We do not, we cannot contemplate, any severance in the ties which bind India to the Empire. The maintenance of the British connection is the fundamental assumption of our whole position. In the next place, we desire to make it plain that outside the matters of common concern, we shall preserve our internal autonomy intact without any interference on the part of British India, whatever the constitution of British India may be, just as the British Indian unit of the federation will be entitled to manage those affairs, which are exclusively its own without inter-

ference on our part. To put it otherwise, by federation we mean an arrangement entered into by us and by British India jointly, under which, while British India manages those affairs that exclusively concern it, and while the Indian States manage those affairs that exclusively concern them and while the Crown discharges such functions in India as are reserved to it, the Crown, British India, and the Indian States join together in a system which provides for the joint management and joint control of matters that jointly concern the two sides of India.

The task of devising such a system is not merely difficult and delicate, but involves certain assumptions that I desire to bring out. No federation has, I am sure ever come into existence, without the rights of the federating units being first precisely known. Now, so far as the Indian States are concerned, these rights are in some doubt.

Our own view, the view of the Princes, is that our rights are founded upon our treaties and engagements, that our relationship with the Crown is an ascertainable relationship, the terms of which depend upon the element of consent. The Indian States Committee has challenged this view of ours. Are our own legal advisers right—some of the most eminent Counsels in London—or are the members of the Indian States Committee right? How can we federate, until we know what rights and what duties we bring to the federation? When, therefore, we express our willingness, and, indeed, our desire to enter a federal arrangement, are we not entitled to ask that there should be a prior ascertainment of our rights, not indeed by executive action, but by judicial decision, by the decision of the highest judicial tribunal, to which His Majesty's Govern-

pilgrim from abroad, he travelled up and down the country in search of knowledge. Knowledge indeed he must have gathered in a remarkable degree, for he spared no pains to equip himself for the great task that lay before him, but he had also managed to impress himself more indelibly on the habits and opinions of his countrymen. Like all strong and original minds, Gandhi reacted on his countrymen with extraordinary vigour and the impact of such a mind on the tendencies of the age has been dynamic—altogether wholesome as some conceive it or thoroughly devastating, in the view of others. Whatever it is, the fact remains that his influence on recent history has been potent and decisive.

UNVEILING MR. GOKHALE'S PORTRAIT

Towards the end of May he was invited to Bangalore to unveil the portrait of Mr. Gokhale, when he made a brief and highly suggestive speech.

I saw in the recitation,—the beautiful recitation that was given to me,—that God is with them whose garment was dusty and tattered. My thought immediately went to the end of my garment; I examined and found that it is not dusty and it is not tattered; it is fairly spotless and clean. God is not in me. There are other conditions attached; but in these conditions I may fail; and you, my dear countrymen, may also fail; and if we do tend this well, we should not dishonour the memory of one whose portrait you have asked me to unveil this morning. I have declared myself his disciple in the political field and I have him as my *Raja Guru*; and this I claim on behalf of the Indian people. It was in 1896 that I made this declaration, and I do not regret having made the choice.

That reference to the garment that is not dusty and tattered is truly inspired! There is in it something soul-stirring that moves us to heights of great feeling as in the hymns and psalms of the poet-saints of Medieval India. Nowhere else have we a note of such pathos and grandeur touched with noble passion for humanity.

Later in the year Gandhi presided over the anniversary function at the Gurukul and spoke in Hindi on the

ment and the Indian States may agree to refer the question.

We feel that such ascertainment of our rights runs in no way counter to our desire for the higher unity of India but will indeed directly facilitate the formation of that federal arrangement, through which we believe that unity can best be achieved.

Again, it is impossible for federation to come about, unless those who are parties to federation are prepared to pay the necessary price. Sacrifices will be necessary; sacrifices by British India as well as by ourselves. Are we prepared to face these sacrifices? For my own part, I believe that we are. But let us be under no illusion that sacrifice will not be necessary. And while I do not think that there can be any question, for example, of our losing that internal autonomy which each State cherishes, I do think that we shall find the actual process of working out a federation, one which demands great unselfishness, great patience, great patriotism.

Are the Indian Princes afraid then of what the future holds? Speaking for myself I can answer frankly, that we are not. We are proud of being Indians, we are proud of our motherland. But we are also proud of the historic position of our States. We are fully conscious of the trend of thought in British India, indeed, I think that the trend of thought has, in many respects served to modify in some degree our own institutions within our States. At the same time, we believe it is not essential that lines of progress within the Indian States and in British India should follow exactly the same course. Each State, with its historic consciousness, should, I feel, seek its own particular form of self-expression, consistently with contributing to the higher purposes of the federation.

And may I here say, in all earnestness, that I deprecate even casual references to the possibility that the Indian States may be obliterated by the rising tide of democracy.

Mr. Prime Minister, the Indian States have survived many cataclysms; they may survive many more. In my view, it is just their strength and vitality, their sturdy vigour which has carried them through so many trials, which gives them their greatest value as elements in the future polity of India, and as links in those chains of common loyalty, common affection and common interest, which I pray may ever bind together Britain and India in the great British Commonwealth of free nations.



DR. B. S. MOONJE

I should like to begin my speech by expressing my heart-felt gratefulness to Lord Peel for the noble and courageous lead that he gave yesterday by saying that we should speak frankly and sincerely. He may be legitimately proud of having brought a contribution of sincerity to the business before this Conference, and for having paid this Conference the compliment of frankness. I can assure him that, in my speech, he will not be disappointed; he will have the most frank, sincere and honest views of a man who has proved his loyalty to the British Empire, even running the risk of losing his life in doing so, when he was a young man and comparatively unknown, and when he showed his loyalty in the actual fire of war. It is such a man who now speaks frankly and sincerely and may appear to be a rebel at the present time.

I should like to dispose of certain points which Lord Peel made in dealing with the speech of Mr. Jayakar. Lord Peel complained that Mr. Jayakar in his speech did not appreciate the services of the many young British people, who go to India and give their devoted service in the prime of their life to the uplift of that country. I do not know whether Mr. Jayakar appreciates those services or not, but, in any case, I fully appreciate the services which the British people give. I may give an illustration of how I appreciate their services. There is a farmer in a village who keeps a cow. He gives his devoted attention and his devoted service to that cow, so that every morning he may have an ample supply of fresh milk for his tea. I may also make a comparison with the devoted service

which a landlord or malgazar pays to his malgazari village. India is the malgazari village of England, and as such I appreciate that devoted attention is given to the malgazari village, so that the greatest resources possible may be obtained from that source.

Lord Peel also complained that Mr. Jayakar charged the British people with having monopolies in British India, and I was pleased to hear the definition of the monopoly which Lord Peel gave. If that definition is correct and if practical effect is given to it, then I, coming from the great Hindu race, have nothing to fear. Efficiency, competence, intelligence and capacity for work—if that be the test for the loaves and fishes of life, if that be the test for a man's worth to be known, I, coming from the great Hindu race, have nothing to fear.

Unfortunately, however, it is not that. Lord Peel says, "I submit that there is no monopoly, legal, constitutional or of any other kind, except that monopoly which is obtained by skill, energy and commercial success." I wish that were the fact. In the history of the British Empire in India, I wish it were a fact; for, had that been the case, I would be the last man to complain, for I would have no reason to complain. Efficiency, capacity for work, intelligence—if that be the test, no man from the Hindu race would ever have reason to complain or would ever have complained.

As regards the monopoly, I might bring to the notice of my friend, Lord Peel, something which was written by one of his own people, a life of Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, written by Mr. Martin. He gives a history of how the Indian shipping industry was killed and the present British India Steam Navigation Company brought into being. A Mr. Mackinnon went to India, without means,

as an adventurer, and was introduced to the Governor, who was told that he was a very capable young man, who would be able to build up a great British shipping industry in India, if the Government would only help him by a subsidy. "That is the man I am looking out for," the Governor said and a subsidy was given. Every help was given, and the British shipping industry was established, to the prejudice of the existing shipping industry of the Indians.

I should like to quote from the reports of the House of Commons. In 1839 a Committee was established by the House of Commons, before which a Mr. Melville gave evidence. India passed entirely into the hands of the British after the war which ended in 1818, when the Maharattas were completely routed. Some twenty years later, in 1839, Mr. Melville said before that Committee :

"If British India were a foreign country, a ship built there and navigated wholly by natives might bring a cargo of produce to this country and take back a cargo of British produce; whilst, being a British possession, a ship so owned and navigated is denied that power. The natives of India are excluded from advantages to which natives of all other countries are admitted; they are not only deprived of the advantages secured to British shipping and seamen, but even of the advantages possessed by some of the foreign nations."

Mr. Wilson, who is known as a great British historian, an honest man, and a sincere man, and one who follows Lord Peel's advice by speaking frankly, describes how the Indian cotton industry was killed.

He says British goods were forced on India without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the method of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor, with whom he could not

have competed on equal terms. He further says that had not this been the case and had there not been such prohibitive duties, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped at the outset, and could scarcely again have been set in motion even by the power of steam. That was the position of the cotton industry in India and that was how it was killed.

Now that it has been killed, Lord Peel comes and says there is no monopoly, legal or constitutional, or of any other kind, except a monopoly of efficiency. I wish it were so.

May I say a word about a monopoly in a sphere which is dear to my heart—the monopoly which is enjoyed by Britishers as regards commissions in the Army?

Up to ten years ago, not one Indian belonging to the fighting races, belonging to the races that established Empires, that again established empires and again established empires that are looking forward to the time when again they will establish empires—the sons of such races were denied commissions in the Army. Is not that a monopoly? Was the Civil Service not a monopoly? Was the Indian Medical Service not a monopoly? Was it based entirely on efficiency and capacity for work?

I wish Lord Peel would reconsider his statement and, as he has given us a lead in frankness and sincerity, would reconsider the position and give us a further lead in sincerity and frankness.

Lord Peel reminds us, and sincerely reminds us, and very gravely reminds us, that Lord Irwin, for whom we gave very lusty cheers, when his name was mentioned here, has never promised immediate translation into fact of the full measure of Dominion Status. I know it. I do not require to be reminded of it. I have not yet known any

British statesman say, "I shall take time by the forelock and be an exception this time to the rule of the British being always five minutes too late and doing a thing when all grace is out of it." I expected that the British people would rise to the occasion and say, when we come here to-day to give a frank expression of our opinion, "If you prove your capacity, if you prove worthy, immediate Dominion Status will be given to you." In capacity, in efficiency, it cannot be said that the representatives of the Hindus have been found wanting. (A Delegate: of India.) Yes. Hindu means all India. An Indian may be a Hindu or may be a member of any other religion, but in what I am saying now, he is a Hindu. I am glad the delegate reminded me of that. I am not an Englishman and therefore I am accustomed to say Hindus.

What is the present situation in India? Lord Irwin may say that he is not going to give immediate Dominion Status, and the British people may say that they are not going to give immediate Dominion Status. We are not here to know whether the British Government is going to give Dominion Status or not. We have come here, as a mark of long-standing friendship, as a mark of long-standing connection, to tell the British people frankly and sincerely—taking the lead of Lord Peel—what India thinks and what is the situation at present, so that you may exercise your independent brain and your independent thought and make up your minds how to proceed in the present situation.

The situation in India I shall briefly describe. There are Indians in the Civil Service, there are Indians in the Medical Service, there are Indians in the Military Service, and their wives and their sons and their brothers and their nearest relatives are taking part actively in the national

movement and are going to jail and are suffering all kinds of indignities and oppression. Young boys, young kids, young girls, young women, old women, old men—all are coming forward to express their heart-felt feeling that the time has come, and that India can never be satisfied with anything—less than Dominion Status or full responsible Government. I will come soon to what I mean by Dominion Status or responsible Government.

They are suffering all kinds of indignities and oppression. I myself went twice to jail in the struggle for freedom, in my desire to make India as free as any Dominion in the Empire. If further sacrifice is needed, this man will not be found wanting when the time comes, as he was not found wanting during the Boer War and during the last war. If I could offer the sacrifice of my life for the Empire during real emergency, I should be a thousand times more ready to offer my life for sacrifice for the uplift of my country.

British people think, and perhaps British Officers in India think, that they can put down the movement, that they can demoralise the people. They think that, by a display of force, they will cause all this trouble to disappear. The time has passed—I am speaking frankly and sincerely, and that time will never come again, when any show of physical force is going to cow the Indian people.

I have seen with my own eyes Officers with police and military, faced by thousands of people, children, boys women, men, who said "All-right, you do the worst, we are prepared to be shot down." While being shot down, they will run away, but when the shooting stops, they will come again. In the organ called *Young India* Miss Slade, one of the daughters of the British people, a daughter of Admiral Slade, who took part in the last war,

writes as to the ways of British oppression, how the British people are aspiring to kill the movement and how it does not succeed.

I shall only quote: "Lathi blows on head, chest, stomach and joints; thrusts with lathis in private parts, abdominal regions; stripping of men naked before beating; tearing off loin cloths and thrusting of sticks into private parts; pressing and squeezing of the private parts—the most sensitive part of a man, I will not name it—till a man becomes unconscious; dragging of wounded men into salt water; riding of horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground; thrusting of pins and thorns into men's bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious; beating of men after they had become unconscious, and other vile things too many to relate, besides foul language and blasphemy, calculated to hurt as much as possible the most sacred feelings of the Satyagrahis. The whole affair is one of the most devilish, cold-blooded and unjustifiable in the history of any nation." So says Miss Slade, the disciple of Mahatma Gandbi, the modern author of love, non-violence and truth. That disciple, an English lady, says these things. She has seen these things with her own eyes, and frankly taking the lead of Lord Peel, and frankly and sincerely and honestly says what she has seen.

This is going on in India at the present moment, and this has been going on for more than six months, and yet the movement has gone on. As I have said before, when shooting does take place, people run away for the time being, but as soon as the shooting stops, people again throng and do the same thing. I should have thought they should not run away, but let us imagine the progeny of the races which fought wars, which waged wars, defeated enemies, being disarmed, for the last 80 years

or so—three generations of disarmament! The Moghuls came, conquered India, defeated us, established their Empire; but it did not enter their brains to maintain their Empire by disarming the whole nation. It is this thing that has gone right into the bottom of our hearts. I could quite understand it, if anybody says if you have a rifle and if your opponent has a rifle, and then he runs away, then you can call him a coward. But cowards they are not, because these people, seeing that their own people are being shot down, return to the same place to do the same thing, simply because they have no rifles of their own. That is the crux of the situation. The pith of what I am saying is that if the British Officials in India think that this movement can be cowed down or submerged by any kind of repression, they are mistaken. It is impossible that that movement should be crushed. We have gone through it. My grand-father has passed through all these troubles before. We know in our history what a repression we have gone through before much more serious than the present repression. We have gone through that, and we, Mahrattas and Sikhs, standing together have withstood the most unimaginable atrocities that human nature could think of.

The sum and total of what I say is this. This is the parting of the ways for the British people and ourselves. We have been in association, according to my calculation, for about a hundred years, according to somebody else's calculation about a hundred and five years. It is this that has prompted me to come to this Round Table Conference against all the desires of people, against the condemnation of friends, with whom I have worked for the last twenty five or thirty years, against the assertion in private and in public that he is a traitor who goes to the Round Table

meaning of true Swadeshism, the doctrine of Ahimsa and other kindred topics.

HINDU UNIVERSITY SPEECH

On Feb. 4, 1916, he attended the Hindu University celebrations and delivered an address which unfortunately was intercepted. But the regrettable incident of which far too much was made, revealed the hold that he possesses upon the esteem and affection of his countrymen, for his version of what transpired was generally accepted. Since then Mr. Gandhi has been taking a prominent part in the building up of the Indian nation along his own peculiar lines. For, he teaches both by precept and by example. But he goes his own way, untrammelled by precedent, carefully analysing the criticism to which he is naturally subjected, holding himself answerable, however, to his own conscience alone. For he is of the prophets, and not merely of the secondary interpreters of life.

The same month he came to Madras and on the 10th spoke on Social Service to a large audience presided over by Mrs. Whitehead. On the 14th he spoke on Swadeshi before the Missionary Conference, and a couple of days later gave a lucid account of his Satyagrahashram to a large gathering of students in the precincts of the Young Men's Christian Association, Madras, the Hon. Rev. G. Pittendrigh of the Christian College presiding. He then went back to Ahmedabad to look after his Ashram. Late in the year on December 22, he made a remarkable speech on "Economic *versus* Moral Progress" at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, Mr. Stanley Jevons presiding. The address contains some of his most mature and thoughtful reflections on life, and, both in style and sentiment, is one of the most characteristic of Mr. Gandhi's utterances.

Conference. They say, "We believed that he was a sound soldier of his Motherland, but at the time, when the real examination-mark man comes up, at that time he was found out, and now he is a traitor who goes to the Round Table Conference."

I am risking all that thing. I am risking everything that is dear to a man's heart in this life, and for one thing : for the some little affection there is for the connection that has been established for the last 125 years. It was that little affection that made me take risks in my youth according to the promptings of youth in these days. According to the promptings of a more sober man at a more advanced age, I am taking that risk of losing everything that a man holds dear in his life. If I had looked at things from a personal point of view, what a simple thing it would have been for me. People would have said, "There is no greater patriot than Dr. Moonje at this time in India." But I have come here, and I am so glad that Lord Peel has anticipated the promptings in my heart to speak here sincerely and honestly and frankly.

Now that I have said all these things, what is it that India wants, and what is it that you are asked to do? India wants Dominion Status. India has an ambition of her own. India had, according to her own ambitions, established her own Empires, and of course, those who establish Empires lose Empires. It is not a very extraordinary thing to lose an Empire, because only those can lose Empires who have got the capacity to establish them. But India has, in her consideration, for the connection of a hundred or a hundred and fifty years, set the line.

The last straw is being put on the camel's back. Let us see if the British people have the courage to put the last straw on the camel's back before the camel's back

breaks. What is it that India wants, and what is it that we are asking you to do? We want Dominion Status.

I am not speaking from a constitutional point of view. When we meet in the sub-committees from the constitutional point of view, we can talk about it scientifically and constitutionally and historically, but here I am speaking from a layman's point of view. What is it that India wants? India wants to be a Dominion within the British Empire, so that India may also be in a position to own the Empire as its own. If I possess a house, I feel a kind of love for that house, I wish, and India desires, that in consideration for that connection India should be allowed to feel that the Empire also is its home. It is in this sense that I am using the term Dominion Status. I know that we are different from you as regards race, though ultimately you and we are one—we belong to the Aryan race. At the present moment, we are black people and you are white people, so perhaps you may think that you and we are quite different, and you may also think that, being different people, is it wise to give Dominion Status to them, so that they might stand up against you and sit on your chest again to-morrow, and might do something which will not be very pleasing to you. You might feel that. You have seen that past history of India. If that had been the intention of the Indian people, the history of our connection with the British nation would have been quite different.

There are people here who know that, three days after the Great War was declared, I volunteered my services, but, being over age, unfortunately I could not be accepted. Then I volunteered that, from my little Province, I would raise 50,000 soldiers for the war, provided that the racial bar and the racial monopoly in the Army was removed. If the mind of India had been different, you would not have

received that offer, but we said, "This is a time of emergency and difficulty for the British people, and it is not our comprehension of our duty and of our conscience that we should create troubles for the British people at such a time; they are also human beings like us. After seeing them through their difficulties, the God in them will be roused enough to see that our people, though black in colour, are the same as their own."

I have not come here as a beggar. It will be a good thing if you, of your own accord, would say "We offer you Dominion Status." If fear or suspicion may not lead you to make that friendly gesture, then I say we will not be satisfied with anything less than full responsible Government. I want to be as free in my country as an Englishman in England, as a Canadian in Canada, as a New Zealander in New Zealand, and as an Australian in Australia. Nothing less than that is going to satisfy me. That is one thing.

The second thing which I shall never tolerate is the saying that Indian people cannot defend their own country and therefore the British people must undertake the responsibility of defending India.

We shall be satisfied only with full responsible government. You must look at it from the psychological and physiological point of view. There are things which are known as foreign bodies. When a foreign body enters into the body politic, if the body politic reacts in a certain way, that foreign body may remain in the body politic isolated; but if the body politic does not react favourably, then the foreign body acts as a poison and poisons the whole body politic. Either absorb us into yourselves, so that we can say we are part of the Empire along with you, or we shall say "You are a foreign people, but we shall allow you to isolate yourselves." If something on those lines is not

done, it is not very difficult to prophesy that that foreign body will be a source of immense trouble, will poison the whole body politic, until either it is cast out or the body politic itself is destroyed.

It is for this reason that I have come here and spoken freely, frankly, and sincerely, and I am grateful to Lord Peel for having given me the lead. This is the frank expression of a man who has been known up to now as a patriot in his own country. Now he is called a traitor to his own country for having come here. I would commend to the British Delegation the amount of responsibility that lies on their head.

It is a question whether India shall be complementary to England or opposite to England. In the latter case, there may be constant warfare, constant trouble and constant repression so that there will be peace on neither side in India.

SARDAR UJJAL SINGH

Mr. Chairman: We are assembled here to find a solution of one of the most difficult and complex problems, which any assembly was ever faced with. We were reminded yesterday by Lord Peel that we should proceed with caution. I fully agree with the noble Lord that we should take all factors into careful consideration but we must face and surmount difficulties and not succumb to them. I need not repeat what many of my friends have already said about the grave situation in India.

I will only say that rapid progress may lead to some trouble, but hesitation and half-hearted measures are bound to lead to great disorder.

We cannot forget that India at this moment is impatient and restless to breathe the air of freedom. This impatience has led the leaders of the greatest and most powerful political party in the country to adopt means which we, I believe, sadly deplore. But we Indians deplore no less the present state of things with its breaking of heads and the sending to prison men, who in a free country, would have commanded the respect of the proudest nations. Both these methods are a counsel of despair. This unfortunate sad state of affairs in India calls for the rarest courage, wisdom and statesmanship of the highest order. In the success of this historic Conference lies the good, not only of India or of England, but of the whole world, for one-third of the human race in ferment cannot but produce uncertainty and restlessness in the whole.

Although the problem is difficult and its solution imperative, there is no ground for pessimism. On the

other hand, here is a clear indication of determination on the part of every section of this historic assembly to find a ready solution for it. By inaugurating the opening ceremony of this Conference, His Majesty the King Emperor has given practical proof of his anxiety to see the success of our deliberations. We should express our gratitude to His Majesty, not by words, but by the results which he expects us to achieve. The fact, Sir, that with your multifarious duties and momentous responsibilities you have been able to find time to preside over our deliberations is another proof of the determination of the British people to find a solution to this problem.

We, Indian Delegates, have already staked our reputation in the eyes of our fellow countrymen. We cannot—we dare not—go back to India without carrying with us the solution which will satisfy the aspirations of our people.

The Indian Princes, in their magnificent speeches, have made it abundantly clear that they are not only anxious to adjust their relations with British India, but that they are equally desirous to see India occupying her rightful position among the proud nations of the world.

When the best brains of England and the versatile brains of India are bent upon the solution of the problem, there is no difficulty which may not be overcome.

What is the nature of our problem? We have been asked here to give an expression of a limited character on the question of federal or unitary government.

Before expressing my opinion on this specific proposition, on behalf of the Sikh community, which I have the honour to represent here, I make bold to say that, from the point of view of British India, our immediate business is to obtain the substance of independence, a status of partnership in the British Empire and a full measure of

responsible government in autonomous Provinces under a responsible central government. If that had not been the main issue, perhaps the Conference would not have seen the light of day.

The immediate realisation of this desire is no doubt full of difficulties, and if there were no difficulties, we would not have been here putting our heads together and coming to close grips with the problem. Lord Peel said yesterday that the Simon Commission Report, so far as the Provinces were concerned, is a revolutionary document, in so far as, in the Provinces, diarchy is done away with and a unitary responsible government is established instead. I admit that the word "diarchy" has been taken away from the constitution but diarchy in substance is replaced in the official Members of the Cabinet. I do not desire to enter into any discussion at this stage of the various proposals, but with all deference I submit that no amount of autonomy in the Provinces is going to satisfy Indian public opinion unless responsibility is established in the central government. Representing, as I do the important Sikh minority I cannot shut my eyes to what realisation of full responsible government would mean to a minority.

If we were all to forget that we were members of different communities, and were prepared to sacrifice our communal interest at the altar of nationhood or nationalism, I for one would not have asked for any consideration for my community; but unfortunately communal interests are still dear to us and require adjustment in a spirit of give and take. The Sikhs—who were, I need not remind you, the masters of the Punjab not many years ago and who, since the British advent have maintained their military prestige in the various theatres of war in Asia, Africa and Europe, and who, during the Great War, supplied no less

than 89,000 combatant recruits besides 30,000 already in service, and who still constitute the most gallant element of the Indian Army—cannot remain indifferent to their interests. I beg of you not to ignore the just claims of a community which is to be the backbone of India as a Dominion. I need only remind you of the words of Edward Thomson, who has written a book on the reconstruction of India. He says that if the Sikhs remain loyal to a federated India, the North Western border is safe against Afghanistan, and if India remains a Dominion, her shores are secured by the British Navy.

I am anxious, therefore, to be assured of a rightful position for my community. In fact, the test of a constitution is the measure of security it provides for the minorities. But I am not without hope that, along with other difficulties, we shall be able to solve this problem, in a friendly spirit, with a common desire to see India occupying a proud position among the countries of the world.

The problems of defence and the maintenance of law and order were mentioned yesterday as the big problems which presented peculiar difficulties. I am of opinion that, with the solution of the minorities problem and with the introduction of a system of responsible government which will satisfy general public opinion in India, the question of law and order becomes very easy. Indians in general are more peace-loving than Westerners, and if their legitimate demands are acceded to, there is no reason why there should be any more disorder.

I admit that the defence problem is more difficult, but it is made more difficult, partly from the peculiar nature of India's frontier, and partly by the exclusion, until recently of Indians from higher ranks and positions of responsibility in the Indian Army. I hold the view that India cannot

be a full-fledged Dominion, until she is able to assume control of the Army, but that does not imply that she cannot have Dominion Status and responsibility in other spheres of Governmental activity.

The question of defence—and along with it the relations with foreign countries—can for a period of time be entrusted to the Viceroy, assisted by an advisory board of Indians; but to seek to remove the control of the Army from the Indian legislature and to vest it in a foreign body for all time to come is to postpone the attainment of full Dominion Status by India until Doomsday.

What is immediately needed is to accelerate the pace of Indianisation in the higher ranks of the Army. It is inconceivable that the right material will not be available, or that any peculiar difficulties will present themselves in providing non-British commands.

In spite of general disarmament and physical degeneration, for which the Arms Act in India is mostly responsible, the martial races in the Punjab like the Sikhs and Muslims and the Mahrattas in the South can still supply a valuable element for the higher ranks.

During the Great War, the Viceroy's commissioned officers gave proof of their capacity for leadership, and there is no reason to think that when Indians are given the opportunity of holding positions in the higher command they will not exhibit every capacity for leadership.

There is another question with regard to the Army which I desire to bring to the notice of this assembly. It is not quite clear to me why such a large garrison of 60,000 British troops, is maintained at such a heavy cost, apparently for the preservation of internal peace and order. One British soldier costs four times as much as an Indian soldier.

Sir Pheroze Sethna :—Five times as much.

A British soldier costs four to five times as much as an Indian soldier, and it is difficult to see why so large a garrison should be maintained for the apparent reason of internal peace and order. The Indian Police can well be trusted in times of disorder and outbreaks to discharge their responsibilities and duties honestly, and there is no reason why Indian soldiers, who are more disciplined should not be able to discharge their duties honestly and conscientiously.

The Army question, instead of offering any insurmountable difficulties, becomes easy of solution, if the dead weight of expenditure on British troops is removed and the Indianisation of the higher ranks in the Army honestly pushed through.

The problem of the Indian States has presented great difficulty, but is fortunately now nearer solution. With the acceptance of the idea of a greater India, united in diversity, and with the willingness of the Princes to join that federation as free contracting parties, that problem is nearer solution. While the idea of a federation, in which self-governing provinces in British India, on the one hand, and the Indian States, on the other, will fit themselves into a whole for the realisation of common ideals, in an attractive one, it is still an idea which cannot immediately mature. At the outset we can so frame our constitution as to leave the door open to the Indian States to come in, but in coming to a decision on the exact type of federation, we must not forget that India is now rapidly advancing towards nationhood. Nothing should be done which might stifle that process of unification and nationhood; we must guard against any disintegrating tendencies on the part of various units.

MR. GANDHI IN CHAMPARAN

Then came the Champaran incident which has since become historic as being the forerunner of civil disobedience. In the Lucknow Congress of December 1916, Mr. Gandhi, though pressed by some of the citizens of Behar, declined to talk about grievances of the labourers in the Behar plantations without first-hand knowledge of the real state of affairs. This he resolved to acquire soon after the Congress session: and in response to an insistent public demand, to inquire into the conditions under which Indians worked in the indigo plantations, Mr. Gandhi was in Muzaffarpur on the 15th of April, 1917, whence he took the mid-day train for Motihari. Next day he was served with a notice from the Champaran District Magistrate to quit the district "by the next available train as his presence will endanger the public peace and may lead to serious disturbance which may be accompanied by loss of life". But the local authorities in issuing this mandate counted without the host. For Mr. Gandhi, who had initiated the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa, replied in a way that did not surprise those who had known him:

Out of a sense of public responsibility, I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this district, but if it so please the authorities, I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience.

I most emphatically repudiate the Commissioner's suggestion that "my object is likely to be agitation". My desire is purely and simply for "a genuine search for knowledge" and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free.

Mr. Gandhi appeared before the District Magistrate on the 18th, when he presented a statement. Finding that the case was likely to be unnecessarily prolonged, he pleaded guilty, and the judgment was deferred pending instructions from higher authorities. The rest of the story is pretty

Nothing should be done, in particular, to weaken the authority or the credit of the Central Government, and for this reason, I am strongly of opinion that, after distributing as large powers as possible to the provinces to develop on their own lines, a reserve of power must remain with the Central Government. We must remember that, in deciding to have a federal type of Government, we are reversing the natural process, so far as the provinces are concerned. The federation of once independent States has usually been an intermediary process towards unification, but here we are trying to create separatist tendencies. History should be our guide, and we should evolve a type of system which may not be strictly unitary, but which is suited to our peculiar conditions and traditions.

The eyes of the world are turned towards this Conference. The fate of one fifth of the human race hangs on the deliberations round this historic table. The pledges of British statesmen are on their trial; the patriotism and good sense of various communities is to be tested. I only pray and hope that we may all rise equal to this great occasion, and that the fruits of our labours may lead to a happier and more contented India and to a greater England.

SIR A. P. PATRO

After such a circuit of words, praises and emotions, for me to contribute anything would only be wearisome and I am sure I should be trying the patience of this assembly if I were to make a long speech. My object this morning is to place before you certain business propositions derived from experience and the knowledge of the working of institutions which were inaugurated under the Montford Scheme, with regard to relations between the Provinces and the Centre, and what should be done with a view to easing the situation and for creating facilities for the smooth working of responsibility at the Centre and in the Provinces.

I have listened very carefully to the very instructive and interesting address of the representative of the Conservative group, Lord Peel. I appreciate his great sincerity and frankness, and he is speaking true to the creed of the great party to which he belongs. We are also in Southern India styled a Conservative party, and a reactionary party by a certain section of the extreme nationalists. As a Conservative party, we hold fast to the traditions of the past, and as nationalists we want to progress with all other political sections of India.

It will be interesting for you, therefore, to hear what the legislature and the Party, which I have honour to represent and to lead, has to say on the nature of the practical working, the defects and the difficulties of the system of dyarchy. It would be mere waste of time, however, for me at this stage to go seriatim into all the

defects and difficulties of the present situation. I will only picture to you briefly what it is that, from the point of view of the Party I represent seems desirable. I represent a party which consists, not merely of the intelligentsia of the country, but of representatives of the countryside, agriculturists and small landholders—all classes who have a stake in the country.

The Legislative Council of Madras, which co-operated whole-heartedly with the Indian Statutory Commission, has, in communicating the report of the Committee to the Secretary of State, resolved emphatically that any grant of political autonomy in the provinces will be a mere shell without substance, unless responsibility is introduced in the Central Government. The Justice Party, at a great meeting held two days after this report was submitted, has also unanimously placed on record its sincere desire that the next step in advance should be responsibility in the Centre, and that India should be placed in a position not inferior to that of the States which comprise the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I may also refer to another view expressed by this great movement in Southern India, Bombay and the Central Provinces, the Non-Brahmin movement.

It is the sincere wish of the Non-Brahmin Party, guided and controlled by experience and knowledge of the working of the institutions of the country, to have full responsibility at the centre, and a meeting of the All India Non-Brahmin Party, held in Poona and presided over by myself, has resolved that it shall stand for full responsibility at the Centre, subject to such safeguards for a temporary period, as may be essential, and that India shall be placed in line with the

other States which comprise the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We base this on the experience we have hitherto acquired. The system of dyarchy was acquired and worked with varying degrees of success in the different provinces. If, in any province, it has not worked successfully it is not because of want of capacity in the individuals, but because they refused to work a system or an organisation which did not fulfil their expectations, and which was so full of defects that they would not work it whole-heartedly.

That being so, I would submit to this Conference that the success of the dyarchic experiment in India has not been, as it has been represented to be, inferior to any other institution. We have worked successfully in India, we have gained experience and knowledge. What then is the next step to be taken, when we have proved that the dyarchic system has been successful, though it has been universally condemned by sections of people who did not dare the responsibility, who did not put their shoulders to the wheel and carry out the administration ?

Those who did not have the painful experience of working the institution are most loud in condemning the system. I am not one of those who think that it deserved such universal condemnation. Like every other institution, its defects are many, its difficulties are many, but it has worked successfully, as we have proved in the Madras Presidency. I would ask this Conference to bear with me, while I point out how far this system has been successful in improving the condition of the countryside and in helping the minorities and others. One of the great problems, which this Conference will have to consider, is whether the past can be taken as a sure guide for the future. We must test our conclusions and the facts. The Legislative

Councils all over the country addressed themselves to what is known as nation-building, Departments were set up which served to improve the condition of the people of the rural areas, the depressed classes have been helped and steps have been taken to see that provision was made for their redemption from ignorance and cruel injustice.

The problem of the minorities was not neglected. Every time, when questions relating to the rights and liberties of the minorities came up, the legislature stood firm and did not allow any injustice to them. In the matter of discriminatory legislation, by means of interpellations or resolutions, the House always protested. It was the same in the matter of finance, when the revenues of the Presidency were sought to be curtailed. I refer to the matter of excise revenue, when an attempt was made to deal with the problem of temperance. When the question was brought forward, the Council stood firmly for the policy of temperance and yet did not yield to a curtailment of the revenues of the country. While everyone sympathised with the advance of temperance, we felt that it must come gradually. I bring forward this illustration, because it is common among certain sections of the Nationalists to say that there should be total prohibition. Any amount of talk has gone on, and it has even been suggested that force should be used. Nevertheless, I give this testimony to show that the practical wisdom and the commonsense of the legislature induced members to stand firm in the matter. They would not be moved by sentiment and emotion, or by appeals to patriotism. They stood firm, and the revenues of the Provinces remained. Therefore, I state this, though it is an unpleasant illustration to show, that in any matter relating to the reduction of the revenue the Legislative Council proved true to their commonsense.

Now I wish to say a word in reference to what the noble lord, Lord Peel, said with reference to the people of India. It is not correct to say that the political shibboleth or the demands for independence or for the repudiation of debt is the desire of India. That is confined to a certain section of the people. Are there not political parties in England to-day who make the most extreme demands? Are there not political parties in the Dominions who take up extreme positions which you and I would not assent to? You may call it Bolshevism or Socialism or anything you like. There are extreme sections of people all over the world.

Therefore, these things should not be taken as anything that should operate to deter the progress of India towards full Self-Government. You should utilise these forces more profitably and harness them for the good of the people. They are symptoms of the great forces working in the country, and it will be high statesmanship, it will be true statesmanship, to control these forces and conciliate these forces and bring about constitutional changes which will keep them within the constitution. It may not be too late now to do that.

As envisaged in the despatch of the Government of India, you cannot take for granted the passive consent of the people for any legislation of any measure you take. It has been visualised in the Despatch of the Government of India that you must have the willing consent of the people if any measure which you are to take is to be successful. Therefore, in such cases, is it not desirable that you should enlist the sympathy and support of all sections of people who are now co-operating with the administration?

Again, in the matter of the relations between the Central Government and Provinces under the dyarchic

system many difficulties were experienced. But we overcame the obstacles in the way and affairs were managed efficiently and satisfactorily as was proved by the testimony of British statesmen. To prove how effective they are, I would lay before you facts relating to the internal peace and order which has been maintained during the last ten years. In every Province there were disorders, how did the legislatures deal with the matter? Money was expended by the sanction of the Governor-in-Council to maintain peace, and the legislatures co-operated. Responsible and non-responsible Ministers acted in union in the matter of maintaining law and order. Both in law and order, in the matter of discriminatory legislation, in paying attention to the rights and liberties of minorities the legislatures have proved themselves equal to their task. They have gained experience, and they have gained knowledge of what to do in order that that experience may be utilised in the future.

Remember, that whatever may be the changes decided upon here, whatever may be the constitution framed for the future, we of the agricultural classes expect that the aim and end of every constitutional change will be to improve the lot and the life of the cultivator, the agriculturist, and the small industrialist.

If you do not keep in view this aim, and if you only provide for the intelligentsia of the country, you will be sorry for having had anything to do with the modification of the constitution in India. We have vast masses of people to deal with, not a few educated classes. Therefore, your reconstruction of the constitution must be consistent with and in co-operation with a spirit of helpfulness to the great masses of India. Please remember that the end and aim of every constitutional change should be to improve the lot and the life of the agriculturist in India.

I would like to remind you that the position in the countryside is not as it was ten years ago. I will not take up time by describing fully to you the position, but I have travelled over all the provinces and visited individually many villages to test the real feeling. To-day there is a great awakening in my community, the community of agriculturists. You could not have imagined ten years ago that there would be such a transformation worked in the villages by the franchise. The organisation set up have had an educative influence and have made the villagers self-reliant. The work of the local bodies, wherever they exist have awakened people to the consciousness of their rights and their liberties and they are working to make those institutions successful and sufficient. In the taluks, you find boards of various kinds doing an immense work to rouse the people to self-consciousness and to enable them to manage their own affairs. There are Boards and Councils, Education Boards and numerous other institutions which are, day in and day out, teaching the people, placing before them their duties and responsibilities, and to-day you will not find a single report which condemns wholesale the valuable work of self-Government that is being carried on in the provinces, the districts and the villages.

I have one more word to say. Judging by British standards, you may ask what is the percentage of attendance, what is the percentage of voters at the polls, and how are the elections conducted? I do not want to go into details. It is sufficient for me to say that to-day there is an interest taken in the election of the Legislative Councils, that you will find that the members of the Councils in most cases are looking forward to the influence of the ballot box. The ballot box controls the destinies of the British Government here to-day. It is beginning to

control affairs in India. So there is this feeling in the country that the people are beginning to manage their own affairs. Why you should refuse to give opportunities for the people to manage their own affairs in the provinces and at the centre I cannot understand. It may be necessary, as my Hon. friend Sir Mubammad Shafi said, to place temporary restrictions—those are details to be considered later—but I do say that you should trust the people who have been able to work well in co-operation in the past. I do not agree with those who hold that there should be revolution in the country.

I believe, and my party believes, in evolution. We say that the introduction of responsible Government at the centre is not a revolution but is a step towards what we ask for—full responsible Government later on. It is a step necessary and essential.

MR. MUHAMMAD ALI

Mr. Chairman: My friend Dr. Moonje, has explained his position as to how he has been called a traitor to his country. I think we are bracketed together here again. As he knows very well, on the day when he and I were to depart from India, black flags were flown to wish us Godspeed, and the wishes of people with whom we had been working all these years were that the boat "Viceroy of India" might prove very unseaworthy. Even when I came to this country, one newspaper in England, which I have helped to stabilise financially, I am very glad to see it has a million sale to-day—the *Daily Herald*, published my photograph and called me a convert—I suppose a convert from patriotism to treachery. There is in Parliament, besides the Conservative Peer, who spoke yesterday frankly and sincerely, another very Conservative gentleman who was my tutor, my Professor at Oxford, Sir Charles Oman, and it is from his history that I quote one short sentence which was one of the questions asked us in the Indian Civil Service Examination, for which I appeared and failed: "The Saracen alone it was impossible to convert." I do not claim to have in me orient blood like all the white people here and Dr. Moonje. I have the blood in me which my Lord Reading (who sent me to prison) perhaps has running in his veins. I am a Semite, and if he has not been converted from Zionism nor am I converted from Islam, and my anchor holds. I am the only person belonging to my party who has been selected by His Excellency the Viceroy, or the Government of His Majesty here, or whoever it is who

familiar. The higher authorities subsequently issued instructions not to proceed with the prosecution, while a Commission of Enquiry was at once instituted to enquire into the conditions of the Behar labourers with Mr. Gandhi as a member of that body. As usual, Mr. Gandhi worked in perfect harmony with the other members, and though with the findings of his own private enquiry he could have raised a storm of indignant agitation against the scandals of the plantations, he refrained from using his influence and knowledge for a merely vindictive and vainglorious cry. He worked quietly, with no thought of himself, but absorbed in the need for remedial measures; and when in December 1917 the Champaran Agrarian Bill was moved in the Behar Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Maude made a frank statement of the scandals which necessitated an enquiry by a Commission, and acknowledged Mr. Gandhi's service in handsome terms:—

It is constantly asserted, and I have myself often heard it said, that there is in reality nothing wrong or rotten in the state of affairs; that all concerned are perfectly happy so long as they are left alone, and that it is only when outside influences and agitators come in, that any trouble is experienced. I submit that this contention is altogether untenable in the light of the history of the last fifty years. What is it we find on each individual occasion when fresh attention has been, at remarkably short intervals, drawn once more to the conditions of the production of the indigo plant? We do not find on each occasion that some fresh little matter has gone wrong which can be easily adjusted, but we find on every occasion alike that it is the system itself, which is condemned as being inherently wrong and impossible, and we see also repeated time after time the utter futility of bringing the matter to any lasting or satisfactory settlement by the only solutions that have so far been attempted, namely, an enhancement of the price paid for indigo and a reduction of the tenant's burden by reducing the limit of the proportion of his land which he would be required to ear-mark for indigo cultivation. Repeatedly, those expedients have been tried—repeatedly they have failed to effect a lasting solution, partly because they could not be universally enforced, but chiefly because no thinking can set right a system which is in itself inherently rotten and open to abuse.

appoints these wonderful Delegates. Whose Delegates we are we do not know. I do not pretend to represent anybody, but I will say this much, and I feel certain that when you have heard me—I hope patiently—you will say that I am not misrepresenting myself, and I think that should be enough. In politics there is too much misrepresentation, even of oneself.

Yesterday, appeals were being made to me, because I am a fighting man, by the lady friends with whom I travelled, that I should answer Lord Peel. I said, "No, the answer must come from you still more conservative than Lord Peel" (Laughter). I will only quote to Lord Peel from an English poet, as I did when we were going through the lobby. I said, "I hope your Lordship is a Conservative and will remain a Conservative, because the only definition that I read of a Conservative was in Tennyson, who said, 'He is the best Conservative who lops the mouldered branch away'". I think those ideas which he expressed very sincerely and frankly really represent the mouldered branch which should be lopped away. This is my only answer to him.

As regards the other Conservatives, our own Princes from India, as regards His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Rewa, I am not quite sure about his conservatism. If he takes Burke to be a Conservative, and quotes him at the end of his speech, I would say, "Be a Conservative and stick to it; small minds and large empires go ill together." If the British Empire—call it Empire, call it Commonwealth of Nations, whatever you choose to call it I do not care—if the British Empire desires to remain big, the small minds that have been visible and audible only too long must disappear (Applause). If you had followed Burke, you would not have lost America, and you would not be talking

of parity to-day. There will be talk of much more charity. And you would not have all those debts to pay. You would not have all that worry. You would not have to go to Geneva to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. How long that preparation is going to take, Heaven only knows. All these things come in, because you forgot your greatest politician, your greatest statesman, who was the man who in the House of Commons was called the "dinner bell", because when Burke got up to speak, you all left and went to the dining room.

You still do that to people who are like Burke, and I therefore say, and I quote him once again—"Men, not measures." I do not care what constitution you have, but if you have got one man in England who is a real man — "Oh God, for a man of heart and head like some of the simple great ones gone for ever and ever by!" autocrat democrat, aristocrat—I care not what you call him—one who can rule and dare not lie, I hope my old friend, Mr. MacDonald, will at least prove the man to rule, and that he would not dare to lie to his own party, to his own conscience, to his own dead wife and to his living country; and if you people of all parties assist him, we shall make history. But, even more than that, I trust my old friend Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. I, a republican, make this concession, that I place my trust in the man—I call him a man, because a man's a man for a that—who inaugurated this ceremony in the Gallery of the House of Lords whose name is George. Whether you call him His Majesty, or whatever you call him, he is a man, (Cheers.) He knows India better than any of his Ministers, past or present, and I am looking up to him to do justice to the 320 millions, who constitute one-fifth of the whole of humanity, and

I am strengthened in that belief by the wonderful patriotism shown by the Princes arrayed over there—the Conservative element of India. It must be a revelation to my Lord Peel and to my Lord Reading, it is no revelation to me. I am again a unique person. While I am a British subject, yet I was being excluded from the Indian Civil Service Examination, because they said I was not a natural-born British subject. Provisionally, they admitted me, and when the evidence from my mother came in they admitted me, but I happen also to be the subject of an Indian State, and probably in that respect I am a unique person. I was born in a State, I have served in a State, I have served in another State—my master is here; I ate his salt for seven years—and when I was dying two years ago, it was an Indian Prince who sent me at his own cost his own doctor here. When I was supposed to be going to die once more at Simla, it was a friend whom I was about to take as a private tutor, the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal, who exercised the truest hospitality, which the British are not yet exercising—he turned his guest-house into a hospital for me. The British will be extending their hospitality to me, if they make me a free patient in every hospital that there is (Laughter). When I was sent to Simla to the hospital, I made a judicious separation between two fiancées, a lady on one side and a military officer on the other, who were to be married very shortly. Both were ailing. The lady asked, when she saw an Indian coming into the quarters, “What is this old man ailing from?” The Doctor said, “Tell me what the old man is not suffering from”—a man with my dilated heart, with my blindness and what not? With my gangrene foot, with neuritis, with this huge bulking foot through oedema, with an albumen area and the whole long

list that I could give you, if Colonel Gidney would not think I was becoming his rival as a medical man. I would not have travelled seven miles, let alone have come seven thousand miles on land and sea because, as the *Daily Herald* puts it, I am a convert from a rebel against the Government, I have become a traitor to my country and I am now working with the Government. I say I can work even with the devil, if it is to be work for the cause of God.

I hope you will forgive this long introduction about my health and ailments and all sorts of things, but the fact is that to-day the one purpose for which I come is this—that I want to go back to my country only if I can go back with the substance of freedom in my hand. Otherwise I will not go back to the slave country, I would prefer to die, in a foreign country; and so long as it is a free country you will have to give me a grave here.

I begin with the Conservatives by thanking them. When I met Mr. Baldwin at the dinner which the Government hospitality provided for us, when I was really very ill and ought to have been in bed, I was watching for the cherrywood pipe, and, thank God, it came out. So I went up to Mr. Baldwin and I said, "In two ways you have made history. Although a Conservative belonging to a party of the so-called idle rich, you have at least been human enough to establish this rule, that where only Coronas could be smoked, an honest man could bring out his shag, put it into a cherrywood pipe, as I used to do at Oxford, and smoke it." But he has done another historic thing. He has sent out a Conservative Viceroy of the type of Lord Irwin. If any man has saved the British Empire to-day, it is that tall, thin Christian. If Lord Irwin was not there to-day, Heaven only knows what would have happened. At least I would not be the com-

rade I am supposed to be. We should not have been at this Round Table. It is for the sake of peace, friendship and freedom that we have come here, and I hope we shall go back with that. If we do not, we go back into the ranks where we were before. You may call us traitors to the country. You may call us rebels or outlaws.

I have said something about His Excellency Lord Irwin, but I do not wish to associate myself with his government. The only good point about their despatch is that it has provided us with another historic document. The Simon Commission's Report is not the only document we have to consider. The despatch is a most disappointing document. The best thing we can do is to create our own documents here. The best hearts and the best brains of two big countries are assembled here. Many who ought to have been here are still in gaol in India. Mr. Jayakar, Sir Tej Saprú, and I tried our hands at peace-making with the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, but we failed. I hope we will not fail, when we go back to our country this time, to carry with us the substance of freedom.

Lord Peel said, "Oh yes, but when you go back to your country with a constitution such as you want, those people who are not co-operating will wrest it from your hands." Wrest it! When I can fight the British, I can fight the Indians too. But give me something to fight for. Do not let me have to take back from here a charter of slavery and then expect me to fight my own people. I could not do it, and if I tried to do it, I should fail. But with freedom in our hands, I would gladly go back to those in whose name my friend Mr. Jayakar spoke. He claimed to speak for Young India. I think he knows that, although a much older Indian, I am a young man in

heart, in speed, in temperament and in fighting. I was non-co-operating, when Mr. Jayakar was still practising in the Law Courts. Anyhow, he was not in gaol with me. My brother and I were the very first to be sent to gaol by Lord Reading. I bear no grudge, but I want the power, when Lord Reading does wrong, also to send him to gaol.

I have not come to ask for Dominion Status. I do not believe in the attainment of Dominion Status. The one thing to which I am committed is complete independence.

In Madras in 1927 we passed a resolution making that our goal. In 1928, in the Convention of our Parties, a report was moved, one of the very first clauses of which was about Dominion Status. Even my old Secretary, the President of the Congress to-day, was kept down by his father. There is a Persian proverb which says, "Do not be a younger brother." In the case of him, I would say "Be a cat, do not be the son of your father." I got up in his place, when he could not speak for complete independence, and I opposed the clause dealing with Dominion Status. In 1926, I would not make it my creed, because once we make it our creed in the Congress, we cannot admit anybody else into the Congress, who does not hold the creed. I would like to keep the door open for negotiation. I would not like to slam the door in the face of anybody.

His Excellency Lord Irwin, a Conservative Viceroy, was the man on the spot. When we came to London we heard that everybody was appealing to "The man in the street". Whether the man in the street is ever heard or not, I do not know, but Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook talk about the man in the street. In India, it is always "The man on the spot." The man on the spot came

here and he talked to the man in the street. They brought round Mr. Baldwin; they brought round the Conservatives; they brought round everybody, and made the announcement that Dominion Status was meant when in 1917 they said "Responsible Government". That cleared the fog which had been created in a very memorable meeting of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1924 by the Officer-in-charge of the Home Department at the time, who I am glad, is present to-day.

As I said two or three days ago, India has put on 50—league boots. We are making forced marches, which will astonish the world and we will not go back to India, unless a new Dominion is born.

If we go back to India without the birth of a new Dominion, we shall go back to a lost Dominion. We shall go back to an America. Then you will witness, not within the British Commonwealth or the British Empire, but outside it, with the Indian Princes, Dr. Moonje, with Mr. Jayakar, with myself and my brother, a free and United States of India. It will be something more than that. As I wrote shortly after leaving Oxford long years ago, in India we shall have something better than an America, because we shall not only have a United States, but we shall have united faiths. Not like to like, but like in difference; self-reverent each and reverencing each; distinct in individualities but like each other even as those who love.

It is with these passions surging in our hearts that we have come here. It now depends upon our Conservative friends, upon our Radical friends, upon our Labour friends and still more upon the one man whom I trust more in England than anybody else—His Majesty King George, the grandson of Victoria the Good, whose love for India nobody dare deny. Her whole life was the Magna Charta of

India, and in her grandson's time history will be written :—
George III lost America. George V won India.

We are told that there are difficulties. It is said "Look at the States". But I come from the States. Then there is the Army. It is the biggest indictment against Great Britain that the Army is not ours to-day, and if you ever use that excuse of the Army, you will condemn yourselves out of your own mouths. Let me tell you frankly and honestly, but in a friendly way, that your greatest sin was the emasculation of India. (Hear, hear).

I am glad to hear my friend say "Hear, hear". I was very sorry to hear him talk about our people being fired upon and running away. We have 320,000,000 of people. When they can afford to die in millions from famine and from plague, surely they can afford to die from British bullets too. That is the lesson which Gandhi wanted to teach us, and that is the lesson which we must learn now. In 1913 I was in this country when Gandhi was leading his movement in South Africa. Mr. G. K. Chesterton presided at a meeting in the Essex Hall, and he called upon me to speak. Other speakers had spoken of Gandhi's new philosophy. I said "Please understand one thing about that." Whether it is his philosophy or mine, it is the human philosophy. Nobody wins in a battle. There is merely the will to kill. In India we have not the power to kill, but the moment we develop the will to die, numbers will tell. 320,000,000 of people cannot be killed. There is no mechanization for which you can find money which can kill 320,000,000 people. Even if you have got that mechanization, even if you have got the material, you have not the morale to dare to kill 320,000,000 people. We must have in us the will to die for the birth of India as a free and united nation.

The real problem which is upsetting us all the time has been the third problem—the Hindu-Moslem problem, But that is no problem at all. The fact is that the Hindu-Moslem difficulty like the Army difficulty, is of your own creation. But not altogether.

It is the old question of divided rule. The moment we decide not to be divided you will not be able to rule. With this determination, we have come here. Let me assure every British man and woman who thinks of shaping our destinies that the only quarrel between the Hindu and the Moslem to-day is a quarrel that the Moslem is afraid of Hindu domination. I want to get rid of that fear.

The very fact that Hindus and Moslems are quarrelling to-day shows that they will not stand British domination for one single minute. That is the point to grasp. British domination is doomed over India. Is our friendship doomed also?

My brother took service under the Government, for 17 years, but he did one thing for me. He sent me to Oxford. He was always taunting me in my non-co-operation days by saying, "You have a soft heart for that place called Oxford". I must admit that I had. I spent four years there, and I always carry with me the most pleasant recollections of that time and I want to keep that feeling. But I can taunt my brother. When he was being tried at Karachi—when the Jury let us off, and there was a British jurymen among them; they voted for our release because we were such sporting lot—he said, "Even if it becomes my duty to kill the first Englishman I come across, if he happens to have blue eyes my knife will not work, because I shall think of the eyes of Theodore Beck, my late Principal at my College."

Therefore, even if British domination is doomed—and it must be killed here—do not let us kill British friendship. We have a soft corner in our hearts for Great Britain.

One word as to the Mussulman position. Many people in England ask us why this question of Hindu and Mussulman comes into politics and what it has to do with these things. I reply, "It is a wrong conception of religion that you have; it is not dogma; it is not ritual; religion, to my mind, means the interpretation of life." I have a culture, a polity, a synthesis of life which is Islam. Where God commands, I am a Mussulman first, a Mussulman second and a Mussulman last, and nothing but a Mussulman. If you ask me to enter into your Empire or into your nationalism by leaving that synthesis, that polity, that culture, that ethic, I will not do it. My first duty is to my Maker, not to H. M. The King nor to my companion Dr. Moonje; my first duty is to my Maker, and that is the case with Dr. Moonje also. He must be a Hindu first and I must be Mussalman first, so far as that duty is concerned.

But where India is concerned, where India's freedom is concerned, where the welfare of India is concerned, I am an Indian first, an Indian second, an Indian last and nothing but an Indian.

I belong to two circles of equal size but which are not concentric. When we came to England in 1920 at the head of the Khilafat Delegation, my friends said, "You must have some sort of a badge." I decided to have a badge with two circles on it. In one circle was the word "India; in the other circle was Islam, with the word "Khilafat" and the word "India." "India" came in both circles. We are not nationalists; the Mussalmans say that God made Man and the Devil made the Nation. Nationalism:

The planters of course could not endure this. They took occasion to indulge in the most rabid and unbecoming attacks on Mr. Gandhi. One Mr. Irwin earned an unenviable notoriety by writing all sorts of scurrilous attacks touching personalities which have nothing to do with the subject of enquiry. Columns of such stuff appeared in the pages of THE PIONEER: but Mr. Gandhi with a quiet humour replied in words which should have made the soul of Mr. Irwin penitent. The controversy on Mr. Gandhi's dress and Mrs. Gandhi's stall-keeping reveals the character of the two men—Mr. Irwin fussy, vindictive, violent, ill-tempered, writhing like a wounded snake in anger and agony, and Mr. Gandhi secure in his righteousness, modest, quiet, strong and friendly with no malice and untainted by evil passions.

THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME

By this time Mr. Gandhi had made the Guzerat Sabha a well-equipped organisation for effective social service. When in August 1917 it was announced that Mr. Montagu would be in India in connection with the Scheme of post-War Reforms, the Guzerat Sabha, under the direction of Mr. Gandhi, devised in November the admirable scheme of a monster petition in connection with the Congress-League Scheme. The idea and the movement alike were opportune. Mr. Gandhi himself undertook the work in his province of Guzerat and carried it out with characteristic thoroughness. The suggestion was taken up by the Congress and the Home Rule League and piles of books containing the monster signatures were duly presented to Mr. Montagu at Delhi.

Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi was not idle. On the 17th September he presided over the Bombay Co-operative Conference. On November 3, he delivered a remarkable

divides ; no wars, no crusades, have been so cruel as your last war, and that was a war of your nationalism.

But where our country is concerned, where the question of taxation is concerned, where our crops are concerned, where the weather is concerned, where all associations in those ordinary matters are concerned, which are for the welfare of India, how can I say "I am a Mussalman and he is a Hindu"? Make no mistake about the quarrels between Hindu and Mussalman; they are founded only on the fear of domination. If there is one other sin with which I charge Great Britain, in addition to the charge of emasculating India, it is the making of wrong histories about India and teaching them to us in our schools, with the result that our schoolboys have learnt wrong Indian history. The quarrels which are sometimes visible in our streets on certain days, are quarrels which have been instilled into the hearts of our so-called intelligentsia—I call them unintelligentsia—by the wrong history taught to us in our schools for political purposes. If that feeling, which writes "Revanche" large over the politics of certain people in India exists, and if it existed to the extent which it does to-day, and the Mussalmans were everywhere in a minority of 25 per cent. and the Hindus were everywhere in a majority of 66 per cent. I could see no ray of hope to-day; but thanks to the jerry-maudering of our saints and our soldiers, if there are provinces like that of my friend Dr. Moonje, in which I am only 4 per cent. there are other provinces where I am 93 per cent. There is the old province of Sind, where the Mussalmans first landed, where they are 73 per cent., in the Punjab they are 56 per cent., and in Bengal 54 per cent. That gives us our safeguard.

I want you to realise that for the first time you are introducing a big revolution into India; for the first time

majority rule is to be introduced into India. The old rulers who gambled their kingdoms away do not have a majority rule; Akbar and Aurangzeb did not have majority rule; when Ranjit Singh ruled in the Punjab, he did not have majority rule; when Warren Hastings and Clive ruled India, they did not have majority rule; and even in the days of Lord Irwin, there is no majority rule.

For the first time in India, we are going to introduce majority rule, and I, belonging to a minority, accept that majority rule. Although I know very well that if 51 people say that 2 and 2 make 5, and 49 people say that 2 and 2 make 4, the fact that 51 say that 2 and 2 make 5 does not cause them to make five. Still, I am prepared to submit to majority rule. Luckily, however, there are Mussalman majorities in certain provinces, and with the federal form of Government, which is suited to India not only for Hindu-Moslem reasons but for the sake of the Princes, this is in our favour. The centrifugal and centripetal tendencies are so well balanced in India that we are bound to have a federal system of government there, not as a distant ideal, as the Government of India says, but to-day, now this minute. We shall leave this Conference only with federation established in India, with the treaties made with the Princes, with the consent of the Crown and the Princes.

I sometimes hear it said that nothing can be done without the consent of the Princes. No, Your Highnesses, we Our Lownesses will do nothing without your consent. But when, at the end of 1857, the powers of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, nobody ever thought of asking your consent. There were not so much as "By your leave". Your relationship with the Crown was established merely *ipso facto*, but it was with a family

they were interested in Swaraj, and they said "yes." Out of respect for the British Indian Army, I will stand up and repeat their words. Gandhi said to them "Are you interested in Swaraj, you who belong to the Army and who have been brought as an escort all the way from Poona, because they cannot trust the people of Bengal, their first Presidency, for the safety of the Duke of Connaught?" They said "Only the other day our Colonel on parade told us laughingly something about Gandhi, saying "Do you know Bunnia Gandhi wants Swaraj for India?" and he laughed and said "Do you want Swaraj?" Of course he expected we should all say 'No, Sir'. But the Company very quietly said, 'Yes, we want Swaraj for India'. Then the Colonel asked them why they wanted Swaraj, and they told him that when they were sent to fight in Europe even when they saw Belgian soldiers coming back after a defeat those soldiers would reply to anyone who asked who they were "We are Belgians; we belong to the Belgian Army". Sometimes the French came running back, but if anybody asked them who they were, they drew themselves up and replied that they belonged to the French Army. It was the same with the British; but these men said that, even when they had won and had saved the coast in a critical moment in October, when anybody asked them who they were, they could not say they belonged to the Indian Army; they had to say "We are British subjects."

Now these men say that they want to stand upright and be able to say "We belong to the army of India." I tell you this is the fact, God's own truth, about the Indian Army. You take a plebiscite of Indian Army, God Almighty being present, and the British spies being also present, but some of us also being present, and you will find that we know more than anybody else on that subject.

The Government of India's Despatch goes further than Sir John Simon's report which says that the Army should not be under the control of England but under the Government of India. There are three members of the Government of India, the pigment of whose skin is the same as mine, sometimes even darker. Two of them were my stable companions in England as students, and the third also studied here. If these people can control the Army, why cannot Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru be Prime Minister of India? Why cannot Sir Muhammad Shafi be Prime Minister of India, or why cannot even a humble man like myself become Commander-in-Chief of India? I have exhausted your patience, but I can assure you my speech has been both exhausting and exhaustive. I take my seat and I hope I shall not be called upon to speak again until you announce, Mr. Chairman, that India is as free as England.

FIFTH DAY, NOV. 20.

H. H. THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL

Mr. Chairman : As several of my brother Princes have already spoken, I will crave your attention for only a few minutes. Time presses, and we are all anxious to get to work in Committee. That being the position, the thought that has been in my mind from the moment when His Majesty the King-Emperor opened the Conference with his gracious words is that here at last is the opportunity of getting rid for ever of the misunderstandings and the consequent cloud of suspicions that lie between our two nations. We meet in an atmosphere of good-will, an atmosphere which has been fostered throughout his Viceroyalty by Lord Irwin, one of the greatest of Viceroys, whom India honours as one of the best friends she has ever had, and who has rendered such signal service to his country and ours in striving to bring the two together. In that atmosphere, and with an earnest desire on all sides form free and frank discussion.

I have no doubt that we shall be able, under Providence, to settle the essentials which shall secure the future peace, happiness and prosperity of India as a contented member, equal in status with all the rest, of that community of free self-governing nations, which now constitute the British Empire, linked together by united loyalty to His Majesty's Throne and by a corporate ideal of mutual co-operation for the common good.

At the outset our discussions were set the high standard to which they ought to aspire by the extremely

able and thoughtful opening speech of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—(hear, hear)—which has defined the goal towards which India is pressing, and has done so in a manner which, I believe, will be helpful to us all. Speaking for myself, and I am sure too on behalf of my brother Princes, I cordially reciprocate his view of the share which the Indian States can contribute in a united federal India, and I particularly endorse his remark that, when the time comes, they will furnish a stabilising factor in the constitution. (Hear, hear.) I note that both he and other speakers recognise that nothing in a system of federation connotes any interference with the internal affairs of the States; that their treaties with the Crown will remain unaltered, unless and until modified by mutual consent, and that it is in matters of common concern, hereafter to be defined by mutual agreement, and in nothing else, that federation will be concerned. On that understanding, only one feature has to be added to the picture, namely, that the federation shall be equal on both sides and that there can be no question of the status being in any way subordinate to that of the rest of India. On those conditions I entirely agree with the principle of federation. The details will have to be worked out by the committee already appointed for the purpose and must provide that all States, who agree to participate, even the smallest, shall be properly represented.

In this connection some remarks were made as to interaction between the States and the rest of India. "It is impossible", it was said, "to conceive of a free British India without conceiving of free Indian States." I fully subscribe to that remark, though not quite in the sense in which the speaker proceeded to develop it. A free Indian State means the disappearance of that doctrine of

paramountcy which has been imported, contrary to our treaties, into the relations between the States and the Paramount Power and which has been so much in vogue in comparatively recent times. That, Sir, is one of the facts to be kept steadily in mind. On the other side of the case, we Princes have no apprehension as to how the processes at work in the rest of India, where we must rely on democracy not being made a cloak for aggression, will affect our peoples, and we shall be content to leave it to our States to work out their own development.

In this connection, seeing that communal troubles have bulked so largely in the news from India, thus creating an impression that the country is the cockpit of warring sects and thus standing in the way of her aspirations, I wish to make it clear, as the point has not been brought out hitherto, that among the Princes no rift exists as between Muslims and Hindus—(applause)—and that in the Indian States communal tension has so rarely occurred that it can be said to be practically non-existent. (Renewed applause.) This fact brings me to a second point, namely, that there is nothing in our respective religions which should lead to such ill-will, and that the reason why it has arisen in British India has been solely political. The various minority movements have exactly the same basis, and equally the attitude of many of the politically minded in India towards Great Britain, which has demonstrated itself at times in ways, which are frankly to be deplored, is not, believe me, inspired by racial animosity, but is solely political. And as soon as the foundations of the Constitution for a self-governing India are well and truly laid these differences, we all believe, will automatically disappear. These are facts which I can state from personal knowledge and without risk of

contradiction, because we Indian Princes are not isolated in our States, but from our very position as Rulers are bound to keep in touch with the course of events and the trend of thought in other parts of India. We know fully as well as the people of India, represented by the delegates here present, and possibly more clearly than the British authorities, the amazing growth of the national feeling throughout India.

The enormous importance of these facts is obvious. On the one hand they explain the statement made here on behalf of Young India, that if you give India Dominion Status to-day, in the course of a few months the cry of independence will die of itself. On the other hand, I hope that they will go far to allay the doubts with which Lord Peel explained how Conservative opinion approaches the solution of the Indian problem.

Turning now for a moment to other matters, which concern the States and will come up for discussion during this Conference, the Chamber of Princes has already expressed itself strongly against the Report of the Indian States Committee and will never be satisfied until their contentions, which were so summarily brushed aside in that Report, receive the detailed investigation they deserve in a regularly conducted inquiry. Since that Report there is more *ex parte* matter under the head of "Relations with States" in the recently published Dispatch of the Government of India, with which the Princes are just as strongly dissatisfied. These are matters for discussion in committee and elsewhere. But I am obliged to mention them here in order to place our protest on record at the earliest opportunity and to indicate how much will have to be done in framing the list of matters of common concern, which will hereafter be the sphere of the Federal Council, and in devising a

satisfactory impartial tribunal to adjudicate on all matters, which may be in dispute between the States and the rest of India, or in which the States may be at variance with the officers of the Crown, with whom they are to be brought into relation in place of the Government of India.

These, Sir, are matters of very great importance to the States as on them and on the satisfactory development of communications and the finances, the future social progress of the States will largely depend. But the matter of the most cardinal importance is the future constitution of India, which this Conference is here to discuss. The welfare of the States is inseparably bound up with that of the rest of India.

I beg, therefore, of the British representatives at the Conference, and those whom they represent, to bear in mind in approaching the problem, that we are an ancient people, compared with whom many of the most powerful countries of the present day are of very recent growth. The Aryans among us have a continuity, which stretches back beyond the dawn of history. Islam was a world power at the time of the Norman conquest. The Aryans had an Indian Empire before the Christian era; the Moghuls had one to which the countries of Europe sent embassies, and in the last century again has an Indian Empire been evolved under the British Crown. The first two were Eastern. Their influence survives in the world to this day in religion, philosophy, art and science. Now the British Empire has grafted the West on the East; and though, as Easterners we have our special modes of thought and our own ideals of life, we fully appreciate the great benefits which Great Britain has brought us. Peace and security and the highest standard of administration have been among her gifts, but the greatest of all is, that we

address as president of the Guzerat Political Conference and later, of the Guzerat Educational Conference. Then came the Congress week in Calcutta in December and he presided over the First Session of the Social Service League when he made a striking speech. Mr. Gandhi has always travelled in the third class in all his journeyings and the grievances of the third class passengers are driven home in his address to the Social Service League. But even before this he had already sent a letter to the press on the subject on the 25th September 1917, in which he gave a vivid and true account of the woes of the third class passengers.

FAMINE IN THE KAIRA DISTRICT

After his return from the Calcutta Congress of December 1917, Mr. Gandhi was occupied in connection with the famine in the Kaira District and his labours resulted in some material relief to the people. The facts of the story can be easily told in Mr. Gandhi's own words uttered at a meeting in Bombay on February 5, 1918.

The responsibility for the notice issued by the Guzerat Sabha of Ahmedabad was his; and nobody expected that the Government would misinterpret the objects of the notice. The Guzerat Sabha had sufficient proof of the plight of the people in the Kaira District and that the people were even obliged to sell their cattle to pay taxes, and the notice was issued to console those suffering from hardships. The Sabha's request was to suspend the collection of dues till negotiations were over. If the Commissioner of the Division had not been angry with the deputation and had talked to them politely, such crises would not have happened. He fully expected that the deputation which would wait on the Governor would be able to explain the situation to His Excellency and the people's cause would succeed in the end. Public men had every right to advise the people of their rights. He trusted that those who had given the people the right advice would stand by them and would not hesitate to undergo hardships in order to secure justice.

The first and last principle of passive resistance is that we should not inflict hardships on others but put up with them ourselves in order to get justice, and the Government did not fear

have again become a united living nation under the Crown. Standing where we do to-day, full of vitality; knowing our resources and our intellects, can we be expected to stand still even for a time, and watch the rest of the world go on? Should we not enter, as we desire, into the promised land, into that greater sphere, which the genius of the British race has evolved, that of being one of the body of self-governing free dominions with equality of status united in the Empire of the British Crown?

Here in the centre of the Empire, St. Paul's stands as the central monument of the British race. A few years ago, though outwardly as fair as ever, it was found to be in serious danger of collapse. All parts of the Empire at once rallied to the rescue, and now the building stands rejuvenated and strong enough to stand for all times. So, Sir, it is with India. I state, with all the earnestness I can command, that though she stands fair to the eye, the structure is full of fissures. But grout her with the cement of national unity, which is ready to hand, give her national freedom and that equality of status, for which her sons are longing, and she will stand throughout the ages as the noblest and strongest support of the British Empire.

MR. N. M. JOSHI

I propose to make a brief statement on behalf of the workers of India on the momentous problems before this Conference. The workers of India want full responsible self-government as much as the other classes. Although on account of ignorance and illiteracy they do not formulate their ideas and express their feelings in the same manner as the educated classes, those of us who are in close contact with them know how strong their feelings are and how easily they are aroused.

During my visits to this country I am often asked how the workers will fare in a self-governing India. My reply has been that I hope their conditions under self-government will improve, but that at least their position will not be worse than it is to-day. That is a cautious reply, but I think it is an entirely adequate one. No special justification is needed for the establishment of self-government in India; it is the retention of foreign domination which requires special justification.

While thinking over this subject, I have also asked myself what the British Government has done for the Indian workers and what it can do for them now. Though the British Government has much experience of the evils which generally follow in the wake of industrialisation, they were not able to avoid them in India when that country gradually developed industries. It is true that Factory Acts were passed from time to time, but the motives of the British Government, through whose pressure in the initial stages the legislation was passed, could easily be questioned; and as the Government of India was also greatly influenced by European industrialists in India, these measures were very inadequate and could not effectively

check the evils which were growing apace. Latterly also some legislation has been passed through the influence of the International Labour Conference and on account of the pressure of the recently started but rapidly growing Trade Union movement in the country. But even these efforts fall short of the needs of the time, on account of the fact that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are now dominated by the joint influence of the Indian and European industrialists in India. To-day the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament have practically lost all their power of initiative in the matter, and the workers of India depend solely on the strength of their organisation and on whatever political influence they can bring to bear on the Indian legislatures.

What would have been the condition of Indian workers if British rule had never been established in India is a hypothetical question, but one can draw an inference from the fact that during the last ten years neither the Legislative Assembly nor any Provincial Council has refused to pass any labour legislation brought forward by the Government, and so it may be assumed that the position of Indian workers would not have been worse than it is to-day.

I realise that even in a self-governing India Heaven will not immediately descend to earth for the Indian workers, but their chances of success in their struggle will be greater than when they are under a Government which is really responsible neither to the British Parliament nor to the legislatures in India. The struggle will also be made somewhat easier, as the extraordinary influence which the European industrialists in India exercise to-day will be greatly reduced.

But this is not all. My friend Mr. Shiva Rao and myself have come to this Conference in the hope that, with

the help and sympathy of the other Delegates, the constitution of a self-governing India will be so framed that the political influence of the workers on their Government will be much greater than it is to-day. For this purpose we should like in the first place the constitution to contain a declaration of the fundamental rights of workers. It is true that such a declaration has not the force of legislation, but none the less it will serve a very useful moral purpose. Secondly, the constitution must be founded upon universal adult suffrage. Much is made of the practical difficulties; it is said the constituencies would be unwieldy, but this difficulty is not expected to disappear at any time, and the Indian masses will never agree to deprive themselves of their rights of citizenship for ever. Much is also made of the difficulties created by illiteracy, but those difficulties exist even to-day in the case of persons already enfranchised or whom it is proposed to enfranchise. The possession of property added to illiteracy does not remove the difficulties which may be due to illiteracy.

Thirdly, without entering on the question of a federal or unitary form of government, the workers of India insist that labour legislation shall always remain a central or federal subject, and that the central or federal Government shall always retain to itself the power of control and supervision in its enforcement. If labour legislation and its enforcement are left to Provincial Governments or to the constituent parts of the federation, labour legislation and its enforcement will be very difficult. If the constitution does not make proper provision for this it will be utterly useless to the workers. Moreover, labour legislation and its enforcement must remain central or federal subjects for the ratification and enforcement of International conventions on labour subjects.

Here I must draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that by Section X of Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles, Part XIII, Labour, a federal State the power of which to ratify International Conventions is limited, escapes more easily from its international obligations on labour matters. The practical effect of this section of the Peace Treaty to the disadvantage of workers may be judged from the fact that while even a backward country like India under a unitary form of Government could ratify eleven conventions of the International Labour Conference, advanced countries like Australia and Canada under a federal form of government could ratify only four conventions each. I therefore hope that the power of the Indian Central Government whether Federal or Unitary to ratify international conventions and to secure their enforcement will not be in any way limited. This subject will no doubt be considered by the Royal Commission over which Mr. Whitley has been very ably presiding and although the Commission may not report before this Conference finishes its work, I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that the Commission will generally support the view that I have put forward.

I must here refer to the position of Indian States whose coming under the Indian Constitution will whole-heartedly be welcomed by Indian workers. I hope the Representatives of the Princes will agree to a constitution in which Labour Legislation as well as its enforcement for the whole of India and the ratification of international conventions and their enforcement will not have unnecessary difficulties due to the form of the Constitution. At present the Indian States have done nothing to recognise their International obligations in Labour matters which I hope they will not hereafter do. Lastly may I say that to-day labour is not the

only matter which is internationally considered. The tendency to find an international solution to our difficulties is naturally and very properly growing and occupying a wide sphere and I hope that our Constitution will be so framed in this Conference that India as a whole will be able to take full benefit of the International action and India as a whole will also be able to be helpful in the international solution of the difficulties of the world. Whatever form of Government we decide to establish in this Conference let us at least do nothing to make future changes in that form practically impossible.

We cannot settle our constitution for all time. If it is found by experience that the form of government which we settle in this Conference is not suited to the needs of the future, it should be possible by constitutional means to secure such changes in the form of government as may be found necessary. If my suggestions regarding incorporation of the Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of Indian workers in the constitution and the establishment of universal adult franchise be accepted, as I hope they will be, and if the constitution is so framed that Central or Federal Government, with or without Indian States included in it, will retain in its hands full authority without any limitations regarding labour legislation and its enforcement and regarding the ratification and enforcement of international conventions and other obligations, the immediate establishment of full self-government in India will not only secure for the workers of India an improvement in their present position, but eventually will enable them to occupy the same position in their country as the workers of Great Britain are occupying in their own.

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ

Mr. Prime Minister: My sister delegate's presence and mine in this historic gathering is an illustration indeed of the fact that the so-called unchanging East is unchanging no longer. Ten years ago who could have thought of Indian women coming to London and taking part in the deliberations of such a Conference? To-day, not only a Hindu, but a Muslim woman, belonging to a family the women of which have always observed strict purdah, are actually sitting with their brethren around one table in order to evolve a suitable constitution for their country. (Applause).

This important and historic gathering is unique of its kind for it is the first time that the Princes and people of India are sitting together, with the representatives of the three great parties in England, to discuss and frame the future constitution of India. But is it also unique because for the first time women have been admitted to such a gathering! (Applause).

Sir, we are grateful to you, to the Secretary of State, and to his Excellency Lord Irwin that when issuing invitations to the representatives of all the parties you and they did not forget that half of the country on which depends the welfare of India's future generation.

Sir, the history of my country is the history of nations who have tried, sometimes successfully, but more often unsuccessfully, to weld together a continent like India into one great Empire, one great nation. Most of these nations came from countries near and distant, allured by the rich plains of Hindustan and by its fabulous wealth, beauty and culture. Under some of them India not only enjoyed peace and tranquillity, but achieved a high culture

and civilisation, thus contributing more than its share to the progress of the world. To-day we are witnessing, not the birth, but the re-birth of a great ancient nation. Sir, very few people in this country realise the tremendous change in our country which has taken place during the last five years. Things have moved and are moving at such a tremendous pace that sometimes we ourselves are startled. In the remote corners of India, in the out of the way places, you will find people, especially young boys and girls, talking of their national aspirations and of the freedom and liberty of their Motherland. There is such an awakening in the youth of the country, both in the rural and urban areas, that it is not possible to check the growing desire, the increasing spirit, which animates them to form themselves into a nation worthy of the name. We, the women of that reviving nation, cannot but rejoice at this awakening. But, happy as we might feel, this brings with it the tremendous responsibility of guiding the younger generations. It is our duty as mothers, as sisters, as wives to show them the right track and lead them along the straight road.

Sir, the basis of human society is federal. A union of two forms, a home, a group of homes is known as a village, villages together become town, a number of towns form a district, and a federation of districts is called a province or a country. Modern civilisation, with all its culture and development of the human mind, has brought home to us the fact that for a big country like India, where different races and different interests exist, a Government established on the basic principle of federation alone can be a success.

By following this principle countries like the United States of America, the Australian and the Swiss Federa-

tions, have become some of the greatest nations of to-day. Units bind themselves together for the sake of their Motherland, and for the purposes of defence from foreign aggression, and thus gain that peace and tranquillity which is essential for the full development and progress of a nation. Having realised this, we, the women delegates from India, support the proposal of a federal form of government for our country. Such a form will give to our people in their respective Provinces, in their natural surroundings, and in their own traditional culture, freedom and scope for full development of the different faculties given to them by providence. Provincial genius in every sphere of life will better flower amidst its own native surroundings, and will thus spread its perfume all over the country and the world. A Tagore in Bengali and a Mohammad Iqbal in Urdu, by writing in their respective language could enrich the world with such gems of thought and literature.

We are glad, Sir, that our Princes have proved true sons of the soil of their Motherland, and are ready to join an All India Federation. The golden day for our country will be then when the Indian India and the British India will link themselves for common purposes, thus forming themselves into one great nation.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the womanhood of India, I make an earnest appeal to you to let us go back to our country with such a measure of reforms as, when placing them before our younger generations, we may be able to say to them, "In this age of scientific development, when no country can stand isolated, you have in the British Commonwealth of Nations a ready-made union. Now that an equal partnership with the sister Dominions is offered to you, what more do you require" ?

Sir, having had many opportunities of meeting quite a number of British people of all shades of opinion, I find that one of their arguments against India getting full measure of reforms is: "How can India be given Dominion Status when it is so backward in social reform"? Such remarks have often been made by the Press, as well as by unsympathetic politicians in public. My reply to them is, "Yes, we have many of our social problems to tackle, but show me any country on the face of the earth where such problems do not exist in one form or another"? We have taken our problems in hand, and are trying to tackle them day by day; with the help of God we hope to achieve—and achieve very soon—that Western freedom of speech and action, combined with Eastern restraint, which is the ideal of our womanhood.

The social reform of a country depends mostly upon its women. With the best intention in the world, a foreign Government may introduce excellent measures of social reform, but because it is a foreign government, the reforms advocated by it are always looked upon with suspicion. As soon as we have the legislation of our country in our own hands, we can better do away with some of the social evils existing to-day, just as Japan, Turkey, Persia, Mysore, Baroda, Bhopal, and Travancore have been able to do.

Almost as soon as our men got the franchise, they did not hesitate in giving us our share; and now that the women of India are coming forward and taking an active part in the political life of the country, the solution of all these problems will not be difficult to find. With women to guide in the social matters, the men of a country can achieve greater success in social reform.

Mr. Chairman, whatever may be the ultimate form of government decided upon, we hope that this Conference

anything if we make up our mind as we are bent on getting sheer justice from it and nothing else. We can have two weapons on occasions like this, revolt or passive resistance, and my request is for the second remedy always. In order to remove distress through which the Guzerat people are passing, it is my firm conviction that if we tell the truth to the Government, it will ultimately be convinced and if we are firm in our resolve, the Kaira District people shall suffer wrongs no more.

INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICA

In spite of all these activities in India, Mr. Gandhi could never forget the scene of his early labours. His South African friends and fellow-workers are always dear to him. In a communication to the *Indian Opinion* he wrote under date 15th December, 1917 :—

When I left South Africa, I had fully intended to write to my Indian and English friends there from time to time, but I found my lot in India to be quite different from what I had expected it to be. I had hoped to be able to have comparative peace and leisure but I have been irresistibly drawn into many activities. I hardly cope with them and local daily correspondence. Half of my time is passed in the Indian trains. My South African friends will, I hope, forgive me for my apparent neglect of them. Let me assure them that not a day has passed but I have thought of them and their kindness. South African associations can never be effaced from my memory.

I note, too, that our people in South Africa are not yet free from difficulties about trade licences and leaving certificates. My Indian experience has confirmed the opinion that there is no remedy like passive resistance against such evils. The community has to exhaust milder remedies but I hope that it will not allow the sword of passive resistance to get rusty. It is our duty whilst the terrible War lasts, to be satisfied with petitions, etc., for the desired relief but I think the Government should know that the community will not rest until the questions above mentioned are satisfactorily solved. It is but right that I should also warn the community against dangers from within. I hear from those who return from South Africa that we are by no means free of those who are engaged in illicit traffic. We who seek justice must be above suspicion, and I hope that our leaders will not rest till they purged the community of internal defects.

AHMEDABAD MILL STRIKE

Passive Resistance in some form or other has always been Mr. Gandhi's final panacea for all ailments in the body

will not treat us in the way we have been treated in the Government of India Dispatch.

The fate of half the population of the country has been decided in one sentence. Had that one sentence said that sex should be no disqualification for women in any way, we would have rejoiced. But, to finish nearly 160 million of His Majesty's subjects by saying that no special provision should be made for women, shows a complete lack of understanding. But, if others have blundered, we hope and pray that this Conference will not, and it will give women their adequate share in the administration of their country.

Sir, with your permission, I earnestly appeal to the British Delegation, as well as to my countrymen, to sit around this table in a spirit of mutual co-operation and good-will. With only one aim and one object in view—that of finding a suitable constitution for India—a constitution which, while satisfying the legitimate aspirations of an ancient nation like India, by giving it full Dominion Status, with certain reservations, of course, for the transitional period, the fewer the better, should be the means of removing mistrust and suspicion and should establish an everlasting bond of friendship between England and India. (Applause.)

I appeal to you all let us not sit down in the spirit of the ruler and the ruled, but as friends, with sympathetic hearts, and open minds, to arrive at a conclusion which will help the suffering masses of the country that we love. India, bruised and aching, is looking up to us—rather not only India but the whole world is looking up to us—to spread the balm of goodwill and friendship.—Let us not disappoint them. May Almighty God bless our efforts. (Prolonged applause).

SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL

Mr. Chairman: I shall be as brief as possible. I only wish to say that in the opinion of those I am privileged to represent at this Conference, the time has come for making a radical change in the system of government in India. That is a change which seems equally necessary in the interest of both countries—not more necessary for India than it is for Great Britain, Great Britain which is only less dear to us than our own Motherland. To my mind, the success of this Conference will be judged mainly by this test: How far have we been able to bring England and India closer together in bonds of true friendship and unity? India wants to remain within the Empire as an equal partner with the rest. She has no desire to sever her connection with Great Britain. As Mr. Jayakar said the other day, this cry of independence is only a cry of despair. I would attach no importance to it, save as an indication of the intense desire felt by the people generally for greater opportunities of self-expression and self-development.

There is, I believe, general agreement with the view, both in this Conference and outside, that the future government of India should be constructed on a federal basis. What exactly is meant by this term "federal" in its application to the peculiar conditions of India, will have to be discussed and determined in committee. That—I mean the constitution of the Central government—is the fundamental issue before this Conference.

By agreeing to join an all-India federation, the Ruling Princes have rendered incalculable service to their Mother-

land at this most critical juncture in her history. Their attitude has enormously facilitated the work of this Conference and has made the whole political problem of India more susceptible of satisfactory solution than it would have been otherwise. I am one of those who entertain no doubt whatever that the Princes will never have any reason to regret their decision, and that they and their States will, occupy a position, as honourable as it will be assured, in the future councils of their common motherland.

India is a land of many creeds and many communities and diverse interests, but I believe that it is this very diversity that will go far to ensure the requisite stability in the democratic institutions that are proposed to be established in her country.

Another matter upon which we—I mean the Indian sections of the Conference—are agreed is that a measure of responsibility should be introduced at the centre if the constitution is to work satisfactorily and is to enjoy an adequate measure of confidence and support from the people. Whatever may be the risks and the difficulties in taking such a step—and they are undoubtedly considerable—the British Government will, we all hope, come to the conclusion that a solution which does not satisfy the people at large is no solution at all. It can neither work smoothly nor endure for any length of time. A constitution which provides full autonomy in the Provinces, responsibility at the centre (subject to such transitional safeguards as may be necessary and unavoidable) and a close association between British India and the States in matters of common concern—this, let us hope, may be the result of our deliberations here, a result which, I venture to think, would satisfy all reasonable people in India.

In conclusion, I should like to assure my fellow delegates from British India that we of the Indian States wholeheartedly join with them in their appeal to the British nation to set India on the high road to self-government. I would, at the same time, venture to ask my countrymen to remember--I hope I shall not be misunderstood, for I think I speak nothing but the obvious truth--that great journey cannot be accomplished successfully, nor can those patriotic aspirations, ours as much as theirs, be fully realised except in company of their compatriots in the States, and, may I also add, with the goodwill and co-operation of Great Britain.

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Mr. Chairman : The first temptation to which I felt I was likely to succumb was to controvert certain statements which have been made, and to allude in passing to certain misconceptions that were apparently present even to those who had large experience of Indian affairs. On a very memorable occasion an English statesman urged his audience to consult a large map. It is sometimes astonishing that on occasions of this kind the history of England and the history of India are apt to be forgotten. Let me, in passing—not in a spirit of reproach—advert only to three matters. My Lord Peel referred to monopolies. Did he remember that in 1721 there was a prohibition of imports into England of any Indian printed calicoes. Did he advert to the series of statutes beginning from the reign of Queen Elizabeth which prevented Indian goods reaching England? Did he remember what took place in 1874 when the representatives of a great trading federation remarked upon the calamity of new mills being erected in Bombay? But I shall not dwell on that aspect of the matter any further. Let us consult large maps. Let us have advertence to the history of England and the history of India.

It is often said that the professional politician is rife in India, but let it be remembered that the object of the professional politician, and of every other politician, is to seek what is beyond politics and what is beyond the transient needs of the hour—the prosperity and the contentment of the people. In the few remarks which I shall permit myself I shall have reference only to that. You had a great and magnificent gathering here at the Imperial Conference. What was the object and outlook of that

Conference? Was it not to devise means and measures for the purpose of improving the economic condition of England and of the Empire? We believe, and believe fervently, that the economic condition of the Indian masses will be improved only if that economic position can be dealt with by the people of India. A good deal was said and written, both before and after the Imperial Conference, about measures of preference and measures of protection; but what India wants is this: whether one theory or the other of trade and fiscal management be correct, let it be given to India to make her experiments in her own way, by her own people, for her own good. It is that which is at the back of our endeavours. We believe that the fiscal and the tariff policy of India can never be so regulated, can never be adjusted to the best prosperity of India, unless those in charge of these great subjects are animated by a purely Indian standpoint and idea.

Next, a great deal has been said of the possible dislocation from the international and the secular point of view, and of mistakes in finance. It has been pointed out that if the credit of India were not stabilised and maintained before the world, India's progress would be greatly retarded. True; but does anyone fail to realise that the school of experience is a sharp and short one? Will any person in India, let him be the most irresponsible politician, ignore the fact that if India's finances are conducted on a haphazard and risky basis—if they go to the money market of the world and find they cannot raise a loan to-day, to-morrow they are going to stop all nation-building and pursue a mad financial career? Is not the experience of other countries a lesson to us? Is it not a fact that countries belonging to the

British Dominions have had their own experiences in this matter? Have they not profited by their experiences? Have not great countries like the United States had financial dis-equilibrium? Has that country not benefited by its experience? After all, in financial matters more than in any other the school of experience is the best school at which to learn, and we shall never learn unless we emerge from the position of being *in statu pupillari*.

When we came to this Conference we came in some doubt and hesitation, but it has been rightly remarked by the Lord Peel that the Government of India Despatch has already become out of date. The memorable attitude of the Indian Princes and the line they have taken has made that despatch absolutely out of date. The ideal of federation, not as a dim and distant ideal but as a matter of practical politics, which is adumbrated and envisaged by the Indian Princes in their assembled might and power has made the Government of India Despatch out of date. But more than that it must be said that the march of events will make all these despatches, memoranda and reports out of date, because India, let it be granted, has now joined together in the determination to solve its own problems through its own men, aided by the best brains, by the best talent and by the best goodwill on the part of Great Britain—but only aided.

There are two more points with which I desire to deal. Something was said about H. E. The Viceroy's speech and declaration not making any promise of immediate translation of self-government into practice. Let us not hear of that in this Conference, I beseech you. The only thing to be decided at this Conference is, Is it possible to go back to India and make for a contented India? There was an idea thrown out to

the effect "Well, let this Conference arrive at a result: what will happen? You will go back to India and you will probably find that irresponsible men will wrest all the power out of your hands, and that will be to the disadvantage of India and England alike." Make that impossible. And you will make it impossible only if this Conference achieves something real and substantial. The only way in which to take it out of the power of the irresponsibles to ruin things is to make it possible for the irresponsible to become responsible. You will undoubtedly make the irresponsible responsible if you make something which is worth striving for, dying for, yearning and longing for as the result of this Conference. I firmly believe that opinion in this Conference will be unanimous that the only way of producing peace and goodwill and contentment and comradeship between India and England is to hammer out a system of government which will enable the most restless spirits of India to feel that they have brought into being a constitution worth working in. If that is done this Conference will have achieved a great result. If we have to go back to our country and say that we have brought back only a halting or fragmentary system of government not worth working for or yearning for, we shall have failed. Then will arise the calamity to which allusion was made. Then will arise the calamity of the irresponsible coming to positions of power and influence. On the other hand, if with the co-operation of the Indian Princes and British Indians, if with the co-operation of British statesmen and Indian statesmen, we achieve real self-government, we shall make it impossible for those who have not the best ideals of both countries before their mind's eye to do what they may otherwise do.

LORD READING

This is indeed a memorable Conference. I have been more and more impressed as I have listened to every speech that has fallen from those who have addressed us. It is memorable in the first place because it marks a stage in the development of the constitutional advance of India. Hitherto the process has never been adopted of a Round Table Conference to discuss the propositions before the Government; but very often—it may be too often, as I have sometimes thought—in the past decisions of the Government were formulated and invitations then issued to attend a Conference to change them if possible. Obviously India was anxious to change that system, and for my part I am glad that this has happened; I think it gives India a fairer chance when she can put her case before the Government has come to conclusions, instead of having to argue against something already determined and in which, no doubt, every consideration has been taken into account before the decision was reached.

For that reason, I think we are all pleased when the proposal was made that this Round Table Conference should take place, but I do not think we quite appreciated how important it would be; indeed, I am sure even those who set out from India for this country to take part in this historic Conference did not realise then the events that have happened since we have been here. If I may be permitted to do so, I should like to say first, perhaps out of a gallantry we all like to display in the presence of ladies, that this Conference is

marked first by the presence of Indian ladies. That is a distinct advance by the East. I should like to remark that as I study the affairs of the East from day to day, I am every day more and more astonished at the rapidity, the almost dazzling swiftness with which the East seems to outdistance the West. Here is a movement which has almost only just started in India. In my time it was only beginning, and yet here at this moment we have the ladies present and taking part in our debates.

Now let me turn to what, to my mind, is a distinct historical advance in the history of India, which once it has begun can never stop, once it has left its imprint, as it has, can never be effaced, which is going to take India further, perhaps, than some of us ever thought when we have had visions before us of what India might achieve. We have now our minds enlarged, our area of vision extended, our horizon infinitely widened, because we have the Princes taking part with us and with British India.

The Government of India, as you are aware, has always had these two separate limbs, so to speak, of the government. On the one hand it has to deal with the Princes of India; on the other, it deals with British India. Think of the improvement as they have themselves portrayed it in various speeches to-day! Think of all that is open to us if now we proceed together to form a government for all India, a United States of India, as it has been termed, which will in truth be the greatest conception of federation, should it take place, that the world has yet seen. It is unique in its character and quite remarkable in its extent. There is no sub-continent, no nation and certainly no country that I can think of in the world that can present to you, to us, to the

politic. He has applied it with resolute courage, and has at least as often succeeded as he has as often undoubtedly failed. But success or failure in the pursuit of a righteous cause is seldom the determining factor with men of Mr. Gandhi's moral stamina. When in March 1918 the millhands at Ahmedabad went on strike, Mr. Gandhi was requisitioned to settle the dispute between the millowners and the workmen, and he arranged a compromise satisfactory to both.

He was guiding the latter to a successful settlement of their wages when some of them betrayed a sense of weakness and despair; and demoralisation was apprehended. At a critical stage in the crisis Mr. Gandhi and Miss Anusuyabhai took the vow of fast. This extreme action on the part of Mr. Gandhi was disquieting to friends and provoked some bitter comments from the unfriendly. He, of course, would be the last person to resort to such a method of forcing the millowners by appealing to their sense of pity, knowing that they were his friends and admirers. He explained the circumstances in a statement issued subsequently :

I am not sorry for the vow, but with the belief that I have, I would have been unworthy of the trust undertaken by me if I had done anything less. Before I took the vow I knew that there were serious defects about it. For me to take such a vow in order to affect in any shape or form the decision of the millowners would be a cowardly injustice done to them, and that I would so prove myself unfit for the friendship which I had the privilege of enjoying with some of them. I knew that I ran the risk of being misunderstood. I could not prevent my fast from affecting my decision. That knowledge moreover put a responsibility on me which I was ill able to bear. From now I disabled myself from gaining concessions for the men which ordinarily in a struggle such as this I would be entirely justified in securing. I knew, too, that I would have to be satisfied with the minimum I could get from millowners and with a fulfilment of the letter of the men's vow rather than its spirit and so hath it happened. I put the defects of my vow in one scale and the merits of it in the other. There are hardly any acts of

world, the picture as we see it and as it is now portrayed before us. Never can this be paralleled. Here you have the rulers of great Indian States, the representatives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, of the great and powerful State of Hyderabad, the representatives of Mysore, again a State which has always, if I may be permitted to say so, taken the lead in the advance towards more constitutional government, of Baroda, which certainly has not lingered behind, and of many others—I should like to go right through them, but time does not permit—the very picture they have brought before us shows us the rulers coming here and taking part with the representatives of British India, because like them they feel the call of the Mother country, and they put before you their desire to join in all that may be for the good of India.

Now let me turn to the main subject that we have to discuss, but before doing so I should like to say how deeply impressed I am by the speeches that we have heard during the whole course of the discussion and also by the conversations that I have been enabled to have outside this room with those who are representing the various parts of India.

In approaching the subject of India, I speak here to-day on behalf of the Liberal section of Parliament, but I speak also on behalf of myself, and you will permit me to say on my own behalf that I have a profound interest in Indian affairs. I can never forget all that happened in India; I shall always recall it and always have an abiding affection for India and the memories it has left me.

I have told you, Sir, that I speak for the Liberals. We are here discussing two main questions, as I understand it. The first is the one propounded by you. Sir, as

to whether the future constitution should be on a federal or a unitary basis. The other is incidental to it and arises from it, for you have Mr. Prime Minister, set us a good example by allowing the fullest latitude of debate, so that there shall be no technicalities introduced into this great discussion. We have therefore been able to speak of everything.

What stands out most is, of course, the demand for advance in constitutional government. Let me first deal with that one aspect of it. Dominion status is a vague term. I am not going back on all that has happened in the past; we want to deal with the questions as they now stand. Dominion status I gather to mean a status equal to that of the other Dominions within the Empire. That is the true meaning of it. It has never been defined; no lawyer has ever attempted to put it into definition, but I do not suppose anyone will doubt that that is what in truth is meant by it. Keep that meaning of it clear in your minds, because if you do I think you must see that there are very many questions to be considered and discussed before you can get quite to the ultimate goal which you naturally strive to attain. Let me add this, so that I may clear the ground and not take up further time in discussion. Speaking on behalf of those with whom I am associated, let me say we most fully accept the statement that the natural issue of the Declaration of 1917 is that of Dominion status, and that the implication of the words used is Dominion status. We do not wish to discuss for a moment fine shades of difference; they may have had their place, and I take full responsibility for having at one time thought that they had their place, that responsibility properly falls on me and not on others. We have had questions raised and answers

given which have cleared the ground, and we are now dealing with the subject as it stands before us.

I would ask you to bear this in mind. Let me say that though I speak for the Liberal section and have no right to speak for any other, I hope that when any one of us belonging to any one of the three sections of Parliament speaks in connection with India, we shall always speak as one Parliament and not as members of different sections of Parliament. I hope that in the end we may be able to continue that unity in Parliament which we have sought so hard to maintain. But, speaking once more for our own section, let me say that we Liberals, who inherit the great traditions of liberty and self-government which have distinguished this country, and who try in our humble way to carry on in the avenues that have been marked out for us, have no desire in the slightest degree—and not only no desire but no intention—to deviate from the promises made. In that at least I am quite sure I speak not only for my own section but for Parliament. Whatever has been promised stands. There may be differences of opinion between us, there may be differences of opinion between you from India and we from Britain, as to the pace at which we should advance; but there can be no difference of opinion with regard to the goal we seek to reach, and indeed we shall do everything we possibly can to help in reaching that goal.

But I would just remind you that, after all, the object of this Conference is to arrive at proposals which will be submitted to Parliament by His Majesty's Government, and it is hoped with at any rate some considerable assent. That is the purpose for which we are here and the ultimate conclusion which will be reached after all our discussions.

I have no desire or intention to take up time in discussing the difficulties which must arise.

But, Sir, we must speak with sincerity, we must speak with frankness, as all have recognised. You will forgive me if I use a strong expression, but it is only expressing what I have heard in different directions from many of you, when I say that it is idle to say that at this moment there could be anything like equality of status—that is constitution status—in India with the Dominions. It is idle at this moment because there are other questions that come in which must be discussed, and, indeed, no one could more freely have recognised this than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who introduced the subject. Begin, for example, with the Army.—I am not going to suggest how it should be dealt with—then there are foreign affairs and a number of other questions, but in the end, whatever the proposal is, it will have to be decided by Parliament; it is Parliament that must consider, and Parliament that has to be persuaded.

Will you let me remind you that there is already a variety of literature available. There is the Simon Commission; it is true, we know the history of it, it does not commend itself to you, but let me remind you again that it contains a mass of most valuable material, and, speaking for myself, I have the greatest admiration for the work that Sir John Simon has done, and for those who were associated with him in it. Those of you who are, for reasons not to be entered into at the moment, too ready to throw aside the report of the Simon Commission, may perhaps be more minded to study that of the Government of India. One of the striking things is that in the Report of the Government of India as we have got it now the Viceroy and the Members of Council, both British

and Indian, giving their views, you will find that there is not much difference between that and the conclusions arrived at, in the main, by the Statutory Commission.

But I want to pass from that and get on to what I conceive to be the subject we are considering to-day that is, whether are not this Government is to be on a Federal system. I have one observation with regard to both these Reports. The Statutory Commission lays great stress upon federation, tries all it can to direct our attention to federation, and make it the ultimate goal. The Government of India takes the same view, only regarding it as more distant. Since then, as has been said by more than one speaker, a great change has taken place because of the Princes, and I will deal just now with their position very briefly. I am dealing merely with this particular consideration because that is the subject of the debate we have before us. The Princes have explained their position, I cannot, of course, go into the various considerations put forward. They do not all agree in detail, that was not to be expected, but we shall, I hope, arrive at conclusions when we sit around the table and try to settle the great question. But what I do feel—and I have it well in mind—is the pertinence of the poetic exhortation, if I may be permitted to say so, which his Highness the Maharaja of Alwar addressed to us at this Table, and the invocation which followed from it. And I would try and rise with him and all of you to the pinnacles and not lose my way in the woods, where I might not find the straight and clear path. I would keep straight on, looking ahead, striving to banish distrust, to create trust and in that way we may work together with one understanding, with one purpose, to do the best we can in the interests of India, and that this federation of All India

this great and mighty conception, may be reached with the assistance of the Princes and of yourselves. In the end we may look back to the days of this Conference and realise that this Conference has done one great thing, that it has accomplished this principle of federalism, and I hope—but, of course, that is entirely for you—that we may be able by a unanimous conclusion to arrive at the result that we should not proceed to consider the federal system, that that should be our work, quite understanding, of course, that no one is bound to detail, that we are dealing only with the principle. But if we do accomplish that, then this Conference will have succeeded to a great extent at the start, and will have changed, as I understand it, the whole aspect of the situation as it existed before the Conference met. (Applause).

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF NAWANAGAR

Mr. Prime Minister: Before I begin to address this Conference, may I add a word of congratulation to the gracious lady who addressed us this morning. Speaking on behalf of all of us, whether the British Delegation, the Princes, or the other Delegates from India, we congratulate her most heartily on the most wonderful speech that I have heard from the lips of an Indian woman on so momentous an occasion.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have unfortunately, on this last day, curtailed our time of speaking, and therefore, although I had hoped to address you from notes, yet, lest I should wander and take up too much of your time, I will confine myself to reading what I have to say.

Much has already been said, at this table, on the supreme gravity of the issues that agitate India to day; I can hardly add, with any words of mine, to the volume of testimony that is forthcoming from speaker after speaker who brings to this country very recent and intimate knowledge of the national movement that has long since stepped beyond the proverbial lawyer, and has entered the hearts and homes of all classes of people and in all parts of the country. It is a mass movement that has got in its grip, the mind of India—not the literate classes only—as it is often alleged in this country. Let that stern fact be clearly recognised and properly appreciated.

I will refer in the first place to a few of the admirable speeches, as for example those of Sir Tej Bahadur

Sapru and Sir Muhammad Shafi. I naturally refrain from referring to the utterances of the members of my own Order, because they embodied my own personal views. Those that I do refer to were so frank and explicit that, in my humble opinion, the Conference should be grateful to the speakers for putting the issues on both sides with such clarity. Our congratulations are due to all of them, particularly to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for his masterly review of the position in British India to-day about which, he is eminently qualified to speak. We, the Ruling Princes, Sir, represent the conservative element in the Indian polity, and yet we cannot afford to ignore the fact that times are changing rapidly and that the doctrine of "Festina Lente" is not suitable to the pace of progress which the changing conditions imperatively demand. We have the example of England before us to follow. England preserves even in her wonderful progress a sober conservative outlook and yet takes rapid strides, without losing grip of the essentials of stability.

I must not allow this opportunity to pass without a reference to the striking speech delivered by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmere, on the opening day of the Conference. In a few well chosen sentences, His Highness laid before you the ideals which animate us and the expectations which prompted us to attend this Conference.

We have always stood for the steady progress of our country. We have the staunchest possible faith in the destiny of India as a whole,—it cannot be otherwise. We have inherited its traditions, its culture, its instincts, its honour. Our ancestors shaped its history at one period or another. We have rejoiced when it prospered, we have suffered when it suffered. On many occasions our blood has been shed in her defence. And though in the altered

conditions of to-day we may sometimes be judged harshly even by our own countrymen, we have always held nearest to our heart her prestige and her honour.

Sir, it may interest, particularly the British delegates, to know that the word "Subject" had no place in our vocabulary. In our language our subjects are known as our "Praja" which is a Sanskrit word meaning "Children." In that concept there is no tinge of subordination which is implied in the Latin root of the word 'subject.' A prince and his people—members of a united household—living together as father and children is a concept that is very dear to the Oriental mind and it underlay Oriental polity. I am not talking just now of the comparative merits of democracy and monarchy. I am only alluding to the culture of India and of the polity to which it gave rise. As His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner said, traditions of centuries of Kingship are ingrained in our being. But we at once recognise the obligations of Rulership—the obligations which are immense and proportioned to the sanctity of the united family ideal. Such being the Indian tradition the solution we are seeking of this problem with which we are confronted must be found in consonance with that tradition.

My purpose therefore is to bring home to this gathering the vital necessity of satisfying the aspirations of India as a whole, if she is to continue as a contented and vigorous member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I have no hesitation in saying that her association with Great Britain is not merely a historic event, it is an event of great import. It is Providential. It cannot be otherwise for we find two countries, separated geographically and culturally, though not racially, brought together in the closest contact and the most intimate association. And I

say advisedly racially, Sir, because Mr. Baldwin was good enough in a memorable speech he uttered about a year ago, and which created a profound and happy feeling in India, to refer to Indians and Englishmen as coming from the great Aryan stock. As Lord Peel very rightly said, we in India have always appreciated the great work that Britain has done. Britain has done well by India in a variety of ways. She has developed her resources and modernised many of her institutions, above all she has established peace and tranquillity. All this is acknowledged and gratefully appreciated.

Three boons in particular stand to the eternal credit of Great Britain. I will give the first place to the Pax Britannica, which has enabled India to make much material progress. She has given India a unifying medium through the English language, the noble literature of which has helped to introduce a new spirit of liberty and self-respect. Thirdly India's connection with England has proved to the world that the two countries are complementary to each other, and to-day the world stands to benefit by the mutual "give and take" of the two countries of which they are eminently capable.

Speaking for myself, I have been educated in this country and have spent many years of my life here. England is almost as much my cultural and spiritual home as India; its great institutions and its political life have been to me, a perennial source of refreshment. From her I have imbibed much that is ennobling and elevating. Mr. President, my hopes centre in the perpetuation of the British connection, which in my belief is a guarantee of the advancement of my country and of her future greatness.

human beings which are free from all taint. Mine, I know, was exceptionally tainted, but better the ignominy of having unworthily compromised by my vow the position and independence of the millowners, than that it should be said by posterity that 10,000 men had suddenly broken a vow which they had for over twenty days solemnly taken and repeated in the name of God. I am fully convinced that no body of men can make themselves into a nation or perform great tasks unless they become as true as steel and unless their promises come to be regarded by the world like the law of the Medes and Persians, inflexible, and unbreakable, and whatever may be the verdict of friends, so far as I can think at present, on given occasions, I should not hesitate in future to repeat the humble performance which I have taken the liberty of describing in the communication.

DELHI WAR CONFERENCE

Mr. Gandhi was one of those invited to attend the Delhi War Conference in April 1918. At first he refused to participate in the discussions, on the ground that Mr. Tilak, Mrs. Besant and the Ali Brothers were not invited to the Conference. He, however, waived the objection at the pressing invitation personally conveyed by H. E. the Viceroy in an interview. At the Conference he spoke briefly, supporting the loyalty resolution and urged his countrymen to give in the hour of danger ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which "we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas".

He explained his position more clearly in a *communique* issued by him soon after the Conference. He pointed out :

I recognise that in the hour of its danger we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions Overseas. But it is the simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily. On that account, even as performance of duty automatically confers a corresponding right, people are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms alluded to in your speech will embody the main general principles of the Congress-League scheme, and I am sure that it is this faith which has

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has asked us to federate with British India; we are prepared to federate so long as our internal autonomy is preserved and our present hardships are remedied. We the Ruling Princes are jealous of interference by others in our methods of Government. We therefore feel bound to refrain from making any suggestions about the exclusively domestic problems of British India. Subject to such mutual freedom in internal affairs, let us say that for all questions of common concern, we regard federation with British India as being both possible and desirable at the earliest date. As I see the position, British India in federation will continue to manage its own affairs—its great provinces adjusting their relations between themselves. So also the States,—possibly assisted by a State's Council—will continue to manage their own affairs. But for all matters of common concern there must be a Federal Council, composed of authorised representatives, from British India and the States. I see no reason why a federation should not be effected as soon as the difficult matters which fall to be adjusted can be settled, and I feel sure that only by federation can those aspirations for the dignity and status of India which we all of us entertain, in due time be achieved,—namely the equality of status with the sister dominions within the Empire. I must reiterate that no federation has ever come into being, in which the federal units did not know that their rights were. Therefore while asking for federation, we also ask for the “judicial” ascertainment of the rights of the States. The present position that the Paramount Power can at will over-ride the treaties is extremely unsatisfactory. It is so utterly inconsistent with the Royal Proclamation in which the world was told that the treaties with the States are

inviolable and inviolable after they had been similarly pronounced to be sacred and sacrosanct. But for the existence of the States there would have been no use of the words 'Paramount Power.'

I am making no secret about the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity in which the States have been plunged by the enunciation of a doctrine which empowers the Government of India to override all treaties, engagements and sanads, on the plea of Paramountcy. I would plead, with all the emphasis at my command, that this uncertainty should cease and that all vagueness attaching to the conception of Paramountcy should give place to a clear formula which should be the outcome of a considered decision given by a competent and impartial tribunal.

The Butler Report, the Simon Report, the Government of India despatch have all failed to satisfy the parties concerned.

A contented India is, it is superfluous to say, an economic necessity. It is our keen desire to see that trade between England and India develops in volume and importance. A large number of my subjects and those of my neighbour, His Highness the Maharao of Kutch, reside in Bombay and carry on business in cloth. I know as a positive fact that their annual turnover goes over 2 to 3 million sterling or 30 crores of rupees. It is not a small stake that these merchants of ours possess in the Bombay market. But both I and the Maharao of Kutch are helpless at the present moment. The policy of boycott, which may I tell you, is gaining in strength as time goes by, and hits them very hard, and it would be useless on our part to induce them to resume their trade relations with British merchants in the present circumstances because it would be futile. An early settlement, therefore, of the Indian problem is of

the utmost importance. If Manchester is prosperous again, a great deal of unemployment in the North would disappear.

So far as all those present at this Conference desire to remain within the British Empire as equal partners, in so far as we all are sincerely firm in our devotion to the King Emperor, what is the obstacle in the way of conceding India's demand? At any rate what is to prevent a declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government at this late date? Such a declaration, with the association of several parliamentary parties, will greatly facilitate the work of the Committees to be appointed. One thing is certain—if those who have come to this Conference go back to India without the Parliament of Britain making it clear that the minimum constitutional demands of India will be conceded, not only will this Conference have been held in vain, but I am much afraid that such a fiasco would strengthen beyond measure the extremist party in India. I therefore submit, in the interests of both countries, with all the emphasis at my command that the recognition of India's status within the Empire and her right to be mistress of her own affairs as early as reasonably possible should not be left in any doubt. (Applause.)

SIR P. C. MITTER

I have been honoured by the Landlords representing the different Provinces and their important interests to be their spokesman on this historic occasion. I have been charged, with this duty by, amongst others, men like Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chitiri from the United Provinces, the Maharaja Darbhanga of Bihar and Orissa, and the Raja of Parlakimedi, Madras. They, in their turn have varied experience and wide interest. I also represent the landlords of my own Province of Bengal, large and small, and that wider circle including the landlords who desire self-government for India for an integral part of the British Empire.

The discussions to which we have hitherto listened, have, I think, made it abundantly clear that on the British Indian side, both amongst the Muslims, and amongst the Hindus, there is a passionate desire for responsibility in the centre. When leaders of experience, position and moderation like Sir Muhammad Shafi on the Muslim side, and like my esteemed friend Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the other have asked for responsibility in the centre, when Their Highnesses the Indian Princes have shown such sympathy with British Indian aspirations, one can easily draw the conclusion that the desire for such responsibility is almost universal. The landlords, Sir, are as keen as any other section of their countrymen on the question of self-government, but being in a minority they naturally desire a constitution which will ensure the protection of

their interests along with those of the other minorities. They also desire that their class should have separate and adequate representation both in the Provinces and in the centre. They would further point out that in order to make responsible government a success there must be justice to all classes and interests, including theirs. They feel, like others, the urgent need for the establishment of harmony and peace in the country ; indeed, they feel it more than the dwellers in urban areas. They realise that progress must depend on the maintenance of social equilibrium, and that the stable elements should have their place in the new constitution. They feel that no political arrangement in India has a chance of success which is not firmly rooted in the structure of Indian society.

The landlords, Sir, are naturally more intimately concerned with the rural areas, and with the interests and problems of such areas, and we know that more than 226 millions out of the 247 millions in British India live in rural areas. Self-government in India will not be worthy of the name unless adequate and suitable—mark the word suitable—representation be given to rural areas and to the classes intimately concerned with those interests. Adequate provision should therefore be made for the representation of rural areas with a view to improving their present educational and economic conditions. (Hear, hear.)

Now, Sir, we are repeatedly told that self-government in India is really a graft and not a growth. Is that so? In the urban areas, with 50 years of experience in municipal politics and in council elections, with the keen desire of the educated classes who follow Western systems, is self-government not yet a growth in urban areas? But if you turn to the rural areas, if you approach the question of self-

government in rural areas as an Indian problem, I venture to submit that you will look upon it in true perspective and see that it is really a growth.

When dynasties tumbled, when Empires faded, when legions thundered by, the village communities of India had their own self-government, and self-government under those conditions is much more difficult than self-government in the static state of society which you have in England or in many of the Western countries. But, mind you, in the future self-government of India do not forget the kind of self-government to which our rural areas are accustomed. In course of time, in the course of another 50 or 70 years, given the chance, the rural areas will appreciate the ballot box and will be able to use the ballot box as efficiently as the urban areas.

There is another point which, speaking on behalf of rural interests and also on behalf of the landlords who are intimately concerned with rural interests, I desire to make and that is the inadequate provision which has hitherto been made for social services in rural areas. The landlord cannot collect his rents unless his tenants are prosperous. In this connection I will refer to the Simon Commission's Report, and draw my conclusion from what is therein described. The average income of a native of these Isles is £100 a year. The average income of the Indian, according to the most optimistic estimate accepted by the Simon Commission, is Rs. 107 a year. According to a less optimistic estimate it is only Rs. 80. The British Indian Delegation are familiar with the unemployment problem. Comparing an annual income of £100 a year granted in these Isles, what is £6 or £8 a year in the case of a native of India, in spite of the advantages of a tropical climate? And this figure represents the average income

including the income of rich and poor, and including the income of the urban areas. With your knowledge of the acuteness of the unemployment problem in your country, you can appreciate what human existence is on an income of £6 or £8 a year.

But what is the good of stating all this unless you British and we Indians join our hands in uplifting 250,000,000 of our fellow beings? The three political parties of this country can really give us a helping hand. In the limited time at my disposal I will not go into details, but if the British Delegation will give me a chance I venture to say that I shall be able to place before them a scheme by which your unemployment problem will be rapidly reduced and by which the problem of India—namely, the uplift of the rural masses—will be solved in a comparatively quick time.

Before I conclude I would like to refer to two important speeches—one by Lord Peel and the other by Lord Reading. I could follow the speech of Lord Peel; I could see the difficulties he pointed out; but, with the utmost respect, and perhaps he was carried away by his usual eloquence, I could not understand whether Lord Reading really wanted to give us self-government immediately. But I could see Lord Peel's attitude. His attitude was "Yes, we may be prepared to meet you if you can remove certain difficulties; for instance, if you can set up a constitution which will ensure a stable state of society." There was one very important point raised by Lord Peel. He said that if we representatives of India, and the Princes of India, go back having attained our object there is a very strong party in India which will wrest power from our hands. Let me assure Lord Peel that if the sentiments of the people be satisfied there will be a large section of extremists who

will be satisfied; but let me at the same time tell some of my friends here that there will remain a section who may not and will not be reconciled. You may, the British Indian delegates, take that into account in framing the constitution, but if you give us a constitution such as we want the position will be infinitely better, if you accede to the sentiment of the people with due safeguards.

One word more. I would like to ask you to realise what will be the position if you can freely affiliate India to you—a self-governing India. I make bold to say that if that ideal be attained world peace is assured. Such affiliation will make Britain's position in the world pre-eminent not only in the sphere of trade and commerce but also as a most important and effective factor in maintaining world's peace. The Great War has demonstrated the possibilities of India in men and money assembled at short notice, but with a self-governing India, truly affiliated to England the resources in men and materials which will be available to the British Commonwealth of Nations will be very much larger than the contribution of India during the World War. With this reserve strength, England the head of that confederacy will reach a position which no other power in the world would ever approach. Such a consummation may lead to the realization of a new world ideal. If that position is ever attained perhaps the poet's dream may cease to be a dream and prove to be a reality. It may then mean a world where the war-drum will throb no longer in the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World. Is not that ideal worth striving for? Should we not, as citizens of a world where, through God's grace, I firmly believe, an increasing purpose runs, strive for such an ideal?

DR. AMBEDKAR

Mr. Chairman: My purpose in rising to address the Conference is principally to place before it the point of view of the Depressed Classes, whom I and my colleague Rao Bahadur Shrinivasan have the honour to represent regarding the question of constitutional reform. It is a point of view of 43,000,000 people, or one-fifth of the total population of British India. The Depressed Classes form a group by themselves which is distinct and separate from the Mahomedans, and although they are included among the Hindus they in no sense form an integral part of that community. Not only have they a separate existence but they have also assigned to them a status which is invidiously distinct from the status occupied by any other community in India. There are communities in India which occupy a lower and a subordinate position. But the position assigned to the Depressed Classes is totally different. It is one which is mid way between that of the serf and the slave and which may, for convenience, be called servile—with this difference, that the serf and the slave were permitted to have physical contact, but from which the Depressed Classes are debarred. What is worse is that this enforced servility and bar to human intercourse due to their untouchability involves not merely the possibility of discrimination in public life but actually works out as a positive denial of all equality of opportunity and the denial of those most elementary of civic rights on which all human existence depends. I am sure that the point of view of a community as large as the population of England or of France

and so heavily handicapped in the struggle for existence cannot but have some bearing on the right sort of solution of the political problem, and I am anxious that the Conference should be placed in possession of that point of view at the very start.

That point of view I will try to put as briefly as I can. It is this : that the bureaucratic form of government in India should be replaced by a government which will be a government of the people by the people and for the people.

This statement of the view of the Depressed Classes I am sure will be received with some surprise in certain quarters. The tie that bound the Depressed Classes to the British has been of a unique character. The Depressed Classes welcomed the British as their deliverers from age long tyranny and oppression by the orthodox Hindus. They fought their battles against the Hindus, the Mussulmans and the Sikhs, and won for them this great Empire of India. The British on their side assumed the role of trustees for the Depressed Classes. In view of such an intimate relationship between the parties, this change in the attitude of the Depressed Classes towards British rule in India is undoubtedly a most momentous phenomenon but the reasons for this change of attitude are not far to seek. We have not taken this decision simply because we wish to throw in our lot with the majority. Indeed as you know there is not much love lost between the majority and the particular minority I represent. Ours is an independent decision. We have judged of the existing administration solely in the light of our own circumstances and we have found it wanting in some of the most essential elements of a good government. When we compare our present position with the one which it was our lot to bear in Indian society of the pre-British

enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their full-hearted co-operation. If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps, I would make them withdraw all the Congress resolutions and not whisper "Home Rule" or "Responsible Government" during the pendency of the War. I would make India offer all her able bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment and I know that India, by this very act, would become the most favoured partner in the Empire, and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past. But practically the whole of educated India has decided to take a less effective course, and it is no longer possible to say that educated India does not exercise any influence on the masses.

I feel sure that nothing less than a definite vision of Home Rule to be realised in the shortest possible time will satisfy the Indian people. I know that there are many in India who consider no sacrifice is too great in order to achieve the end, and they are wakeful enough to realise that they must be equally prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Empire in which they hope and desire to reach their final status. It follows then that we can but accelerate our journey to the goal by silently and simply devoting ourselves heart and soul to the work of delivering the Empire from the threatening danger. It will be a national suicide not to recognise this elementary truth. We must perceive that, if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home Rule.

Whilst, therefore, it is clear to me that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defence, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about the financial assistance. My intimate intercourse with the raiyats convinces me that India has already donated to the Imperial Exchequer beyond her capacity. I know that, in making this statement, I am voicing the opinion of the majority of my countrymen.

It is interesting to note that even so early as this, Mr. Gandhi foreshadowed his views on the Khilafat question of which we shall read so much indeed in the subsequent pages. Mr. Gandhi wrote these words in a letter to the Viceroy :—

Lastly, I would like you to ask His Majesty's Ministers to give definite assurance about the Muhammadan States. I am sure you know that every Muhammadan is deeply interested in them. As a Hindu I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows. In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of these States and for the Muslim sentiment as to the places of worship and in your just and timely treatment of the Indian claim to Home Rule lie the safety of the Empire. I wrote this, because I love the English nation and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty to Englishmen.

days we find that instead of marching on we are only marking time. Before the British we were in the loathsome condition due to our untouchability. Has the British Government done anything to remove it? Before the British we could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured us the right to the well? Before the British we could not enter the temple. Can we enter now? Before the British we were denied entry into the police Force. Does the British Government admit us in the Force? Before the British we were not allowed to serve in the Military. Is that career now open to us? To none of these questions we can give an affirmative answer. That the British who have held so large a sway over us for such a long time have done some good we cheerfully acknowledge. But there is certainly no fundamental change in our position. Indeed so far as we are concerned the British Government has accepted the social arrangements as it found them, and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all. Our wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted although 150 years of British rule have rolled away.

We do not accuse the British of indifference or want of sympathy, but what we do find is they are quite incompetent to tackle our problem. If the case was one of indifference only it would have been a matter of small moment, and it would not have made such a profound change in our attitude.

What we have come to realise on a deeper analysis of the situation is that it is not merely a case of indifference but it is a case of sheer incompetence to undertake

the task. The Depressed Classes find that the British Government in India suffers from two very serious limitations. There is first of all an internal limitation which arises from the character, motives and interests of those who are in power which prevents them from sympathising with the living forces operating in Indian society, is inimical to its aspirations, is apathetic to education and does not favour swadeshi; it is not because it cannot favour these things but because it is against its character, motives and interests to do so. The second consideration that limits its authority is the possibility of external resistance. The Government of India does realise the necessity of removing the social evils which are eating into the vitals of Indian society and which have blighted the lives of the down-trodden classes; the Government of India does realise that the landlords are squeezing the masses dry, and the capitalists are not giving the labourers a living wage and decent conditions of work. Yet it is a most painful thing that it has not dared to touch any of these evils. Why? Is it because it has no legal powers to remove them? No. The reason why it does not intervene is because it is afraid that its intervention to amend the existing code of social and economic life will give rise to resistance. Of what good is such a government to anybody? Under a government paralysed between two such limitations much that goes to make life good must remain held up. We must have a government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interest of the country. We must have a government in which men in power knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This role the British Government will never be able to play.

It is only a government which is of the people, for the people and by the people that will make this possible.

These are some of the questions raised by the Depressed Classes and the answers which these questions seem to carry. This is the conclusion which the Depressed Classes have come to: namely that the Bureaucratic Government of India with the best of motives will remain powerless to effect any change so far as our particular grievances are concerned. We feel that no body can remove our grievances as well as we can and we cannot remove them unless we get political power in our own hands. No share of this political power can evidently come to us so long as the British Government remains as it is. It is only in a Swaraj constitution that we stand any chance of getting the political power into our own hands without which we cannot bring salvation to our people.

There is one thing, Sir, to which I wish to draw your particular attention. It is this. I have not used the expression Dominion status in placing before you the point of view of the Depressed Classes. I have avoided using it not because I do not understand its implications nor does the omission mean that the Depressed Classes object to India's attaining Dominion status. My chief ground for not using it is that it does not convey the full content of what the Depressed Classes stand for. The Depressed Classes while they stand for Dominion status with safeguards wish to lay all the emphasis they can on one question and one question alone. And that question is, how will Dominion India function? Where will the centre of political power lie? Who will have it? Will the Depressed Classes be heirs to it? These are the questions that form their chief concern. The Depressed Classes feel that they will get no shred of the

political power unless the political machinery for the new constitution is of a special make. In the construction of that machine certain hard facts of Indian Social life must not be lost sight of. It must be recognised that Indian Society is a gradation of castes forming an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt—a system which gives no scope for the growth of that sentiment of equality and fraternity so essential for a democratic form of Government. It must also be recognised that while the intelligentsia is a very necessary and a very important part of Indian society it is drawn from its upper strata and although it speaks in the name of the country and leads the political movement it has not shed the narrow particularism of the class from which it is drawn. In other words what the Depressed Classes wish to urge is that the political mechanism must take account of and must have a definite relation to the psychology of the society for which it is devised. Otherwise you are likely to produce a constitution which however symmetrical will be truncated one and a total misfit to the society for which it is designed.

There is one point with which I should like to deal before I close this matter. We are often reminded that the problem of the Depressed Classes is a social problem and that its solution lies elsewhere than in politics. We take strong exception to this view. We hold that the problem of the Depressed Classes will never be solved unless they get political power in their own hands. If this is true, and I do not think that the contrary can be maintained, then the problem of the Depressed Classes is, I submit, eminently a political problem and must be treated as such. We know that political power is passing from the British into the hands of those who wield such tremendous economic, social and religious sway over our exist-

ence. We are willing that it may happen though the idea of Swaraj recalls to the mind of many of us the tyrannies, oppressions and injustices practised upon us in the past and the fear of their recurrence under Swaraj. We are prepared to take the inevitable risk of the situation in the hope that we shall be installed in adequate proportion as the political sovereigns of the country along with our fellow countrymen. But we will consent to that on one condition and that is that the settlement of our problem is not left to time. I am afraid the Depressed Classes have waited too long for time to work its miracle. At every successive step taken by the British Government to widen the scope of representative Government the Depressed Classes have been systematically left out. No thought has been given to their claim for political power. I protest with all the emphasis I can that we will not stand this any longer. The settlement of our problem must be a part of the general political settlement and must not be left over to the sifting sands of the sympathy and goodwill of the rulers of the future. The reasons why the Depressed Classes insist upon it are obvious. Every one of us knows that the man in possession is more powerful than the man who is out of possession. Every one of us also knows that those in possession of power seldom abdicate in favour of those who are out of it. We cannot therefore hope for the effectuation of the settlement of our social problem if we allow power to slip into the hands of those who stand to lose by settlement unless we are to have another revolution to dethrone those whom we have helped to capture power. We prefer being despised for too anxious apprehensions, than ruined by too confident a security, and I think it would be just and proper for us to insist that the best guarantee for the settlement of social problem is the adjust-

ment of the political machine itself, and not the will of those who are contriving to be left in unfettered control of that machine.

What adjustments the Depressed Classes want, I will place before the Conference at the proper time. All I will say at the present moment is that although we want responsible government we do not want a government that will only mean a change of masters. Let the Legislature be fully and really representative if your executive is going to be fully responsible.

I am sorry Mr. President, I had to speak in such plain words. But I saw no help. The Depressed Classes have had no friend. The Government has all along used them only as an excuse for its continued existence. The Hindus claim them only to deny them or better still to appropriate their rights. The Mahomedans refuse to recognize their separate existence because they fear that these privileges may be curtailed by the admission of a rival disowned by one section and unowned by another. We are left in a most intolerable position to which I am sure there is no parallel and to which I was bound to call attention.

Regarding the other question which is set down for discussion I am sorry it was decided to tag it on to a general debate. Its importance deserved a session for itself. No justice can be done to it in a passing reference. The subject is one in which the Depressed Classes are deeply concerned and they regard it as a very vital question. As a member of a minority we look to the Central Government to act as a powerful curb on the provincial majority to save the minorities from the misrule of the majority. As an Indian interested in the growth of Indian nationalism I must make it plain that I am a strong believer in the unitary form of government and the thought

of disturbing it, I must confess, does not please me very much. This unitary government has been the most potent influence in the building up of the Indian nation. That process of unification which has been the result of a unified system of government has not been completed and I should be loath to withdraw this most powerful stimulus in the formative period and before it has worked out its end. However the question in the form in which it is placed is only an academic question and I shall be prepared to consider a federal form if it can be shown that in it local autonomy is not inconsistent with central unity.

Sir, all that I as a representative of the Depressed Classes need say on their behalf I have said. May I crave your indulgence to permit me as an Indian to say a word or two generally on the situation which we have to meet. So much has been said regarding its gravity that I shall not venture to add a word more to it although I am no silent spectator of the movement. What I am anxious about is to feel whether we are proceeding on right lines in evolving our solution.

What that solution should be it rests entirely upon the view that British delegates choose to take. Addressing myself to them I will say, whether you will meet the situation by conciliation or by applying the iron heel must be a matter for your judgement. For the responsibility is entirely yours. To such of you as are partial to the use of force and believe that a regime of *Lettres de cachet* and the *Bastille* will ease the situation let me recall the memorable words of the greatest teacher of political philosophy, Edmund Burke. This is what he said to the British nation when it was faced with the problem of dealing with the American Colonies :—

“ The use of force alone is but temporary. It may endure for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. The next objection to force is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for conciliation failing force remains, but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and Authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as arms by an impoverished and defeated violence. A further objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for (to wit the loyalty of the people) is not the thing you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest.”

The worth and efficacy of this advice you all know. You did not listen to it and you lost the great continent of America. You followed it to the lasting good of yourself and the rest of the dominions that are with you.

To such of you as are willing to adopt a policy of conciliation I should like to say one thing. There seems to be prevalent an impression that the delegates are called here to argue for and against a case for Dominion status and that the grant of Dominion status will be dependent upon on which side is the victory in this battle of wits. With due deference to all who are sharpening their wits I submit, that there can be no greater mistake than to make the formula of logic govern so live an issue. I have no quarrel with logic and logicians. But I warn them against the disaster that is bound to follow if they are not careful in the selection of the premises they choose to adopt for their deductions. It is all a matter of temper whether you.

will abide by the fall of your logic or whether you will refute it as Dr. Johnson did the paradoxes of Berkeley by trampling them under his foot. I am afraid it is not sufficiently realised that in the present temper of the country no constitution will be workable which is not acceptable to the majority of the people. The time when you were to choose and India was to accept is gone never to return. Let the consent of the people and not the accident of logic be the touchstone of your new constitution if you desire that it should be worked.

MR. K. T. PAUL

Mr. Pannirselvam and myself have the honour to represent here a community which numbers five million people. Among the minorities, ours is the next to the Moslems in number. It is a steadily growing community. It has special advantages of education and training which render it far more useful to the country than its numbers would indicate. A big proportion of the elementary education of the country is manned by its men and women; its extended participation in the secondary and collegiate education of the country bring it into valuable contact with the young manhood and womanhood of the whole country. In the voluntary national service of medical relief for women the pioneering and the steady progress of the service has been possible because of the personnel so readily available from our community.

As for our rank and file, we are tillers of the soil, many more of us being labourers than owners of land.

In all such ways we are the servants of our motherland. Though our religion has come from outside—and we derive from it our deepest and most powerful direction for our private and public life and relationships—it should be realised that we have been in India for 1,700 years; that is, for over 700 years before the first Moslem arrivals in India.

That section of our community which is still the wealthiest and the most vigorous has been in the Hindu kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin from the third century

LORD WILLINGDON AND THE HOME RULERS

On June 10, 1918, Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay, presiding over the Bombay War Conference, happened to make an unfortunate reference to Home Rulers. Mr. Tilak who was on the war-path resented what he deemed an unwarranted insult to Home Rulers and instantly launched on a downright political oration. His Excellency ruled him out of order and one by one the Home Rulers left the Conference. Mr. Gandhi was asked to preside over the protest meeting in Bombay held on the 16th June. He spoke as follows:—

Lord Willingdon has presented them with the expression Home Rule Leaguers distinguished from Home Rulers, and I cannot conceive the existence of an Indian who is not a Home Ruler; but there are millions like myself who are not Home Rule Leaguers. Although I am not a member of any Home Rule League, I wish to pay on this auspicious day my humble tribute to numerous Home Rule Leaguers whose association I have ever sought in my work and which has been extended to me ungrudgingly. I have found many of them to be capable of any sacrifice for the sake of the Motherland.

RECRUITING FOR THE WAR

Mr. Gandhi did a great deal to stimulate recruiting for the War. Though he did not hesitate to criticise the bureaucracy for individual acts of wrong, he went about in the districts of Kaira calling for recruits. Time and again he wrote to the press urging the need for volunteers, and he constantly spoke to the educated and the illiterate alike on the necessity for joining the Defence Force.

On one occasion he said in Kaira where he had conducted Satyagraha on an extensive scale:—

You have successfully demonstrated how you can resist Government with civility, and how you can retain your own respect without hurting theirs. I now place before you an opportunity of showing that you bear no hostility to Government in spite of your strenuous fight with them.

You are all Home Rulers, some of you are members of Home Rule Leagues. One meaning of Home Rule is that we should

of the Christian era. The next great section was established in the Tamil kingdoms of the South-East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In all these centuries, though it will not be right to say that there were no difficulties, in the main it is a fact that we have had freedom and protection under Hindu and Moslem Prince alike. Nor do we feel isolated in point of culture and tradition. We drink from the same founts of literature, art, and music, and in fact the most modern tendencies of even our religious thought and expression is to relate them in all loyalty to its great history and traditions, to the categories that are derived from what is characteristically Indian lore. And with the deliberate advantages that we have of understanding the best in the mind and spirit of Britain, our community in general and its youth in particular, are now in the mid-currents of the nationalistic movement which is surging in the country. This was voiced in no uncertain terms in the resolutions of the All-India Christian Council which met in Lucknow on the 11th of July. I shall quote one section of the second resolution :

It is our observation that India has in the last three months indicated in the clearest way and in substantial unanimity that her place in the British Commonwealth should be that of a Dominion and that immediately. India has indicated this in the most arduous of ways, the way of suffering and self-sacrifice.

The same Council went on to state its views on the Round Table Conference in these terms :

Our All-India Conference which met in Lahore last December welcomed the proposal of a Round Table Conference. We still believe that the solution to the constitutional problems of India can be found only at a Conference at which the chief interests are adequately and acceptably represented. We do have the faith that H. E. Lord Irwin will recommend for participation in that Conference persons who are competent to express the views of the various important political parties and who are thoroughly acceptable to them. While we do welcome the Conference we wish to make certain points :

I will quote only the first of these :

The mind of India as regards the main issue has already been indicated through the way of suffering. This should, therefore, be laid down as the limiting scope of the Round Table Conference within which and around which all other problems great and small should be worked out. Now that the Viceroy has signified that he cannot give any pledge, the Round Table Conference itself should lay this down as the definition of its scope—should lay down Dominion constitution as the main basis on which all other problems of internal and external relationships and responsibilities, as, e.g., of the Army, be worked out.

I shall be asked what precisely is the attitude of my community as regards the protection of minorities. I am here to say that this was considered with the greatest care by the All-India Christian Council, which laid down its views which we shall place before the relevant committees or sub-committees of this Conference. At this time I may be permitted to read only one section of it :

We are confident that our own community, especially the rising generation, is well aware of the fact that the place of a minority in a nation is its value to the whole nation and not merely unto itself. That value depends upon the quality of its life, the standard of its preparation for life's various activities, the strenuousness with which it throws itself into all avenues of useful services and the genuineness with which it seeks a common weal. We are well aware that in the peculiar social situation in India, even with all the values we have indicated, there are and will continue to be unmerited hardships falling on individuals and groups. But we record our conviction that while many of such hardships and disabilities will be met by such administrative devices as Public Service Commissions and by reservation in the Legislatures and Councils, the real solution is to be found in the positive and constructive methods of the community straining every nerve to make itself qualified, efficient, useful, and even indispensable to the nation.

The attitude of our community is thus one of trust. We do not ignore the fact of the minorities problem. Situated as we are between two great and powerful communities, we are only too often conscious of the fact that we are just forgotten, sometimes to our serious and lasting injury. But we have every belief that

this conference will find no difficulty in laying down general standards of equitable treatment to all citizens without prejudice or favour. In the first place we anticipate that in the new constitution of India there will be implemented articles setting forth such standards as were done in the new constitutions which arose at the Treaty of Versailles. In the second place we anticipate that the Central Government will be made strong enough to oversee the effective maintenance of such standards in actual practice throughout the country in all the Provinces and States. In the third place, and as my final word, I wish to make one point.

Our religious life brings us in intimate relations with the life of many Nations of the West, and our community is in a peculiar position to appreciate the enormous importance of our country maintaining international relationships in as many lines as possible. We will fail in our duty if we do not here and now emphasise what indeed is no new idea to our national leaders, that our Motherland has everything to gain by every tie she makes with other nations, East and West. We would mention this specially at this time because it has a bearing on the structure of our constitution. We are aware and proud of the fact that India, even as a so-called "subject nation" is becoming more and more an influence, through her literature and philosophy, and what I may call her spirit, upon the life and thought and spirit of many nations in both hemispheres. And today, when the stigma of political subjection is to be removed from her fair brow, we are anxious that no mistake should be made to weaken her integrity as a united indivisible entity which has always stood for something distinctive in the world. In our eagerness to safeguard the autonomy of the units which

shall make up the Indian Federation, we have also to safeguard with the greatest jealousy her integrity as a solid well-knit unit with a strong Central Government which could speak to other nations on behalf of the whole of India, and where necessary even make undertakings on behalf of the whole of India in matters of economic, humanitarian, cultural and peace interests. We crave for our India a real place, not merely in the British Commonwealth, but also in the sisterhood of all nations, a place that is real and effective for the good of the entire world.

MR. M. A. JINNAH

Mr. President : To use your own words I can assure you that we are here going to co-operate, animated by a determination to succeed.

The first point that I should like to deal with is the point with regard to the moral claims of Great Britain on the one side and the sins of commission and omission by Great Britain on the other. I tell you, Sir, this, that I am one of those who believes that no useful purpose will be served by going into that question. Let that question, may I say to those who indulge in it on both sides, be decided by the historians (Hear, hear). For my purpose it is enough that Great Britain is in India. I have no hesitation in conceding this proposition,—that you have a great interest in India both commercial and political, and therefore you are a party, if I may say so, gravely interested in the future constitution of India. But what I have said that I want you equally to concede frankly—and frankness does not mean wounding anybody's feelings, nor that we are influenced by bitterness ; it means, as I understand, particularly in a Conference like this, that we should put our point of view frankly and respectfully and without wounding anybody's feelings, and therefore I shall avoid any kind of bitterness. When I have said this I want you equally to concede that we have a greater and far more vital interest than you have, because you have the financial or commercial interest and the political interest but to us it is all in all (Hear, hear).

Now, in that spirit, you sitting on that side of the Conference and we sitting on this side, let us approach

every question. I almost said that really there are four parties, not forgetting the other smaller minorities, such as the Sikhs and the Christians and not forgetting for a single moment the Depressed Classes. But there are four main parties sitting round the table now. There are the British Party, the Indian Princes, the Hindus and the Moslems.

Let us, Sir, consider what is the issue with which we are engaged. Before I come to that issue I want to dispel one thing. There is a certain amount of misunderstanding or want of understanding. I want you to understand particularly on account of the observations of Lord Peel. Lord Peel said that his Party was gravely disturbed by the non-co-operation movement. Having emphasised that he concluded by saying that if we came to any agreement and gave you a great advance in the constitution of India it would be taken advantage of by those who would like to wreck it. Now Sir, let us understand the position in India. The position in India is this, and let me tell you here again, without mincing any words that there is no section, whether they are Hindus or Mohammadans or whether they are Sikhs or Christians or Parsees or Depressed Classes or even commercial classes, merchants or traders, there is not one section in India that has not emphatically declared that India must have a full measure of self-government (Hear, Hear). When you say that a large, a very influential party in India stands for wrecking or misusing this constitution I ask you this question—Do you want those parties who have checked, held in abeyance, the party that stands for complete independence, do you want those people to go back with this answer from you: that nothing can be done because there is a strong party which will misuse or wreck the constitution which we will get from you? Is that the

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answer you want? Now let me tell you the tremendous fallacy of that argument.

Seventy millions of Mussalmans—all, barring a few individuals here and there—have kept aloof from the non-co-operation movement. Thirty-five or forty millions of Depressed Classes have set their face against the non-co-operation movement. Sikhs and Christians have not joined it, and let me tell you that even amongst that party which you characterise as a larger party—and I admit that it is an important party—it has not got the support of the bulk of Hindus. (“Hear, hear”) Do you want every one of the parties who have still maintained that their proper place is to go to this Conference, and across the table to negotiate and come to a settlement which will satisfy the aspirations of India, to go back and join the rest? Is that what you want? Because what other position will they occupy? What will be the answer? I want you to consider the gravity of it, a gravity which was emphasised by previous speakers. You may, of course, argue it, but let us understand now the character and the function of this Conference. Speaking on behalf of the British Indian Delegation I do not want to indulge in generalities, but I want to put before you the cardinal principle by which we shall be guided in the further proceedings of this Conference. I must admit that while I am stating this cardinal principle we must have regard to facts and to realities, and that is why we are here to hammer out those facts and those realities and to hammer out a constitution for India which will satisfy the people. That cardinal principle which shall be the guide as far as we are concerned is this—that if I call it Dominion status I know that Lord Reading will put a poser as to what is the meaning of Dominion status; I know if I use the word res-

possible government somebody else will put me a poser, "What do you mean by responsible government?" I know if I use the expression, full self-Government, somebody else will ask me a similar question—but I say the cardinal principle which will guide us throughout the deliberations of this Conference is that India wants to be mistress in her own house; and I cannot conceive of any constitution that you may frame which will not transfer responsibility to the central government or to a cabinet responsible to it. If that is the cardinal principle by which we shall be guided then as Lord Reading very rightly pointed out, there may be questions, such as in defence or in policy and so on. I do not think there is any secret on that point so far as the British Indian Delegations are concerned. Whoever has used the phrase Dominion status so far as this table is concerned has always said "with safe guards during the transitional period". Sir, that is going to be our cardinal principle.

To sum up the substance of the speeches of Lord Peel and Lord Reeding, the only point that emerged was the difference with regard to the pace. I will only say one thing before I proceed a little further, and it is this—that self-government is not an abstract thing, it is a business proposition, and if the power of the Government is transferred to a Cabinet responsible to the legislature, the first and foremost thing that we have to provide is that the various interests are safeguarded, and you cannot possibly frame any constitution unless you have provided the safe guards for the interests which exist in India. First, there is the minority question, which we shall have to tackle, and unless you create that sense of security among the minorities, no constitution that you may frame will be possibly able to work successfully, ("Hear, hear.") Very

become partners of the Empire. To-day we are a subject people. We do not enjoy all the rights of Englishmen. We are not to-day partners of the Empire as are Canada, South Africa and Australia. We are a dependency. We want the rights of Englishmen, and we aspire to be as much partners of the Empire as the Dominions Overseas. We wish for the time when we may aspire to the Vice-regal office. To bring such a state of things we should have the ability to defend ourselves, that is the ability to bear arms and to use them. As long as we have to look to Englishmen for our defence, as long as we are not free from the fear of the military, so long we cannot be regarded as equal partners with Englishmen. It, therefore, behoves us to learn the use of arms and to acquire the ability to defend ourselves. If we want to learn the use of arms with the greatest possible despatch, it is our duty to enlist ourselves in the Army.

The easiest and the straightest way to win *Swaraj*, said Mr. Gandhi, is to participate in the defence of the Empire. This argument, doubtless, went home, and he appealed in the following words :

There are 600 villages in the Kaira District. Every village has on an average a population of over 1,000. If every village gave at least twenty men the Kaira District would be able to raise an army of 12,000 men. The population of the whole district is seven lakhs and this number will then work out at 17 per cent.—a rate which is lower than the death-rate. If we are not prepared to make even this sacrifice for the Empire and *Swarajya*, it is no wonder if we are regarded as unworthy of it. If every village gives at least twenty men they will return from the war and be the living bulwarks of their village. If they fall on the battle-field they will immortalise themselves, their villages and their country, and twenty fresh men will follow suit and offer themselves for national defence.

THE MONTAGU REFORMS

We have noticed how Mr. Gandhi took a leading part in the agitation for post-War reforms and how his idea of a monster petition was taken up by every political body of importance in the country. It must, however, be noted with regret that his enthusiasm for the reforms was not kept up as he was absolutely engrossed in other affairs. On the publication of the Joint Report in July 1918, Mr. Gandhi wrote to the *Servant of India* at the request of the Hon. Mr. V. S. S. Sastri for an expression of opinion :

rightly, the Indian Princes are here, and you cannot very well frame a constitution for India, for self-government in the sense in which I have described it, without taking into consideration their position; and all that the Princes are anxious about is that they want certain safeguards in that constitution.

The next point, Sir, that I want to make is this. It was said by Lord Peel that there was the journey and the journey's end, as he read from the speech of Lord Irwin. May I point out to him that in that very speech this is what Lord Irwin said, which Lord Peel omitted :

Although it is true that in our external relations with other parts of the Empire India exhibits already several of the attributes of self-governing Dominions, it is also true that Indian political opinion is not at present disposed to attach full value to these attributes of status, for the reason that their practical exercise is for the most part subject to the control or concurrence of His Majesty's Government. The demand for Dominion status that is now made on behalf of India is based upon the general claim to be free from the control more especially in those spheres that are regarded as of predominantly domestic interest; and here, as is generally recognised, there are real difficulties internal to India and peculiar to her circumstances and to world conditions that have to be faced, and in regard to which there may be sharp variation of opinion both in India and in Great Britain. The existence of these difficulties cannot be seriously disputed, and the whole object of the Conference now proposed is to afford the opportunity to His Majesty's Government of examining, in free consultation with Indian leaders, how they may best, most rapidly and most surely be surmounted.

One more word I will say with regard to the pace. You, Sir, speaking two years ago at a meeting, said this, presiding at the British Labour Conference in London in 1928 :

I hope that within a period of months, rather than years, there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the Commonwealth—I refer to India. (Applause.)

And yet, Sir, the crux of the two speeches of Lord Peel and of Lord Reading is that our differences are still with regard to the pace. Since 1928 two years have passed.

There is one more thing that I want to say. It is this. I think we have lost sight of the communication which has created us. From that announcement I will only read the passage :

The Chairman of the Commission has pointed out, in correspondence with the Prime Minister which I understand is being published in England, that as their investigation has proceeded he and his colleagues have been greatly impressed, in considering the directions which the future constitutional development of India is likely to take, with the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may at some future time develop between British India and the Indian States. In their judgment it is essential that the methods by which this future relationship between these two constituent parts of Greater India can be adjusted should be fully examined. He has further expressed the opinion that if the Commission's report and the proposals subsequently to be framed by the Government take this wider range, it will appear necessary for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure as at present proposed.

Therefore, Sir, when Lord Peel says that some of the recommendations of the Simon Commission are revolutionary, the Chairman of that Commission himself suggests that in the light of the inclusion of the Indian Princes you have not only radically changed the procedure, but the whole aspect of the position is changed altogether.

Sir, let me tell you this in conclusion—that so far as we are concerned the Simon Commission's Report is dead. The Government of India Despatch is already a back number, and there has arisen a new star in our midst to-day, and that is the Indian Princes. Their position has even placed the demand of British India for Dominion status in the background, and we are now thinking of a Dominion of All India. ("Hear, hear") Therefore it is no

use your believing still in the Report of the Simon Commission or in the Despatch of the Government of India.

I must say in conclusion that I am very much moved by, and that I welcome warmly, the noble attitude, the patriotic attitude, that the Indian Princes have shown.

There is only one other word I would like to say, because there might be some misapprehension. It was said by H. H. The Maharaja of Patiala and also by H. H. The Jam Sahib that "before we consider the question of All India Federation we must have our status determined and decided by a judicial tribunal". I could not quite appreciate the force of that statement, but may I say to my friends the State's Delegates that whatever may be their position with regard to the orders that the Government of India may have passed under the present constitution, that constitution, is now in the melting pot, and they do not want anyone else to decide their status and rights. They are here to assert their status and rights. Whatever decisions this Conference may come to, and if there is an agreement, and if Parliament gives effect to it, it does not matter what has been laid down in the Butler Report or what has been laid down in the Secretariat of Simla or Delhi.

One more word about Parliament. It was said and emphasised by Lord Peel and by Lord Reading that Parliament must decide this question. We know that. We would not have been here if we did not expect Parliament finally to decide it. But remember, the original idea was that His Majesty's Government, in conference with the leaders of British India and of the Indian States, were to obtain the largest measure of agreement; and that if any such agreement were arrived at they would put these

proposals before Parliament. I am very glad—although I was opposed to the idea of the British Delegation being included, (I tell you that frankly), because as a business man I thought it was better to negotiate with one than to negotiate with three. It is more difficult to get three to agree. Therefore I was opposed to it. Now you are here. Do you not represent Parliament—the three Parties? You do, and if you come to an agreement are you afraid that Parliament will repudiate it? May I read here what Lord Irwin said about it when this question was raised :

It would seem evident, however, that what all people most desire is a solution reached by mutual agreement between Great Britain and India, and that in the present circumstances friendly collaboration between Great Britain and India is a requisite and indispensable condition in order to obtain it. On the one side it is unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem, as it would be short sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India.

In this case now, as the Conference is constituted, it is not only with the willing assent of India but of the British Delegation. It would be a very bold Parliament indeed that would repudiate any agreement that might be arrived at this Table.

SIR ABDUL QAIYUM

Mr. Chairman: Let me first of all thank the Prime Minister for having given me this early opportunity of speaking to the Conference. I do not know whether it was my extraordinary turban or my moustaches which attracted attention, or whether I was called upon because of a sense of justice that the depressed of the South who had spoken should be followed by the depressed of the North. Whether the one or the other, I must feel thankful to the Prime Minister. I was not one of those fortunate people whose names were sent up earlier, and I did not know whether I should ever get an opportunity of speaking to this House. I was ignored by all the different sections when they proposed the names of their speakers. When a man of the position of the Prime Minister excuses himself for his awkward account, I must excuse myself for my bad English and my bad pronunciation, as my English education has been very limited and I have not come into contact with English speaking people very much.

Sir, it is not a speech that I am going to make to this Conference. As I cannot make good speeches and impress my points on people by the force of good language and oratory it is an appeal that I am going to make to the Conference—to you, Sir as the head of the Government, to the British Delegates as representing the various parties in Parliament, and to my brothers from India with their Princes.

It is an appeal from one who has devoted the whole of his life to the service of the Empire—(“ Hear, hear ”)—

whose services have been appreciated in various ways both by Government and by the public. It is not the word of an agitator or a discontented man, it is the word of a man who has been brought up under the present regime, one who owes a good many obligations both to the Government and to the Empire. My appeal is on behalf of the people of the North West Frontier Province, a people who have rendered meritorious service to the Empire, who are the gate-keepers in one sense of the Indian Empire, who have served that Empire and have proved their loyalty to the Empire and to the country in numerous ways, who have fought against their neighbours (who happen to be their kinsmen in blood), who have rendered conspicuous services in the recent world war. If you take the percentage of recruitment of Indian Army you will find that the North West Frontier Province stands first throughout India. It is on behalf of that Province, that unfortunate Province, that I am going to make this appeal to the Conference. I do not think it is necessary for me to appeal to my brother Delegates from India, because they know the situation. They are more thoroughly acquainted with our sentiments and our services, and as I see during the sessions of this Conference that they are condemning untouchability and doing away with the depressed classes and are giving them full liberty throughout India, I find it unnecessary to appeal to them. I hope they will grant us equal rights. It is to you, Sir, who appear now inclined to be creating untouchability in the twentieth century, casting away a people, or rather stamping a people as depressed, as inferior, as not equal to the ordinary citizens' rights in India, to whom my appeal is addressed just now.

I hope, Sir, that my appeal will not fall on deaf ears. It is a great feeling that prompts me to speak in such terms.

as this, but my predecessors have been frank and sincere in their expressions, and I hope that I shall not be accused of undue bluntness if I speak on this occasion.

The question before the Conference is, how to meet the aspirations of India with respect to her constitutional advancement. Well, I do not think that I am competent to speak on that question, because so far I am out of any constitution for India. As I have said, I do not shirk the responsibilities of this assembly, and so I hope that the rule of ten minutes will not apply to me either.

I understand that the trend of opinion is towards a Federation system. To my limited intelligence that is the only way in which India can make progress and be united. But my personal difficulty is, How am I to be fitted in in that Federation? Am I to have equal rights with the rest of India as a unit of British India or of the whole of India, or am I to be kept in the background and ruled in the present despotic way or by, to use a word which has been already uttered, domination. That is my point. I hope I am not going to be treated in any way as an inferior unit in the Federation. I claim equal rights, and I assure the Conference that nothing short of equal rights will satisfy me. That desire has been demonstrated in many ways. We have been clamouring for it during the last ten years ever since our separation from the Punjab, and I am not going to remain contented with this stigma of inferiority. When I see that I am in no way inferior to the rest of India in intelligence, in education, in physical culture or in other ways, I look upon it as a great hardship and as a great injustice when I am told "You are not going to have equal rights." A thousand and one excuses are found by various organizations and people proving my inferiority, but so far not a single one has convinced me. When other

people are claiming Dominion Status with their caste systems, with their Depressed Classes, with their untouchability, and with a thousand other difficulties in their way, am I not justified in claiming only a simple equal citizen's right for myself? I have no untouchability in my Province. I have no caste system in my Province. I am a very homogeneous community. Others are clamouring for protection, for safeguards for minorities and other things. I have not got the difficulty of minorities. I am prepared to satisfy my minorities. I am not so selfish as to refuse them safeguards. I am not so selfish as not to satisfy them. I am prepared to give them every assurance, and if necessary safeguards, which will satisfy them. I do not base my claim on communalism or on matters of policy.

These are not the bases of my claim. My claim is simply based on human rights—on rights of equal citizenship, and nothing more. I will not go into the details of my fitness for equal partnership, because I may possibly find an opportunity to examine people, or to offer myself for examination, in the Committees, but if I am as unfortunate as I have been only this morning, if I had not attracted your attention somehow or another, I may not even have the opportunity of going before a Committee and explaining my views. However, the time limit is near and I cannot go into the details of my case.

As I have said, I feel myself quite fitted intellectually, economically, physically and in every way. There may yet be some matter of policy. As an old servant of the Crown and of the Indian Empire I have been associated with trans-border difficulties the whole of my life. I have served you on Border Commissions, on the Frontier, on Royal Commissions and in various other ways. With all

this experience behind me, I cannot see any insurmountable difficulty in the way of my progress. I was separated from the Punjab where, for 50 years I was in the exercise of full fledged rights of citizenship. Nobody said a word about my unfitness. As a matter of fact I was fitter in my part of the Punjab than many other parts of the Punjab were. That can be proved by reference to books.

Then the evil day came when we were separated. It was our destiny ; it was the hand of God. We deplored that day. We were told that as a small unit directly connected with the centre and under the very eye of the Viceroy we should advance by leaps and bounds. Well, we jumped at the suggestion ; but what do we find ? We are going backward while other people are going forward. We have lost three chances, and now the last chance is going to be lost to us. If you put us one step backwards to-day we are doomed for ever ; we shall never be able to pass two classes in one year and get into the higher class.

You may talk about the difficulties. I will not disclose what I have learned about the difficulties in an official capacity, but I am prepared to discuss them with you if you take me into your confidence. But if I am to be placed a step lower, how am I to get over this ? Are you going to give me some additional advantages and facilities to make up the loss ? Are you going to provide me with funds and so on ? Or are you going to keep me in that state perpetually ? That is an idea which has been puzzling the minds of most of our people. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.

In 1921 we were considered to be quite fit in every respect, and it was merely a question of whether we should be re-amalgamated with the Punjab. I was the

first witness to go before the Committee which was appointed, and I said that if we could have full-fledged reforms as a separate unit we should prefer it, but that otherwise we should rather like to go back to the Punjab. If in 1923 we could be entrusted with elected members in the proportion of two-thirds, you will not be surprised to learn that I thought it a very retrograde move when I read in the Simon Report that we were not to have any elected majority at all, and that the elected element was to be chosen by people who were nominated; that is to say, people who were themselves nominated would elect certain people. I do not want to worry you with these details, but we are going backward.

We have had one statesmen in my part of the world, and I am glad to say he remained with us for a fairly long time, but unfortunately it was during the Great War. He put us on the right lines; he established a first-class college and gave us education, and in your official despatches you will find his idea was to make that small unit a model province educationally, intellectually, economically, technically and so on. I refer to Sir George Roos-Keppel. Unfortunately his name is not well-known outside my province or it would have been greeted with more applause.

After that there was a good deal of trouble and we started going backwards. If there is any increase in taxation at the centre it is at once applied to our corner of the world, but if it is a question of any reform it is said that we are not fit for it. You were not afraid to apply the Sirdar Bill to the North West Frontier Province, though we did not require it and had no need for it. You are not afraid of applying a measure of that sort to the frontier, but when it is a question of electing men to deal with the mending of a few roads, the establishment of a few schools,

No scheme of reform can possibly benefit India that does not recognise that the present administration is top-heavy and ruinously expensive and for me, even law, order and good government would be too dearly purchased if the price to be paid for it is to be the grinding poverty of the masses. The watchword of our Reform Councils will have to be not the increase of taxation for the growing needs of a growing country, but a decrease of financial burdens that are sapping the foundation itself of organic growth. If this fundamental fact is recognised there need be no suspicion of our motives and I think I am perfectly safe in asserting that in every other respect British interests will be as secure in Indian hands as they are in their own.

It follows from what I have said above that we must respectfully press for the Congress-League claim for the immediate granting to Indians of 50 per cent. of the higher posts in the Civil Service.*

THE ROWLATT BILLS AND SATYAGRAHA

But soon there began a movement which was to tax the utmost energies of Mr. Gandhi—a movement fraught with grave consequences. The Government of India persisted in passing a piece of legislation known as the Rowlatt Laws which were designed to curb still further what little liberty is yet possessed by Indians in their own country. The legislation was presumed to be based on the Report of the Rowlatt Committee which announced the discovery of plots for the subversion of Government. Friends of Government, solicitous of the peaceful and well-ordered condition of society, warned it of the danger of passing such Acts which betrayed a tactless want of confidence and trust in the people at a time when Responsible Government was contemplated. The Bill was stoutly opposed by the public and the press. It was denounced by every political organisation worth the name. It was severely and even vehemently attacked in the Imperial Council.

* In this connection Mr. Montagu's own opinion of Mr. Gandhi, since made public by the release of his Diary, is of some interest. Mr. Montagu was greatly impressed by Mr. Gandhi's character and his beneficent activities but he held that "he is a pure visionary" and "does not understand details of schemes".

or even a hospital, you say "It is a great responsibility, and we cannot entrust you with it." When all your able lawyers and judges have failed to trace the guilty or innocent person, you refer the matter to us, and you allow us to pass a sentence of 14 years' imprisonment; but you will not entrust the mending of a road to us!

It is not a sin to boast of one's own activities here, and I should like to say that I am a person who owns land on both sides of the border, in the independent territory as well as in British territory. I protect myself across the border, and am under the protection of the police inside the border. If I can manage my affairs over there, with all the tenants, including some 60 families of non-Muslims, under my protection, why cannot you entrust your few non-Muslims to me in the settled districts?

Why do you fear? Do you think I shall pass laws which will be most objectionable to the minorities? Do you think I shall pass a law that the dhotis of certain non-Muslims should be cut off? God forbid that I should think of these things. What, then, are you afraid of? Are you afraid that if the Council is set up and a raiding party comes you will not be able to send out your frontier militia and constabulary to intercept it, but will have to wait until the Council has met and has allowed you to intercept them or prevented you from doing so? I cannot understand what is at the bottom of all this. If you fear trouble from my brothers across the border go and take them over. You may disarm them and crush them and spend crores of rupees in doing it, but when the time comes you will find them claiming the same rights as my friend Dr. Moonje claimed the other day.

It is no use my saying that this is the difficulty or that is the difficulty; as I have said, I do not think there is any

insurmountable difficulty. There may have been the idea in the mind of the Viceroy—God knows what his idea was—perhaps it was of the building of a Central Asian Empire, or perhaps it was the fear of Bolshevism. Both those fears have disappeared now. There is no longer any fear of Bolshevism or of Russia, nor can any Central Asian Empire be created, for a free Afghanistan would not allow it.

I shall offer myself for cross-examination to any Committees set up to discuss these questions, and I hope I shall be able to prove that there are no insurmountable difficulties. I claim equal rights. I cannot indulge in threats, like some other people, because I know it is useless to attempt that against the British Empire. I know it is not possible for a few disobedient non-co-operators to upset things; I do not believe in that or advocate that. Mine is only a little appeal to the sense of justice but I will not end without quoting a little proverb in my mother tongue which says that even a flea in your trouser can make you very uncomfortable (Laughter).

THE RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI

Mr. Prime Minister : Two ideas have emerged from the debates to which we have listened and which now dominate our minds. One is that of Dominion Status for India as the natural outcome of India's constitutional evolution. The other is that of federation as the proper form of the future polity of India, including both British India and the Indian States. This latter idea is comparatively new. We have struggled for Dominion Status for some time, and at last it seems to have found acceptance from the spokesmen to whom we have listened, of both the Conservative and the Liberal Parties.

The idea of federation, I must confess, is comparatively new to me. I struggled hard against it until the other day. Now I confess I am a convert. (Applause). I have listened both in private and at this table to the Princes and their spokesmen, and may I say with all due respect to them that they have brought me round to their view both by the sincerity of their declarations as to Dominion Status and by the tone of restraint and moderation in which they have spoken of the terms of federation itself.

It only remains for me to say one word of caution. Great ideas thrown together into the arena of politics sometimes work together and co-operate with each other up to a certain stage, but may tend, when pushed each to its consummation, to collide and even to weaken each other. I do hope that in the deliberations of the Committees to which we shall consign these great topics nothing will be

done on the side of those who care for federation more than for Dominion Status to weaken the latter, just as nothing should be done on the side of those who care for Dominion Status more than for federation to weaken federation.

Now, Mr. Prime Minister, may I address myself to another subject of the greatest importance. The idea of fear which is in the minds of many British people when they contemplate a large advance in constitutional status is that any polity that we may construct here, or that we may lay the foundations of, may pass, as respects its machinery, into the hands of those who now belong to the Indian National Congress Party and who have brought about the serious situation which has led to the summoning of the Round Table Conference. I do not think that that fear is unreasonable. It is natural. I think we who speak for India are under an obligation to meet that fear in earnest and try to convince the British people that either the fears may be countered by cautionary measures or that the fears have no foundation in fact. Much has been said by my friends who spoke on this side about the very large and considerable sections of the population whom Congress propaganda has not touched so far, who remain loyal to the British connection and who may be trusted, when there is serious danger, to stand by the British flag at all costs.

May I add another source of comfort—and in saying this I shall perhaps strike a note out of the line of orthodox defence of politics. Mr. Prime Minister, who are these people from whom we fear disturbance? No doubt they have caused trouble so far. Are our measures here not designed to conciliate them? Are these not pacificatory steps that we are taking? Are they not calculated to win over once more their hearts to the ways of loyalty and ordered progress?

Believe me, they are not hereditary criminals; they are not savage barbarian hordes; they are not the sworn enemies of Great Britain or of British institutions. They are men of culture, men of honour, most of them, men who have made their mark in the professions. They are our kinsmen both in spirit and by blood. It is a sense of political grievance that has placed them in this position, which we view with so much distrust and so much disapprobation. Remove that discontent and you will find them alongside you, working the new constitution that we shall frame to its highest issues and drawing from those new institutions that we frame all the benefit of which they are capable.

The toils and trials of public life are well-known to us all. I am on the side of law and order. I have never been within proximity of the goal, but I am a political agitator. I know how near I am to those whose methods I join with you in condemning to-day. Often in my life has the Government viewed my activities with suspicion and set its spies upon me. My life has not been one of unalloyed happiness; my way has not been free from thorns—and, Mr. Prime Minister, your experience is not altogether foreign to them.

Let us not be carried away in this matter, then, too much by a sense of self-righteousness. Very little indeed divides those who now champion law and order and those who, impelled by the purest patriotism, have found themselves on the other side. Adopt measures born of conciliation; set the constitution of India in proper order; and we whom this political difference has unhappily divided, will find ourselves once more co-operators for the welfare and contentment and ordered progress of India. Therein lies the strength of the situation to-day. Our

enemies are not bad men; they are good men whom we have alienated by unfortunate political happenings. It is easy to bring them round. Let us make an honest attempt and, by God's grace, our work shall be rewarded both here and in India, and we shall find India once more not only happy within her borders but a contented partner in the British Commonwealth.

SARDAR SAHIBZADA SULTAN AHMED

After the many eloquent speeches to which we have listened during these three days, a very large amount of ground has been covered and it would be futile for me to go over the same ground again. There are a few considerations relating to the States to which I desire to draw attention in very simple words.

That the future Government of India in which the States may participate can only be federal admits of no doubt, for in any arrangement that may be made for the future government of India the States will have, and rightly have, an adequate share and an effective voice.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala yesterday did well in emphasising the great services the States have rendered to India as a whole, and that is a truth that cannot be emphasised too strongly and too often.

There is one general misconception about the States which I should like to attempt to remove. It is generally thought by those who have no inner knowledge of the conditions that an Indian Prince is an arbitrary Ruler. Nothing can be more removed from the truth. I speak not as an outside observer, but from an inner and a most intimate knowledge of facts. I have been serving the Gwalior State now for more than a quarter of a century, twenty years of which were spent in the closest of administrative association with the late Maharaja, and since his death, I have been a member of the Council of Regency. A very tender regard for the feelings and sentiments of all classes of the people, strict meting out

of justice, uninfluenced in any way by caste, race or religious leanings or prejudices—these have been the cardinal and guiding principles of rule in Gwalior. The Maharaja lived a most simple life, indeed a frugal life, and worked harder than anyone else in the constant pursuit of the good of his people. His privy purse never exceeded three lacs of rupees a year, and every pie that was saved was earmarked strictly for some State purpose.

Such a rule I would not designate as arbitrary. If I can coin an expression I would call it Democratic autocracy. This might sound a contradiction in terms but it has the essentials of Democracy, namely, that the supreme Rex governing all actions of the Government are the sentiments and wishes of the people, and there is the added advantage of quick decision and action.

I make bold to say that the States in India would not have lasted as they have lasted if they were not the true expressions of the sentiments and feelings of the people.

Now stepping out of the States' boundary, we are confronted by a most formidable, complicated and intricate problem in British India. The solution of that problem requires all the calmness, sanity, understanding, and sympathy that both the Indians and the English can bring to bear upon it. This can only be if we are fair and just to one another, recognising and sympathising with each other's point of view.

A just and unbiassed observer will find ample evidence that despite defects and drawbacks, Englishmen have rendered great and enduring services to India. They have, in many directions honestly and earnestly worked for the betterment of the country and its people. Even the Indian National Congress owes its birth to an Englishman, the late Mr. A. O. Hume, a member of the Indian Civil

Service. Englishmen in every walk of life have assisted in its growth and development. The late Mr. Yule, a merchant prince of Calcutta, was once its President. So was Mr. Bradlaugh, a member of Parliament, and Sir William Wedderburn, also a member of the Indian Civil Service. And I need hardly mention the lifelong and devoted service to the cause of Indian uplift of that great Englishwoman, Dr. Annie Besant, who, though over 82 years of age, is still giving her best to India. And it is as the result of their great work in India that we are gathered together in this great and epoch-making Conference.

It is no small tribute to the great work Englishmen have done in India and for India that there should be in India a practically universal demand for the establishment of British institutions.

On the other hand I feel no doubt that Englishmen will be the last not to appreciate the desire of Indians for the direction and control of their own affairs. That desire is embedded in human nature. When God sent down manna to the remote ancestors of the human race, a universal prayer went up that they should be furnished with the means of obtaining their own sustenance, as a result of their own efforts.

There is nothing to prevent Indians and Englishmen working together in harmony. This statement I base upon my personal experience. At Gwalior at one time, working in various Departments under me, there were no less than ten Englishmen, and yet I found not the slightest difficulty in dealing with them, and they obeyed orders as any Indian subordinate did. I have Englishmen working under me to-day. An Englishman by his upbringing and training is a well-disciplined individual.

As regards India being made a Dominion, I think the question has two very distinct aspects. One is India having the status of a Dominion, and the other is India functioning as a full-fledged Dominion. Indians are a highly sensitive people; especially on matters of their izzat and honour they feel acutely. As they are situated to-day they cannot hold up their heads vis-a-vis the people of other countries; they feel a sense of inferiority which cannot but be humiliating. I cannot think that Englishmen, to whom matters of honour and self-respect are of supreme importance, will not sympathise with that sentiment.

I think I am right in saying that there is no thinking Indian who believes that to-day India is in a position to shoulder the entire responsibility of a full-fledged Dominion; that position can only be reached by stages. Therefore, there is no foundation for the fear that if India is declared to possess the status of a Dominion an immediate demand for transferring to Indian shoulders the entire responsibility of Government and defence will be made.

The declaration of India as a Dominion will serve a double purpose; it will satisfy the natural desire, nay, the intense craving of Indians to be reckoned as equal partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and it will be a sure earnest of the fulfilment of the promise that England desires India to be, in the fulness of time, a full-fledged Dominion.

I am not without hope that the Indians and English will labour whole-heartedly together for the happiness and prosperity of India means greater happiness and prosperity for England.

Irrespective of parties, the whole country stood solid against a measure of such iniquity. The Hon. Mr. (now the Rt. Hon.) Sastri and Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and in fact every one of the non-official members condemned the Bill as outrageous and forebode grave consequences if it should be passed. But Government was obstinate and the Bill was passed in the teeth of all opposition.

Mr. Gandhi, who travelled all over the country and wrote and spoke with amazing energy, was not to be easily silenced. Every other form of constitutional agitation having failed, he resorted as usual to his patent—Satyagraha. On February 28, 1919, he published a momentous pledge which he asked his countrymen to sign and observe as a covenant binding on them. The pledge ran as follows :—

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bill known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919, and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit, and further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

He then started on an extensive tour through the country educating the learned and the unlearned in the principles and practice of Satyagraha. At Bombay, Allahabad, Madras, Tanjore, Trichy, Tuticorin and Negapatam, he addressed large gatherings in March. Sunday, the 6th April, was appointed the Satyagraha day when complete *hartal* was to be observed, prayers offered and the vow to be taken amidst great demonstrations. Delhi observed the Satyagraha day on the 30th, and there

MR. H. P. MODY

In the 10 minutes' existence allowed to me I wish to make a few general observations on the place of commerce and industry in the India of to-morrow which we are met here to fashion; but the trend of the discussions in the last few days makes it impossible that I should remain altogether silent on the political issues that confront India and the Empire.

In the earlier stages of the discussion we heard a great deal of the value of conservatism as a force in the affairs of men. While I admire the courage of those people who expounded that ideal, I am afraid I was irresistibly reminded of a schoolboy howler which stated that another name for conservative was preservative!

However, this Conference, to my way of thinking, will fail and fail miserably if it does not fix its gaze steadfastly on the goal in view, and if it does not stoutly refuse to be obsessed with the dangers and the difficulties on the way, many of which are imaginary.

Lord Reading in the remarks which he placed before the Conference to-day talked of the goal and the pace. If the goal is one, I hope Sir, it will not be a measured pace but a rapid race towards the goal so that India may be contented and prosperous. The fundamental conception of this Conference should be not what can be safely conceded to India, but what can be safely denied to India. That should be the fundamental conception, and I see that the choice before England to-day is first this—either take

India into the Commonwealth of British Nations as a free willing partner or drive her more and more to courses of desparation and disorder if you will.

In the process, Sir, you are going to lose the friendship and goodwill of those powerful classes. They may not be powerful in numbers to-day, but powerful for everything else which counts in the life of the people. It may be that we to-day, who represent those classes, have not the ear of our countrymen, but we shall have it to-morrow. At any rate we are the class which is on the side of order to-day.

Now, I want to say a few words about the interests of those I represent at this Conference, and I would begin by saying that commerce and industry are the life-blood of a nation, and political freedom is not going to mean anything to us unless we have economic freedom which will enable us to regulate our economic and industrial development on lines which we regard as most conducive to our interest. (Applause).

I have a tremendous admiration for Lord Irwin as has everyone else who has come in contact with him. He is a big man, and we have a great respect for him. But it would be idle to pretend* that the economic policy of India to-day is controlled in the sole interest of India, or that it is in accord with the interests of the people.

Lord Peel ventured on an eulogy on British rule, and I am entirely with him when he talks of the achievements of the British race in India. Every one of us here knows that those achievements have been great, but it will not be contended that mistakes have not been made, and let us not forget that there have been many dark pages and innumerable instances of the way in which the industries

the commerce and the trade of India have been neglected or ruthlessly sacrificed.

Lord Peel did not think that even the mild observation of my friend Mr. Jayakar should be allowed in regard to monopolies. I am afraid it would be impossible for me to talk of replying to that statement, but I would be prepared to reply to that statement in some other place. I will only content myself here with saying that Lord Peel has entirely mis-read the history of the economic progress of India in the last fifty years, and I am afraid he has forgotten a good deal more than he has learnt. Considering the handicaps to trade and industry all these years, in spite of the welcome change of policy in recent time, the surprise is not that India has done so little, but that India has achieved anything at all. And when Lord Peel talks of efficiency and enterprise he will concede that it is only by the exercise of those particular virtues, namely of enterprise and efficiency that India has been able to achieve that little progress she has achieved in the last few years. My Friend, Mr. Jinnah, a few minutes ago said that the commercial classes were ranged with other interests in demanding immediate Dominion Status for India, a status which would assure us freedom. The present movement is the work of one man, and I will just amplify Mr. Jinnah's remarks. I come from a Province where that one man's word is law, and where he is constantly followed by large masses of the people. Why is that so? It is because, I say it without rancour or bitterness, my class and others have been forced to the conclusion that unless India is politically free she cannot be healthy and she cannot look forward to industrial development. That is the backbone of the political movement which we all know. The position could not have been p >

more effectively than when you said that the party of India was not an opinion but it was a fact, and you cannot go forward when 70% of the population is dependent upon agriculture with a poor soil and precarious rain which characterise our seasons. So long as India is not industrially developed and the mass of the population is dependent upon agriculture, its progress will be exceedingly limited, whatever political freedom you confer on her.

My last point is that political freedom without economic freedom means nothing to India, and may mean a snare and a delusion, because taxation and finances will fall upon the population of a country which is mainly agricultural, and one that will not be able to withstand a modern system of government without economic freedom which will ensure to her a future place in the Commonwealth of Nations.

MR. FAZL-UL-HUQ

In the ceaseless flow of oratory which you have permitted and which even the ten-minutes rule does not seem able to restrict or restrain there is just a chance of the real issues being completely swept away, and of getting out of sight. It seems necessary, therefore, that someone at the close of this debate should try and keep the task before us. India wants a full measure of self-government, the fullest that can be accorded her. It requires no amount of oratory to convince anyone in this Conference that that is at present the immediate practical demand of united India. There are difficulties in the way but the real problem is how to give India the fullest measure of responsible government consistent with the difficulties of the position and the responsibilities of the British nation. That being the simple problem, I submit that no amount of oratory, however loftily conceived, will find a real solution unless the delegates assembled at this Conference themselves by way of negotiation come to some sort of concession of each of their rights, and present to this Conference a real constitution for the Government of India. I ask my fellow delegates to remember that there are before us one of two alternatives: either we will come to some agreement and present a united front, or we will leave it to the British people themselves to prepare for us a constitution for the future Government of India. But what the delegates have to consider is that there are considerable objections to the latter point of view. If the constitution is framed by the British people it will be framed with some obvious disadvantages. In the first place we will be facing the hostility of the British nation if after

sitting a few months here and discussing the question of the future constitution for India we profess our inability to come to some agreement, and tell them we are leaving the question in their own hands to decide. Secondly, it will be unsuitable to the Indian people because anything coming from British brains or statesmanship would not be acceptable to various classes, namely the politically-minded people of India. Thirdly, I would refer to the colossal ignorance about India which generally prevails among political leaders in this country. Only the other day, Commander Kenworthy, a Member of Parliament and a very prominent member of the Labour Party who had been to India, who set himself to say something about the complexities of the Indian problem contributed an article to the *Review of Reviews* under the heading of "British Policy in India", and there he says :

The communal (or religious) differences in India present perhaps the most serious problem of all. It is a fact, admitted to me personally, and regretted, by such great leaders as Gandhi and Malaviya on the Hindu side, and Jinnah on the Moslem side, that if anything, the communal differences have become worse in recent years. (Laughter.)

I ask the delegates to consider whether they are not going to make a strenuous effort to settle and compose their differences and come to some settlement, or are they going to leave it to Commander Kenworthy and his colleagues? It is to the interests of us all and to the present Party in power to frame a constitution for the future government of India. The Mohammadan position has been explained by Sir Muhammad Shafi and Mr. Jinnah, and we should compose our differences and come to some agreement which will represent the progressive ideals of this land.

The moment we have been convinced that in the future constitution of India not merely Mussalmans but all

minorities—Indian Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Untouchables, the commercial interests and credit interests—will be safe and secure, that all the various interests will have the fullest measure of self-determination and self-advancement, we shall not only register our consent, but we shall go much further than the most enthusiastic member of the Indian National Congress in demanding the fullest measure of responsible Government for India. (Hear, hear.)

But, Sir, if that is the position, consider for a moment the meaning and the nature of what are suggested as safeguards. I purposely do not wish to use the word "safeguard." It is not a very dignified term. What is really meant is this: That in a democracy, the government of the people by the people must be the government of the people by all the people, not the government of the people by only a section of the people (Hear, hear). I wish to read out to this House two or three sentences from the words of John Stuart Mill in his well known book on *Representative Government*. That great authority says:

That the minority must yield to the majority, the smaller number to the greater, is a familiar idea, and accordingly men think that there is no necessity for using their minds any further, and it does not occur to them that there is a medium between allowing the smaller number to become equally powerful with the greater and blotting out the smaller number altogether. The majority of electors would always have a majority of representatives, but a minority of the electors should always have a minority of representatives, but man for man they should be as fully represented as the majority. Unless they are, there is no equal government, but a government of inequality and privilege; if one part of the people rule over the rest there is a part whose equal share of influence in the representation is withheld from them, contrary to all just government, but above all, contrary to the principle of democracy, which professes equality as its very root and foundation.

I am reading these few lines to this Conference because I want to commend them to those brother Delegates of mine who are to form the Committee which is going to be proposed.

I submit to this Conference that the present moment is one of the most opportune for settling all those differences which have disgraced the fair name of India. (Applause.) We have in India a Viceroy the very mention of whose name evokes the most enthusiastic gratitude from our people. We have in power a party in England who are pledged to democracy and to break down all those barriers of inequality between man and man. We have a genuine atmosphere of sympathy, of tolerance and of goodwill pervading England which had induced the other political parties to co-operate with the party in power in evolving a system of administration which should be acceptable to all. Above all, we see present here a galaxy of Indian Princes who have come down from their high pedestal to brush shoulders with commoners in trying to find a solution for the future government of India. If, in these circumstances, we cannot come to some sort of a settlement it is much better that all honest men should come forward and say that although we very much desire self-government, India is not fit for self-government, because Indians, however much they may claim the art of statesmanship, have yet to learn the very rudimentary lesson that true patriotism must transcend all communal and sectarian considerations.

Sir, if we fail we fail most ignobly. Great Britain has offered us the best of opportunities and it is for us to rise to the height of the occasion and to make the most of the opportunities that have been offered to us.

Before I sit down, to my countrymen who constitute the majority community I wish to make a fervent appeal. I wish to tell them that they must take due note of the awakening of feeling amongst the Muhammadans of India, and just as they have ventured to warn the Englishmen

against the danger of ignoring the political upheaval in India, I also warn them against any disregard of the fervour in the Muslim community. It would be surprising if the Muslims had been unaffected by the impulse of the political aspirations which are finding expression throughout India. How can the Mussulmans be impervious to such influences? The blood of the slave does not run in our veins. Until recently the Mussulmans held the sceptre of sovereignty in India, and along with their fellow men in other lands the seventy million Mussulmans in India have traditions of sovereignty and conquest extending over thirteen centuries and three continents. Sir, I ask my brethren to remember that Muslim India has been deeply stirred, and will be satisfied with nothing less than the fullest recognition of their legitimate rights.

To the British Government I on my part wish to strike a note of warning. If by any chance the British Indian Delegation cannot come to any agreed settlement, in all probability—nay certainly—the task of framing the constitution will fall on the British people. Let me warn the British Government most solemnly—and I would be failing in my duty if I did not do so—that they must not forget the claims, the legitimate aspirations, of seventy millions of Mussulmans, as well as those of the other minority communities in India. (“Hear, hear.”) So far as the Mussulmans are concerned, not once or twice but times without number British statesmen have broken faith with the Mussulmans. I hope that experiment will not be repeated any longer. (“Hear, hear.”) I hope, on the contrary that if we work in a spirit of tolerance and goodwill we shall still be able to surmount the difficulties. I hope that as the future unfolds itself our Motherland will be covered with eternal glory.

SIR PHEROZE SETHNA

Mr. Prime Minister: This Round Table Conference is the first of its kind since, in the inscrutable dispensation of divine Providence, India has come under British rule. At the same time, it is but inevitable that such a Conference should be held at the present juncture, because India has now reached a stage in its political and constitutional advancement when the determination of its further constitutional progress and reforms cannot be made by Great Britain alone.

Sir, we who have accepted your invitation have incurred the very great displeasure of our countrymen, and even to-day we received telegrams from individuals and bodies asking us to return to India by the first boat available because they do not believe that the work of this Round Table Conference is to result in anything satisfactory to India. We, however, who have come here have still faith in the British sense of justice, and we trust that no matter what certain sections of the British public may say or write, the representatives of the three political Parties who sit round this table with us come here with open minds, and, after hearing us, will be prepared to give what we want; and what we want and will be satisfied with is nothing short of Dominion status with safeguards during the transitional period.

Mr. Chairman, we maintain that safeguards are certainly necessary during the transition period, and particularly in the matter of defence. If, however, we are not prepared in the matter of defence to take it up

ensued a scuffle between the people and the police. It was alleged against the Delhi people at the Railway Station

(1) that some of them were trying to coerce sweetmeat sellers into closing their stalls; (2) that some were forcibly preventing people from plying tram-cars and other vehicles; (3) that some of them threw brick-bats; (4) that the whole crowd that marched to the Station demanded the release of men who were said to be coercers and who were for that reason arrested at the instance of the Railway authorities; (5) that the crowd declined to disperse when the Magistrate gave orders to disperse.

Swami Shradhdhananda (the well-known Mahatma Munshi Ram of the Gurukula, who had taken the Orders of the Sannyasi) denied the first three allegations. Granting they were all true there was no need, argued Mr. Gandhi, for the interference of the military who were called on to fire on the unarmed mob. But the crowd was completely self-possessed, and though there was some loss of life, it spoke volumes in praise of the Delhi people that they conducted a meeting of 40,000 in perfect peace and order. But the Delhi tragedy had burnt itself into the soul of Mr. Gandhi and his friends. "The incident," he said, "imposed an added responsibility upon Satyagrahis of steeling their hearts and going on with their struggle until the Rowlatt Legislation was withdrawn." The whole country answered Mr. Gandhi's call in a way that was at once significant and impressive. Tens and hundreds of thousands gathered in different cities, and never within living memory have such demonstrations been witnessed.

In the meanwhile, the Satyagraha Committees in different centres of India were actively carrying on their propaganda. The Central Committee, of which Mr. Gandhi was the president, advised that for the time being laws regarding prohibited literature and registration of newspapers might be civilly disobeyed. Accordingly on the 7th April, Mr. Gandhi issued a notice to organise, regulate and control

immediately, the blame does not lie so much with us as with the British themselves. We have been talking of monopolies for the last two days. Has it struck my Lord Peel that in the case of the commissioned ranks of the army—and there are 3,200 commissioned officers—up to 1918 not one single Indian had attained the rank of a commissioned officer? Is not that monopoly? And even then, thereafter, since there has been admission to Sandhurst, and latterly elsewhere, the number of Indians in the commissioned ranks has not yet reached 100.

As a business man I will confine myself to those remarks which fell from Lord Peel on the subject of vested interests of the European community in India. He has been answered to a certain extent by Dr. Moonje yesterday, and by my friend Sir Mirza Ismail and by Mr. Mody to-day. All that I want to impress upon this Conference is that if Indians are given the chance they will prove themselves worthy of undertaking any position that is entrusted to them, and the same will apply to the army. Let me quote but one instance. The Government of India is divided into different departments. There is one department known as that of Education, Lands and Health. Till last year every single superior officer in that Department was an Indian. This year all are Indians except one. May I ask the Right Honourable the Secretary of State if he finds any fault with the working of that Department, or whether that Department is inferior in its work as compared with the other Departments of the Government of India? Sir, it is the keeping back of Indians which has helped the European community, the commercial European community, who, if they have not been given monopolies, have been shown preference, which preference has resulted in monopolies, as I will try to explain.

Dr. Moonje quoted an instance of monopolies going back more than a century. I will give you instances of monopolies before our eyes. A few years ago the contract which a European-owned steamship company enjoyed for the carriage of coal from Calcutta to Rangoon for the Burmese Railways was about to lapse. An Indian shipping company, after tender, received very evasive replies, until one fine day they were told that a fresh contract had been entered into, and entered into for the long space of ten years; but what is more, although Government were asked as to the rates at which this contract was placed, to this day no answer has been given. May I ask Lord Peel if that is a monopoly or not? It is preference which amounts to monopoly.

That is not all. Take a case of railway freights. That is one sordid history of the railway board endeavouring to help the importer of non-Indian goods to the detriment of Indian enterprise. Take, again, the case of shipping rebates, which amounts to nothing less than crushing at the start any Indian steamer company.

Again, that is not all. In a communication by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce it was asserted that the European Companies had entered into an agreement with the jute mills of Bengal whereby the jute mills promised not to buy any jute carried on Indian vessels. To make this further possible, Insurance Companies, which at that time were mostly non-Indian, raised the rates of insurance premium on jute carried in vessels which were Indian. Is this not monopoly? Is this not preference? This, Sir, is what Indians have suffered from for all these years. My noble Lord said that they were not monopolies, but these were vested interests created by skill, by energy and by commercial enterprise. I submit that Indians are capable

of showing the same skill, the same energy and the same commercial enterprise, given the same opportunity. I submit that, not in a spirit of animosity, but I want to rely on the actual facts, which I hope will not occur in the future, that they have not had the same opportunities. Blood is thicker than water. An English merchant has ready access to an official. He can settle things very easily, if not at the office then at his Club over a peg of whisky or a glass of vermouth, whereas the Indian merchant might have to kick his heels for days, perhaps for weeks, before he can even gain admission. There was more of this formerly than there is to-day. If that is changed to-day we owe it to that Secretary of State of illustrious memory than whom no one has done more for India—I mean the late Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu. (Applause.)

I must not forget one other item in regard to monopolies. Are there not many instances of Regencies in Indian States where the Resident, because he was all powerful during the regency, has given monopolies to European firms to the exclusion of the subjects of the State and of British Indians? I am surprised that my noble Lord is not aware of the facts which I have given, and which I could easily multiply, and which he must have known in his capacity as Secretary of State, which dignified position he held more than once.

I mentioned Mr. Montagu's good work for India. I rejoice to know, also, that every single Indian present, whenever the name of Lord Irwin has been mentioned, has applauded it—and rightly. But, Mr. Prime Minister, there is one other name to which you will permit me to refer and in connection with which you will allow me to thank you yourself in that you selected him for the office—I mean

Mr. Benn. (Loud applause). We recognise the worth of Mr. Benn. We recognise his goodwill. I know that if left to himself he would go as far as he possibly could in the matter of helping us.

In the Government of India Despatch it is said distinctly that, for reasons advanced, finance should not be transferred. May I ask how much the Government of India has contributed towards the advancement of the credit of India? Let me refer to an instance which occurred in India less than six months ago. I do not know whether it was of their own instance or whether it was with the permission and knowledge of the Government of India, but the Government of Bombay issued a circular from the Central Government Press of Bombay, which they broadcasted by thousands, in which, in order to meet the boycott movement, they deprecated every Indian commercial enterprise. I will quote one sentence in regard to banking. They say: "British banking is the mainstay of our banking system in India. It provides wide facilities and the strongest security. Why should people in this country ignore these secure concerns in favour of much less stable ones" meaning Indian concerns. Is that the way the Government of India propose to advance the credit of India? In answer to that I would say that when India is entrusted with her own finances and when she knows that she will have to borrow money from outside the country, she will do it in such a manner that her credit will be very greatly enhanced.

Lord Peel complained that none of the speakers who preceded him made any reference to the devoted services of Englishmen who had gone out to India in the different services. [There was no occasion to do so. We are always prepared to admit that Englishmen out there have

certainly given of their best. At the same time they will admit that India has rewarded their services in a manner in which no other country pays its Civil Servants. Again it must not be forgotten that India pays to the tune of £4,000,000 annually in the way of pensions, both civil and military.

What do we ask for? As Mr. Jinnah pointed out, we want to be masters in our own house. We do not want to rob our European friends of their vested interests, but I would ask this Conference to remember that the vested interests were made up by them, themselves, when Indians had not the ghost of a chance to come in. Are we asking you to do any more than what you are doing in your own country? Take the cinema industry. Because you discovered that the British cinema film industry was not getting along as well as it ought to be doing you imposed a quota. Then there was another case of an electrical company in regard to which you laid down by law that the percentage of shares held by Britishers must be no less than 51 per cent.

I have exceeded my time, and I will not say anything further. All that I want to impress upon this Conference is that if I have been forced to make the remarks I have made, it is just in answer to Lord Peel. I repeat that they are not made in a spirit of animus. I have only placed before you actual facts. I sincerely trust that when we go back with a constitution which will help us politically and economically, we Indian and European merchants will work together side by side for the advancement of India and England and consequently of the Empire,

THE CHAIRMAN: I think I shall rule now that Lord Peel has been most amply answered!

SIR AKBAR HYDARI

In view of the fact that most of my ground has been covered by the Princes on the Indian States Delegation I should not have taken any part of your time. Representing, however, His Exalted Highness the Nizam, I feel I cannot sit silent but should express the view, in a few minutes, of the Hyderabad State that we shall not in any way be lagging behind in giving such assistance and help as will bring about a form of Government which will satisfy Indian aspirations and which will function successfully under the difficult conditions that prevail in India to-day. I would merely ask the Delegates from British India, who have shown such strength of mind and patriotism in meeting here in face of so much opposition and contumely, to work for a constitution which will ensure a government national in every sense but which, by its stability, will endure and not merely a constitution which will satisfy for the moment the uninstructed. In the same spirit do I ask the representatives of the British Parliament here to-day not to refuse a responsibility to a great Indian Federal polity within the Empire. Infuse into it the elements that make for settled and orderly government, for the preservation of the autonomy of the States, and last but not least for the adequate defence of our frontiers against external aggression. I can assure you that in such a case your countrymen, who have done so much for India in the past, will have a welcome and an honoured place in the India of the future.

I believe that God's purpose can be read in history. I believe that it is not for nothing that this Island set in the Western seas has secured domination over our vast country and has held it for 150 years. I believe that we are now here to reap the harvest of these years of experience and discipline in a greater and more united India than our history has ever recorded.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD

You, Sir, and other members of the British Delegation must have been struck with the unanimity with which the Delegates from British India of all groups, of all communities and of all sections, as well as the Indian Princes, have demanded full self-government for India. To the Indian Princes who have so patriotically stood by us our obligations are due, and I have every hope that when we sit down to hammer out a federated constitution for India the Indian Princes will therein occupy their rightful place.

I entirely agree with my friends Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq (I am sorry they are not here for the moment) that in any constitution which you frame the minority communities must be made to feel that they are safe. I can assure the minority communities that, so far as in us lies, the majority community will be able to agree to such safeguards as will satisfy them.

It has been said—I will not mention the name of Lord Peel: it has been mentioned so often before—that we Delegates here have not made sufficient acknowledgment of the very good work done by England in India in the department of education and in various other ways. To my mind it is profitless on the present occasion to go into those questions, because one may well feel disposed to ask whether it is an achievement of which anyone can be proud that at the end of 150 years of British rule the percentage of literates in British India is no more than about 9 per cent. whereas you find that in Indian India, in

progressive States like Mysore, Baroda and Travancore, the percentage is very nearly 90 per cent.

Can it also be said that in various other matters the achievement has been such as commends itself entirely to us? It has been officially recognised that many millions of human beings in British India exist on insufficient food; they cannot afford more than one meal a day. I venture to say you will not find that condition of affairs in Indian India.

It has been said that you ought to go by easy stages, that you must not quicken the pace, that you must be satisfied for the present with the sort of provincial autonomy reported on by the Statutory Commission. When that was mentioned my friend Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru interjected "Bogus", and I entirely agree with him in that description of the provincial autonomy described by the Statutory Commission. Can that provincial autonomy be described as a real one under which you will have official Ministers? There would still be a large portion of the budget non-votable, and all the services—recruitment, discipline and so on—would still be in the hands of the Secretary of State. If you call that provincial autonomy you may, but I do not call it genuine or real provincial autonomy at all.

Those who say "Go slowly; do not quicken the pace" are like some parents, who will never realise that the ward is no longer a ward but has now become a self-determining adult. Those parents and those politicians who take that view are sadly mistaken. The ward who has now become a self-determining adult is determined to have his way, to come into his own, to have the management of his own estate in his own hands. It does not do

for the guardian to say "If I hand over your inheritance to you, you may mismanage it, you may manage it inefficiently, and you will commit mistakes." Mr. Prime Minister, we are perfectly conscious that we may commit mistakes and that for sometime our administration may be comparatively inefficient, but we are determined to go through that stage, for we want to come into our own. We may not manage things as efficiently as you are doing now, but it is our affair and we want to be allowed to manage it ourselves.

It has been said that if you take a constitution from here, a full democratic government, the moment that is given, power will be wrested from you, the Delegates who come here, by the people who have recently created all the trouble in India. I will not repeat the answer given very effectively to that suggestion by my friend Mr. Sastri. You have to make up your minds what you will do, and I beseech the British Delegation to think of the alternatives before them and to choose wisely. You can satisfy Indian aspirations and give power to India in her own affairs, and then, as sure as fate, those people whom you call irresponsible at present, who are now creating all the trouble in India, will be the first to come in and work that constitution in an ordered manner. On the other hand, if you do not do that you can make up your minds—I do not say this as a threat, but with all gravity and with all the emphasis I can command—that the future is very black indeed both for India and England. If you do not grant now what India wants the position will be this: you will have to enter into a long-drawn struggle, increasing everyday. You may put down disorder; you are bound to put it down, and you will do so; but at every stage it will sooner or later again break forth with increased vigour, and

the sale of these publications. A leaflet called *Satyagrah* was at once brought out as also some early writing of Mr. Gandhi's which was pronounced to be seditious. The first print stated among other things :

The editor is liable at any moment to be arrested, and it is impossible to ensure the continuity of publication until India is in a happy position of supplying editors enough to take the place of those who are arrested. It is not our intention to break for all time the laws governing the publication of newspaperers. This paper will, therefore, exist so long only as the Rowlatt Legislation is not withdrawn

Meanwhile, as contemplated by Mr. Gandhi, he was arrested at Kosi on his way to Delhi on the morning of the 10th April and served with an order not to enter the Punjab and the district of Delhi. The officer serving the order treated him most politely, assuring him that it would be his most painful duty to arrest him, if he elected to disobey, but that there would be no ill-will between them. Mr. Gandhi smilingly said that he must elect to disobey as it was his duty, and that the officer ought also to do what was *his* duty. Mr. Gandhi then dictated a message to Mr. Desai, his secretary, laying special emphasis in his oral message that none should resent his arrest or do anything tainted with untruth or violence which was sure to harm the sacred cause.

Mr. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on the afternoon of the 11th April, having been prevented from entering the Provinces of the Punjab and Delhi. An order was soon after served on him requiring him to confine his activities within the limits of the Bombay Presidency. Having heard of the riots and the consequent bloodshed in different places, he caused the following message to be read at all the meetings that evening :—

I have not been able to understand the cause of so excitement and disturbance that followed my detention. It

you cannot rule 320 million people continuously by force and by military power.

I trust, therefore, you will make a wise choice. You can make India discontented, which will mean ruination for her and may mean ruination to England, or you can make now a contented India which will be the brightest jewel in the Empire and its greatest glory, and which will enhance the reputation of the Empire which, with all its faults, has excited not only the admiration but even the envy of the rest of the world.

SIXTH DAY, NOV. 21.

RAJA SHER MUHAMMAD KHAN

Before I begin my speech I welcome the ruling of the Chairman that there should be a time-limit of ten minutes because as a soldier I am a man of action, not of words. Mr. Prime Minister, as the representative of the Army, and therefore of the classes from which it is drawn, my first and foremost duty is to assure you of our steadfast loyalty and unshakeable devotion to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor and his Throne. We are thus ever ready to uphold the cause of the British Commonwealth of which India forms an integral part. It is not without considerable difference that I have risen to address this gathering wherein is collected together the intellect, the character and the experience of India and Great Britain. I am and have been a soldier content to serve in the Army to the best of my humble and limited capacity, taking pride in the performance of those routine duties which, however monotonous they may appear to civilians, are the foundations of the true discipline of character. I believe, Sir, that the great and noble contribution which the Army can make and has made in the past to the solution of India's problems is the building up of a strong, self-reliant, vigorous and self-dependent Indian nation, cemented by those bonds of comradeship, professional pride and military discipline which the people of India have always displayed in the hour of greatest glory.

I am a stranger to politics, ignorant alike of the niceties of Parliament, indifferent to the arts of the

demagogue, and impervious to the appeals of self-advertisement. My life has been spent on the battlefields, on the snowy peaks of Asia Minor and the fertile valley of the Nile, and on the rocks of the frontier where Sir Abdul Qaiyum owns the land. China, Iraq, Turkey, Egypt and India have been the chief theatres where the regiment to which I have the honour to belong has fought. I went through the ordeal of the world-wide war, supremely confident of the justice of our cause, and determined to fight for those principles which were so gloriously vindicated on many a battlefield throughout Europe and Asia. Even now, I can picture to myself the scene. I can recall the field which seemed covered with poppies and call to memory the heroic deeds of thousands of my comrades in arms who laid down their lives with a smile of supreme satisfaction and cheerfully obeyed the call of duty on the inhospitable rocks and inaccessible creeks of the Frontier. While the politicians are busy discussing forms, modes and aspects of the constitution, while they are busy with the permutation and combination of policies, programmes and principles we martial races of India guard the Frontier from the incessant raids of the stranger. It is the Army which acts as a bulwark against the limitless ambitions and boundless greed, not only of the Trans-Frontier people, but also of foreign powers. The long coast-line of Madras and Bombay is protected by the might of the British Navy. If the British ships are withdrawn, even for a day, the teeming millions of Madras and Bombay would be exposed to the fury of powers which I need not mention.

I have deemed it necessary to state these facts as they are consistently ignored by the framers of constitutions. I belong to a community which has given a splendid account of itself in the past. Its achievements in the

domain of art, culture, learning and science are engraved in the hearts of those countless millions in India who carry on the great tradition of our ancestors. As monuments the record of its achievements is embodied in those great institutions which have stood the test of time and are now the foundation of modern India. The Punjab, the Province to which I have the honour to belong was ruled by the Muslims for seven centuries, and though it was occupied by Ranjit Singh and his army for the brief space of thirty years, it is and must remain the centre of Muslim activity in India.

It is the focus of Muslim endeavour, Muslim energy, and Muslim capacity for a practical, orderly and harmonious life. Not only has my province made great strides in education, but also there has been a renaissance in the rural and urban parts of the Province, and I am not exaggerating when I say that modern Punjab has risen like Phoenix, from its ashes, and is showing all the vitality and vigour of a martial Province.

The Punjab is the shield, spear-head and sword-band of India, and it has won this proud title by its association with the flower of the British Army in every campaign in Asia. I am sure that our most popular Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey, who is fortunately here present, will agree with me. It was the Punjabi soldier with his simple life and sturdy spirit, who saved India during the confusion and anarchy of the Mutiny. The splendid band of fighters who poured into the rich and fertile Gangetic Plains from the defiles of many a Punjab hill rendered services which are recorded in the annals of British endeavour in letters of gold. At the beginning of the War the Punjab had about one hundred thousand men of all ranks in the Army. At the close of the War no less than half a million had served

with the Colours. The number of fighting men raised during the four years of War was roughly 360,000, more than half the total number raised in India.

Speaking at Rawalpindi, on February 6th, 1921, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, used these memorable words—"The achievement of the Punjab was indeed remarkable. Even before the War the Punjab had a name familiar in the military annals of the Empire, but during the War she became a household word, not only on account of the number of men from the Punjab who joined the Colours, but also on account of the splendid fighting qualities they displayed in many a campaign."

The Muhammadan Community supplied more than half the number of recruits raised during the four years of War. In fact, two Muslim districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum, out of a total male population of a quarter of a million, sent nearly thirty thousand men with the Colours during the last year of the War.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have supplied these figures, not in a spirit of vain glory or self-praise. I have done so because I feel there is a possibility of our losing sight of the fundamental fact that the government is a government of men, and a constitution cannot be manufactured to order. It must be adapted to the capacities, tradition and environment of each country. I have no desire to discuss the political problems which confront you. I do not wish to enlarge on either the necessity or the difficulty of Dominion Status. My point is that our entire scheme of constitution would be a complete failure unless we make adequate provision for the Indian Army.

If India wants to be a mistress in her own household, if she is keen on acquiring a status which will ensure her equality with the Dominions, the problems of the Army

must be faced by her with courage and candour. The position now is that the number of Indians who have received Commissions in his Majesty's Forces is alarmingly low. The one principle which must be kept permanently in view is that there should be no duality in the Army. The Government has propounded a scheme of duality in the Central Government ; the Indian Statutory Commission has devised a still more complicated and impractical scheme. They recommend the maintenance of an Imperial Army and Dominion Army. In my humble opinion duality in the Army will disorganise the whole machinery of the Army department. It will produce constant friction, breed innumerable troubles, and lead to extravagance and even chaos. The Army in India must be one and indivisible.

Having stated this basic principle, let me deal with some of its implications. If India achieves a Federal Government, and I cannot conceive any other form of Government in such a vast country, she will have a National Army, setting the highest standard in organising the resources of men and materials and focussing her needs, the building up of an efficient and striking fighting machine.

The National army must, however, be supplemented by Citizen Militia or Military Police maintained by each Federal Province of British India. The powers of the National army over the Citizen Militia will be varied. There must be co-ordination of supervision and control. I cannot contemplate the possibility of a Citizen Militia of each province acting independently of others of the National army. This would produce chaos and disorder. As British Indian States gain in experience, this control might be relaxed to some extent. Whilst it is essential that the individuality and freedom of the Citizen Militia of each

province should be maintained intact, it is no less essential that there should be supervision by, and co-ordination with the National army. The National army must be under a Council, consisting of the Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief and other Members of specialised experience, *and must be free from the ebb and flow of Assembly politics.*

This is my conception of the part which the Army will play in the centre as well as in the provinces of Federal India.

This brings me to another problem, which the Round Table Conference will have to discuss. One aspect of this is the provision of Officers for the Indian Army. I am convinced that excellent material exists in India for officers and that if opportunities were provided for Indians, the requisite number of officers would have been forthcoming in large numbers. It must be admitted that the methods adopted hitherto for the supply of officers have not been satisfactory. I need not go into details, as these problems were discussed exhaustively by the Sandhurst Committee. I am strongly of the opinion that an Indian Sandhurst should be created, and that the number of Commissions to be given to Indians should be rapidly increased. It is obvious that the rate of advance will depend upon numerous factors, and I am not going to lay down here the minimum number of years during which the Indian army should be "Indianised." Again, under zeal for Indianization, we must not overlook the important fact that not all parts of India can produce recruits in sufficient numbers. Whatever the theorists may say about the absence of non-martial races in India the palpable and vivid realization of the fundamental facts of history and physical geography, environment and climate, must be kept permanently in view. There are some parts of India where recruits of the requi-

site stamp can be raised. There are other parts where the absence of martial tradition, the inclemencies of climate and the nature of environment and occupation, render efficient service impossible. If the Army of New India is to be efficient *it must contain the flower of its manhood, the cream of the Society. It must contain men who are determined and prepared to die*, and not logicians to whom mere physical abstractions make greater appeal than solid realities.

Hence the martial races, and the martial provinces must be specially utilised for the purpose. This seems to me to be an indispensable preliminary to any successful experiment in the necessary National Army.

I have not discussed the question of internal organization of the Army, nor have I dealt with the numerous other problems which arise out of the subjects which I have sketched. It is unnecessary for me to do so, as I think that it will be found that a Committee of Defence, which this Conference should establish will be the proper body for this purpose. Such a Committee seems to me to be absolutely necessary as the structure of our Constitution will be shaky and very unsound until it is based on a practical and efficient system of a National Army from our Common Motherland.

H. H. THE AGA KHAN

Mr. Prime Minister : I did not intend speaking here either to-day or at any stage of these proceedings, but some of the members of the British Indian Delegation had told me, as recently as last night and this morning, that it was my duty to express my views. I have come quite unprepared, but the best preparation of all has been the proceedings of this Conference (Hear, hear). You, Sir, and the British representatives of the three Parties of the state have heard practically every school of Indian thought. From the Hindus to the Muslims, coming down across the centre, nearly every school has spoken. Their Highnesses, the Princes, have spoken. If we eliminate all differences, there is on one point complete unanimity. We all ask for a full measure of Self-Government. (Applause). I think, as Chairman of the British Indian Delegation, working in co-operation with the two other Delegations, I can say that we are all unitedly asking for that. We ask you to promise us the framework. If the picture that we are to paint on it is unsatisfactory to any of the important minorities or to the Princes or to a small section of the minorities, we will try again—(Applause)—and if we fail we will try again—(Renewed Applause)—and we will continue trying till we produce something that will be generally satisfactory. I for one am particularly anxious that it shall be in a form which will ensure that not only every Indian minority but the British commercial element in India shall be satisfied that their interests are safe in their hands. As to the interests of this country

a united India could offer her a far greater security as to her commercial interests than anything she has at present—could offer you a long dated treaty on the lines of the German-Russian Treaty of 1904. For many years that would ensure your commerce fair and equitable treatment, and that would give your people a sense of security. The same applies to debt and to other interests which could be infinitely safer than merely relying as at present, on the strength of this country and not on a consented agreement with India.

Mr. Prime Minister, there is no reason why—if we can produce a federal scheme that will please the Princes, that will please the Hindus, that will please the Muslims, that will please the smaller minorities and that will satisfy all the legitimate commercial interests and at the same time for a period which has certain objects—there is no reason why we should not at this moment start on the basis of full self-government and responsibility. (Applause).

Satyagraha. It is worse than *duragraha*. Those who join Satyagraha demonstrations are bound one and all to refrain at all hazard from violence, not to throw stones or in any way whatever injure anybody.

I therefore suggest that if we cannot conduct this movement without the slightest violence from our side, the movement might have to be abandoned or it may be necessary to give it a different and still more restricted shape. It may be necessary to go even further. The time may come for me to offer Satyagraha against ourselves. I would not deem it a disgrace that we die. I shall be pained to hear of the death of a Satyagrahi, but I shall consider it to be the proper sacrifice given for the sake of the struggle.

I do not see what penance I can offer excepting that it is for me to fast and if need be by so doing to give up this body and thus prove the truth of Satyagraha. I appeal to you to peacefully dis- and to refrain from acts that may in any way bring disgrace in the people of Bombay.

But the *duragraha* of the few upset the calculations of Gandhi, as he had so constantly been warned by many of his friends and admirers who could not however subscribe to his faith in civil disobedience. The story of the tragedy needs no repeating. It is written on the tablet of memory with bitter memories, and the embers of that controversy have not yet subsided. But Mr. Gandhi, with a delicacy of conscience and a fine appreciation of truth, which I have learnt to associate with his name as with that of Newman, felt for the wrongs done to Englishmen with the same passionate intensity with which he felt for those inflicted on his own countrymen. Few words of remorse in recorded literature are more touching than those uttered by Mr. Gandhi in his speech at Ahmedabad on the 14th April, 1919. They are in the supreme manner of Cardinal Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua* :

Brothers, the events that have happened in the course of the last few days have been most disgraceful to Ahmedabad, and as all these things have happened in my name, I am ashamed of them, and those who have been responsible for them have thereby not dishonoured me but disgraced me. A rapier run through my body would hardly have pained me more. I have said times without number that Satyagraha admits of no violence, no pillage, no

MR. JADHAV

I have to thank you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to address this Conference this morning. Had I been serving on the principal Committee which is going to be formed at the end of this session I should not trouble you to give me a few minutes; but, not being attached as a tail to any group, I was left in the lurch and had to claim justice at your hands.

I represent here the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency non-Brahmins. They number about ten millions. I am also an accredited representative of the great Maharatta community. The Maharatta community is well-known for its past history, and its military prowess was exhibited as lately as the last war. I need not take up much of the time of the Conference in detailing the facts concerning or describing the achievements of my race; suffice it to say that word for word the description given by my gallant friend from the Punjab, the Raja of Domeli, will apply to the race to which I have the honour to belong.

The Maharattas, as is well-known, have been loyal and have kept themselves aloof from the agitation of the Congress. In the non-co-operation agitation of 1921 they kept themselves apart and did not participate to any extent in the troubles that were caused by it. In order to show their loyalty to the House of Windsor they mustered about 25,000 strong in the city of Poona to welcome His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, largely as a result of the exertions of two Maharatta Princes.

They gave a direct challenge to the success of the non-co-operation movement at that time, but times have changed and minds have changed. During the space of eight or nine short years there has been a great change in the mentality of the Maharatta people, and the second adventure of Mahatma Gandhi has met with a good deal of success. The Maharatta peasantry has fallen under the spell of non-co-operation, as is evidenced by the big gatherings of 10,000, 15,000, 20,000, and sometimes even 30,000 people who go out into the forests to commit what is technically called forest sadhana. As the responsible Minister in charge of the forests of the Bombay Presidency, I have from day to day to hear and scan reports and to see what goes on in the Presidency, and I was really surprised to see that the imagination of the people had been touched to such an extent by the teachings of that wiry and small bannia who was despised a few years before.

What is the secret of Mahatma Gandhi's success? He has awakened the sense of self-respect among the people, and everywhere now the cry is "We must be masters in our own house." That is a very great achievement indeed, but at the same time let me assure you that, as every one of my Indian friends knows the whole Indian nation is thoroughly loyal to the Throne. Although we all—Hindus and Mussulmans and whatever we may be—want to be masters in our own house, there is no thought of disloyalty. We do not want to separate from the British Empire; we want to live within it, and even in these days of unrest if any member of the Royal family will come to India I am quite sure that not only the Mussulmans but the Maharattas and other Hindus from every province will show their loyalty and their love

for the Empire, under which they have enjoyed so many benefits.

We are generally a law-abiding people, and although during these forest Sadhanas some little damage is done, it is done not with any object of private gain or private profit, but simply to assert that the people are protesting against a system which is grinding them down.

The Government of Bombay have recognised these aspirations of the people. They could not support the recommendations made by the Simon Commission—and who in India has accepted those recommendations? They have been looked upon as very reactionary, and many people have even refused to look at them. The Government of Bombay have in their despatch, shown what should be the future constitution of India, and in this I am very glad to say the Government have recognised that India should be given some amount of self-respect by bestowing upon her the power to have a little mastery in her own house. The government have recommended certain reservations and certain safeguards, but responsibility in the centre has been advocated, and that I bring to the notice of this Conference, for it is a very important thing. A number of people say there should be provincial autonomy only, and that there need not be any advance at the centre. Provincial autonomy, as it is called, is our due. We have worked the Montagu-Chelmsford system and the dyarchic system, and I may assure this Conference that the responsible Ministers who took part in its administration will not look at dyarchy again. Dyarchy has been condemned and complete Provincial autonomy must be given at this time or else the system will not work. Much has been said about the preservation of Law and Order. I do not myself see any difficulty there. The Hindus and the Moslems do form

one people. We have lived together in perfect confidence in one another and in amity. In the Bombay Council my Party and the Mussalmans have worked together with almost one mind. I am quite sure that, when Provincial autonomy comes, if Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatulla were made Minister in charge of law and order, no Hindu would ever entertain any fear. With pardonable pride, I may say, Sir, that if I am put in charge, if I am called upon to bear the burden of high office, my Mohammadan friends will always trust me. So the amity between Hindus and Mohammadans I am quite sure of.

Difficulties in our domestic affairs can be settled. We have settled them before, and we shall settle them now. In the Army Hindu-Mohammadan questions never arise. When fighting shoulder to shoulder the Hindu is proud to be a Mohammadan and the Mohammadan to be a Hindu. When a regiment contains some Hindu and some Mohammadan companies, the Hindus take part in Moslem festivals and the Mohammadans join the Hindus in their sorrows and share in their joys.

I should like to say a few words about the new India that is taking shape. The youths of the country are taking the movement in their own hands. People looking on the surface only may think that their activities are only political, but that is not true. The younger generation is realising that for the sake of the unity of India differences of caste and creed and race ought to disappear. Whatever differences there may be between the older people, I am quite sure that their children will come together as friends and brothers. The next generation is going to be something quite different.

I have to say something also about the Army, but as time is limited I need not say much. A few weeks ago.

I had a talk with a British General and discussed with him the scheme which is at present being given as a sop to the Indians. The General agreed with me that the present scheme was not satisfactory. He said that under that scheme Indian Officers would get hardly any training in responsibility. I asked him what he would recommend, and he said that it would be much better if young officers were made lieutenants in some of the Indian regiments, and then these young officers from Sandhurst and military colleges could be put under them. Then it would be easy for them to get military knowledge and to imbibe traditions more quickly than under the present system.

I was very agreeably surprised to hear from the speeches of the Princes that they are eager to come within the Federation. I had not expected that, that time would come so quickly. I had expected that, for a time at all events, the Indian Princes would like to form their own confederation and then to come into the general scheme after some years of experience. If they are already eager to join the general Federation I would not like to stand in their way, although I think that perhaps it would be better for the Indian Princes to develop their own Indian Chamber of Princes, to form a federation of their own, to take up certain problems in which the Rajas and Maharajas are interested and in this way build up a tradition of their own while allowing British India to develop along its own lines. The development of British India has been all along on the lines of unity of Government. Evolution is doing its part, and when the provinces are properly developed there will be a time—I think a very short time—within which British India and Indian India will be united. We shall then be able to show that the spirit of amity and friendship that

MR. JADHAV

has pervaded this Conference has secure foundations, that India is an indivisible whole and is determined to be a Nation, determined to take her rightful place among the other nations.

COLONEL HAKSAR

Sir, yesterday you expressed the hope that we should be able to finish our proceedings to-day by noon. It is now twenty minutes past eleven, you have still got to sum up, and you must have much more time to sum up—and are entitled to have it—than any member of any delegation. I must not encroach on your time and I shall try not to do so. This conference if it has not already formally done so, will appoint a Committee to consider and recommend the principles on which the future Government of India should rest. That Committee will report and this conference will examine the suitability of its recommendations. For this reason any expression of views at this stage as to how the future should be ordered appears to me to prejudice the issue or to be at best superfluous. Yet by the will of this Conference, the opportunity for a general discussion has been extended from day to day and from hour to hour. I take it Sir, that the object of the general discussion is to bring about a comprehensive attitude of mind in this Conference—an attitude of mind which will result from every member of this Conference becoming acquainted with the different points of view, to the end that the final conclusions of this Conference may be in cognisance with the general wish and related to the powerful factors which constitute the complex problem with which India and England are to-day confronted.

May I, with your permission, trace for a moment the genesis of this Conference to a point of time anterior to Sir John Simon's recommendation, and concurrently express

my view of the reasons which invest this Conference with such tremendous importance. The conditions which led to the Government of India Act 1919, I submit, had already come into existence 45 years before, and so it was that in 1885 the foundation was laid of the Indian National Congress at the instance of no less a person than Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy of India. The conditions which led to the reforms of 1919 had also been so created. By the Government of India Act 1919 it was provided that after the Reforms had been in operation for ten years an enquiry would be held in regard to certain specified issues. When England made this provision it consciously desired to review the result of the big experiment it was launching. But subconsciously, I submit, by that very provision it brought on record the fact that the experiment it was trying, bold though it was, did not cover all the factors of the problem which it had set out to solve. In the inner consciousness of England there was the feeling that the Act of 1919 had ignored the existence of the Indian States. This phase of the problem has obtruded itself since on the attention both of the British Government and of the people of British India. But I must pass on to the operations of the Act of 1919 and show how the existing unhappy conditions in India are the consequence of that Act. In British India that Act created an appetite which grew, and has grown by what it fed on. Sir, it has been remarked that the present conditions in India constitute a problem of British India. I beg to submit that the problem of British India is also the problem of the Indian States, because the conditions that have arisen in India are every day in a greater measure affecting the Indian States. It has been said that the problem of India is a racial problem. It may or

may not be so. I believe that it is so to a considerable extent on account of the relative position of the Englishman and the Indian in India. Whether that position has existed by design or in consequence of the Government of India, or in spite of it, is not the point. That it has existed is a fact. Let every Englishman search his heart and find an answer to the question how he would feel if the position were reversed—if in his home in England his position became something like what the position of the Indian is in his own home.

But whether fundamentally the problem is a racial problem or not, is it not in a deeper sense a human problem? I do not think it is any matter for wonder that every Indian—Prince or peasant—should, in consequence of the conditions which have prevailed for certainly a period of 60 years counting back to 1870, should feel, and strongly feel, that he might be saved from his friends. I submit, therefore, that the problem of India may be viewed as a problem of human nature, and let no doctrinaire considerations obscure the view.

I promised to explain how the present position in India is due to the Reforms of 1919. I do not propose to review the legislation of the last ten years to illustrate how that legislation has adversely affected the rights of the States in many ways, or how it has given rise to the feeling in British India that measures can be carried which the country feels are opposed to its interests. I shall choose only one example. Take the fixation of the exchange ratio at 1/6. It was a measure which was carried, I need not recall the well known circumstances in which it was carried. It was a measure which affected British India and the States alike. India may well wonder how a measure to which there was such strong and large

opposition could be carried against the wishes of the country. In any case the States did not even have the opportunity of expressing in any proper sphere—and such a sphere does not even exist to-day—and join the chorus of disapproval against that measure. It may therefore be said to the credit of the Reforms of 1919 and the Government of India Act of that year that they have served the very useful purpose of enabling India, British India and the States, to determine what radical changes are necessary in her constitution for the safeguard of her vital interests. This one illustration alone should suffice to explain, firstly, British India's cry for the transfer of responsibility from the centre and secondly, the anxiety of the States that in matters which affect them and British India in common they should have an effective voice in the framing and execution of policies.

Surprise has been expressed in various quarters that the States have shown a readiness to federate with British India even though until the other day they always maintained that they and British India mutually should have no concern with each other. This surprise is to me truly amazing. Is the attitude of the States not the direct logical consequence of the Reforms of 1919 and the aftermath of those Reforms?

While on this point I should like to offer two further observations. The first is that the conditions in British India no longer, as I have said, constitute the problem of British India. They constitute as much the problem of the States as those of British India. The other is that if the States whole-heartedly support the demands of British India, if they desire to unite with British India in a federation which will rest upon their vital and fundamental rights being recognised, they do so not to gain any ex-

incendiarism; and still in the name of Satyagraha we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people and plundered shops and private houses. If deeds such as these could save me from the prison house or the scaffold I should not like to be so saved.

It is open to anybody to say that but for the Satyagraha campaign, there would not have been this violence. For this I have already done a penance, to my mind an unendurable one, namely, that I have had to postpone my visit to Delhi to seek rearrest, and I have also been obliged to suggest a temporary restriction of Satyagraha to a limited field. This has been more painful to me than a wound, but this penance is not enough, and I have therefore decided to fast for three days, *i.e.*, 72 hours. I hope my fast will pain no one, I believe a seventy-two hours' fast is easier for me than a twenty-four hours' fast for you. And I have imposed on me a discipline which I can bear.

In consequence of the violence, he ordered a general suspension of the movement on the 18th April, only to be resumed on another occasion which was soon to follow in the heels of the Punjab tragedy.

THE PUNJAB DISORDERS

Before passing to a consideration of the Khilafat question and Mr. Gandhi's lead which made it such a potent and All-India agitation, we must say a word on the aftermath of the Punjab tragedy. It is unnecessary to recount the extraordinary happenings in the Punjab as time and vigilant enquiries have laid bare the unscrupulous methods of that Government. For over a year, the tale of the Punjab atrocities, the shooting down of a defenceless and unarmed gathering of some 2,000 men, women and children in cold blood at the Jallianwallah Bagh, the monstrous methods of martial law administered by Col. Johnson and Bosworth Smith, the outrageous indignities to which the poor people of the place were subjected, the callous disregard of life and respect with which Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Brigadier Dyer were inflicting some of the worst features of Prussianism on a helpless people—the crawling order and the

clusive advantage for themselves, but with the object of keeping the Empire whole and entire. They do so out of their loyalty to the King-Emperor. They are once again doing for England what they did in 1857, namely, coming to England's rescue. In just that lies the true inwardness of the attitude which the States are taking to-day. They are desirous of restoring peace and contentment to their unhappy country and of rehabilitating the honour of England in India. If the unitary form of government remains, I doubt very much if England will feel the confidence to concede to India all that India is asking. If the States come in, and there is a federal form of government, I am sure that that fact would inspire England with sufficient confidence to entrust to India the management of her own affairs.

What better can England ask of Providence than a united and contented India behind her to face with her all the risks of the future and to help her in solving her many domestic problems? A united India, I believe, has been the goal and the ideal of England in India, and the States have come along to make the realisation of that ideal possible. They are asking England to put the coping stone on the magnificent edifice which she has raised in India, and, indeed, by consenting to let the people of India manage the affairs of their country according to their genius, they are enabling England to win the blessings of the 320,000,000 men and women of India who according to their faith in Kismet actually believe that the day of their deliverance is now dawning.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

Mr. Prime Minister: As a humble member of the Delegation from British India, and as almost the last speaker from among its ranks, I deem it my duty and privilege to express my profound and respectful appreciation of the valuable contribution which Their Highnesses the Ruling Princes have made to the success of these deliberations. In the future India—a united, greater India—the part which the Princes will have to play will be even more important than that which has already fallen to their lot; and, speaking as a Hindu with all the traditional reverence of my race for rulers, I express the confident hope that in them the federated India will find the best friends, philosophers and guides.

Next, I ask you permission to express my appreciation of the patient endurance and courtesy with which the members of the British Delegation have listened without a word of interruption to many an unpalatable truth which has been driven home to their minds by the speakers from my country. This spirit of discipline which is but one of the many traits of British character of which I am a profound admirer conveys to us its own lesson, and I trust I shall have the good fortune, as previous speakers have had, of being given an equally patient hearing for a few minutes.

I am not in the least disturbed by the speech of our ex-Secretary of State, Lord Peel. I read long years ago that the British Tory has a habit of being most vehement in his protestation just on the point of surrendering a hopelessly untenable position.

Sir, the accents of Lord Peel were mildness itself compared with the strident utterances of some of his colleagues in his party, and if I were he I should shudder to think of what reception would be accorded to him by the Churchills and the Beaverbrooks of the party. I hope, Sir, that history will repeat itself, and that the party of which Lord Peel is a shining ornament will not be slow to profit by the example of the greatest Tory Leader of the last century, Mr. Disraeli, and that just as he stole the garments of the Liberal Party and introduced the Reform Bill in 1847, so it will be Lord Peel's Party who, if the opportunity falls to them will not be slow to take advantage of the spade work that your party is now doing in order to confer upon India the gift of self-government.

Lord Peel, as the bearer of a great and historic name, may also profit by the example of his great-grandfather, who had no hesitation in giving the protection and repealing the Corn Laws, and that the great-grandson will have no hesitation in realising that to obstruct the political advance of India is to stand by a lost cause, and that he will be wise in his day if he will join your ranks and will help us in our advance.

But one word I shall permit myself to say with regard to his observations on commercial monopolies and the conditions by which industrial and commercial advance is guided. As he evidently thinks that there is no injustice or inequality operating against Indians, I desire with all respect to make a present to him of this book, the life of the greatest of India's great industrial captains, J N. Tata, by an Englishman F. R. Harris. If he goes through this book I am sure he will see from many illustrations, cited with a wealth of detail, that there is justification for the complaints which we utter.

At the commencement of our proceedings I was by no means sure whether Lord Reading had come to pray or to curse, and after listening to his speech of yesterday I am still left in doubt as to what attitude he is going to adopt when the stage comes for concrete proposals. But Sir, true to the definition of Liberalism, Lord Reading has not stood still during the days that have elapsed since his return from India. He confessed yesterday that he was responsible for a certain utterance in the Legislative Assembly some years ago, when it was sought to explain that responsible Government was different from and less than Dominion status, the latter of which was never promised to us. He made a confession yesterday which was gratifying to us, and I hope that, as he claimed to be an inheritor of the great traditions of liberalism, he will care more for the liberalism of the greatest of the liberals whom this or any other country has known, Mr. Gladstone, than for the liberalism of his colleague, Sir John Simon. Mr. Gladstone stated a proposition and enunciated a principle which I respectfully beg to bring to the notice of Lord Reading. He said :

It is one of the uniform and unfailing rules that guide human judgment, if not at the moment, yet of history, that when a long relation has existed between a nation of superior strength and one of inferior strength, and that relation has gone wrong, the responsibility for the guilt rests upon the strong rather than upon the weak.

Again, to this I invite his particular attention.

"I hold," said Mr. Gladstone, "that the capital agent in determining finally the question whether our power in India will be the will of the 240 millions of people who inhabit India. The question who shall have supreme rule in India is, by the laws of right an Indian question, and those laws of right are from day to day growing into laws of fact. Our title to be there depends on the first condition that our going there is profitable to the Indian nation, and on the second condition that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable."

This, Sir, should be the true principle and not the latter day imperialistic doctrine which seeks to use what are called coloured peoples as the foot-stool upon which the colourless [people might build their prosperity and rise to fame.

Sir, it is a great privilege and advantage that this historic conference has for its president no less a man than yourself, the first subject of the Crown, the holder of the greatest office in the British Empire. We Indians have many reasons to be grateful to you. Early in your public life you showed an interest in India and a concern for her welfare and progress, which led to your visit to my country and the subsequent publication of the book called "The Awakening of India." Your sympathy was so pronounced that the Indian National Congress invited you to fill the office of its President in the year 1911 and you expressed your readiness to accept that position but for domestic political circumstances which rendered it impossible for you to go. Three years later you showed, when the War broke out, that in you there was not the so-called professional politician, a soldier of fortune, but one who had the courage of conviction and was fearless of unpopularity. (Hear, hear.) Six years after that you made a gift to my country, a gift which I in particular value. Here is that gift. It is a constant friend of mine, because whenever I, in the exercise of my vocation as an Indian editor, feel induced to pay compliments to the Government of India, I find them in "The Government of India" by J. Ramsay MacDonald, in which there is plenty of ammunition with which to make attacks on that Government. In the Preface to your book I read :

India's needs cannot be met by an adjustment here and an adjustment there. They have to be viewed in their wide sweep.

In 1928, presiding at the British Commonwealth Labour Conference in London you said :

I hope that within a period of months rather than years there will be a new Dominion to the Commonwealth of our Nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the British Commonwealth. I refer to India.

And your party, in 1929, on the eve of the election, said—and this is what your party is committed to :—

The Labour Party believes in the right of the Indian people to self-government and self-determination, and the policy of the Labour Government would be one of continuous co-operation with them with the one object of establishing India at the earliest possible moment, and by her consent, as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Sir, I trust that this Conference, unique and unprecedented in many ways, will propose lasting friendship between our two great nations. It is no good following Lord Rosebery and writing efficiency on a clean slate. Efficiency of administration which does not lead to the contentment and happiness and prosperity of the people has no meaning and no reality. After nearly a century and a half of British bureaucratic rule in India illiteracy is still the badge of the tribe. There is poverty which a former Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll, described as poverty worse than any that could be witnessed anywhere in Europe, and there is communal tension, there is incapacity for military defence. For all these things it is the British policy and the bureaucratic system of government which are responsible. No longer should the Government of India be maintained as what it has been called a despotism of despatch boxes tempered by occasional loss of keys. No longer should red tape be the king and sealing wax the ministers. The Government of India can be a reality in the interests of the people of India when that Government is carried on by the representatives of those

people and not by others who may claim to be father, mother, and God, all rolled into one, of the uneducated masses.

If this Conference does not lead to the fruition of India's most legitimate hopes and aspirations I shudder to think of the future. The present system of government stands discredited; there is definitely an end of peace in India on the basis of the present system. A system which can be maintained only by casting into goal two such noble beings as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya is doomed. I hope statesmanship—which has been described as the foresight of commonsense—will recognise the wisdom of avoiding a crisis and of solving this problem in a friendly spirit. As in the city that has adopted me, Allahabad, the best city in India, the two sacred rivers, the Jumna and the Ganges, coalesce and flow as one stream, so too I hope the British and the Indians, each adding their contribution to the progress of humanity, will join in bringing about material prosperity and moral elevation for the benefit not only of themselves but of the entire human race.

THE RT. HON. RAMSAY MACDONALD

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is now my task to conclude this part of our proceedings, and in doing so it is my duty to try and survey the field as it is at the present moment. Of course, the very first thing that enters into one's mind and remains in one's mind with growing strength is the simple objective fact that we are all here together. It has never happened before. This surely is a union of India sitting at the council table not only with the British Government but with the British Parliament—the British Parliament represented by members of the House of Lords, by members of the House of Commons, and by members of the Government in existence for the time being. Ah, my Indian friends! Those of you with a keen and lively imagination, when I wrote those things that were going to satisfy the heart of my well-armed friend Mr. Chintamani, did you ever imagine that this would have happened under those circumstances and in a brief space of time? Do remember this, that the first thing you have to do regarding this Conference is to assure yourselves that we have reached a milestone that indicates a different future from what the past has been. (Applause.)

I said to you when you elected me to this Chair at the beginning that you were doing me a very great honour. The sense of that honour has grown from hour to hour and from day to day. This is not only an historic conference in the sense in which I have used the word, but it is historic in other senses that ought to put pride into the

hearts of every one of you here. You have listened to those magnificent speeches so full of promise, of the Princes. (Hear, hear.) You have listened to speeches—and it is impossible for me to individualise and particularise them,—from representatives of practically every interest, every community, every differing group in India. You have done more. You have listened to a charming new voice—(Applause)—which in itself marks something great and something most significant in the evolution of Indian self-government—the voice of the women of India. (Cheers.)

This, then, is a recognition of status. This recognition made here never can be departed from. It is impossible to go back to pass a pen through the last four or five days and to declare in any man's vanity that it never existed. It has been born in order to develop. We have listened to remarkable speeches displaying the mind of India, speeches when differences were declared, not meant to send us all away—you home to India, we back to the House of Commons—full of despair, but speeches which were meant and must be taken to mean to bring us face to face with facts in order that those facts may be overcome and fitted into a system of agreement. (Applause.)

And, my Indian colleagues, do remember this. This is a small place; we are few; but we have not been your only audience. You have spoken to the great audience of the British public outside. Mr. Sastri, in pursuance of that honourable character which has always been his, told you quite candidly that he had changed his opinion. Ah, Mr. Sastri you are not the only man who has changed his opinion within the last few days! (Applause). We want opinions to change; not in fundamentals, not in aspirations, not in ideals, not in those great fundamental human claims, but we want opinions to change.

in this sense, that every new fact brought before us challenges us to accommodate it in the practical systems which I hope we are going to construct before we leave this table.

There has been a great influence on public opinion here by your speeches. Every time you spoke you have had effect. My friends opposite who belong to the minorities, and who feel, I dare say—not only say but feel—that they are minorities, I give you this word of cheer and this word of comfort: the case you have put up has not fallen on deaf ears (Applause).

Another observation I want to make is this. The speeches have not stated problems for the purpose of debate; we have gone past all that. We are not here to debate: we are here for action (Cheers). Every one of you who has been in politics—and I dare say some of you will be a little more in the centre before you depart from this life—will, I think, before you go from here have a new angle from which to consider politics, the sort of angle that my honourable friends by me and myself have had to occupy, the angle of the responsible man whose problem is to relate the “is” to the “is to be”, and to create in the “is”, from the vital strength that it gets from the “is to be” an evolution which will work itself out in accordance with the laws of evolution (Cheers). It is not for us here to be recorders of what happened in 1800. We are not the recorders of the past. We are the custodians of the future. The policies of 1800, pursued by us and by every other nation were pretty much the same. The policy of 1930 is to depend upon the situation which has been created by the passing of the years since then. That is the next important thing that we have to consider in our work.

public flogging—these have been the theme of countless articles and speeches. The Punjab revelations have shocked the conscience of the civilized world which could scarcely believe that such frightful acts of brutality could be possible in the British Government till the Hunter Commission confirmed their worst apprehensions.

But it was long before the Government could be forced to appoint a Commission of Inquiry. And at last only a Committee was appointed while all India was anxious for a Royal Commission. It was, therefore, decided to proceed with an independent enquiry. Mr. Gandhi headed the Congress Sub-Committee and carried out a most searching and thorough investigation. It was a pity he could not lead the Congress evidence before the Hunter Committee, owing to differences between the two Committees in regard to the freedom of certain witnesses then under confinement. Suffice it to say that the Congress Committee decided not to give evidence, or in any way participate with the Hunter Committee.

But under the able and indefatigable guidance of Mr. Gandhi, the Congress Committee collected a great mass of material for judging the Punjab disorders. They examined over 1,700 witnesses and recorded the evidence of no less than 650. Mr. Gandhi's participation in the Committee was itself a guarantee to its merit as an authoritative and responsible body. In fact no name could carry more weight than Mr. Gandhi's in the matter of veracity in such an undertaking—an undertaking likely to prejudice and warp the judgment of many. When in April 1920 the Report was published it was hailed everywhere as an unanswerable document—the result of patient industry and dispassionate judgment on a most brutal and savage episode in recent history.

I hear it sometimes said that, somehow or other, some group or other wishes to go back upon what has been said and what has been accepted by you as pledges between, say, 1917 and this moment. That is not true. The Government accepts everything that has been officially said. This Conference has been called because we accept it. This Conference at its meetings will have proof that we mean to carry it out.

We have to face—and again I think of speeches delivered from the section of the Conference immediately in front of me—we have to face practical requirements. I do not like that word difficulty, because when a man says he is in difficulties he always implies to some extent that he is overcome. But there are two types of mind and two classes of men who never can face difficulties with success. The first type and the first class is the man who, when he comes up against a difficulty, imagines either that it is not there at all or that he can jump over it without any trouble. The other type of man, who is equally ineffective, is the man who says “Oh! there is a difficulty, let us stop our pilgrimage. The road is blocked. It is not our home but we cannot go home. Let us pitch our camp in front of the difficulty.” He is no good. Neither of those types is of any use.

The man of practical action, the type of man and the type of mind that is going to serve both India and this country with success and with honour and be a blessing to both is the type of man who says: “Yes, there is a difficulty. Come on, let's get over it.” That is the spirit in which we approach the problems before us. We have precisely the same sort of problem which, although different in its content, very very different in its content, but the same type of problem, the same class of problem both in think-

ing and practical action which we had to face the other day at the Imperial Conference. 1926 made a great declaration. 1930 had put a content into that declaration. That is the position in which we are here at this present moment.

As one of the speakers this morning said, our friend in front, government is a government of men, and constitutions cannot be made to order. Constitutions are not made at firesides. May I—with due respect—as one who belongs to the same fraternity, who honours the fraternity, but knows its weakness—add that neither can constitutions be made in the editorial offices of newspapers. I include myself in that.

What we have to do, as men of knowledge, men of experience, men who have thought out problems, is to come and sit together full of the faith, as a preliminary necessity, that we can find our way through, and that when we have found our way through we shall feel proud of our action, and will see our action fructify in the peace and the happiness of our people.

What has emerged from this? I say first of all that status has emerged. We are here altogether—Princes, British Indians, Hindus, Mahommadans, the Minorities grouped in their various sub-divisions, some with great grievances, some with less grievances, but yet, very considerable grievances—some like Burma whose case we shall have to consider before this Conference is finally wound up. Here we are altogether—my friend Sapru, myself, our friends over there, all at the same table, working at the same problem, listened to in the same way, enjoying the same freedom of expression, and taking to themselves, quite rightly, the full right of criticising, objecting, negotiating, bargaining and accepting finally, or rejecting. I repeat, that is a gain which is marked by the meeting of

this Conference. Let it be noted that it is not static ; it is not for this time only. This has established a relationship of active co-operation between us in which your part is as conspicuous as ours.

A second thing is this. The speeches have been extraordinarily practical in their character. There is another word I do not like—that this subject shall be “reserved” and that subject shall be “reserved.” That seems to imply the idea that we are sitting here, bankers as it were, and that we are wishing to exercise a control merely in relation to ourselves and not in relation to you. The problem of the reserved subjects—and every speaker has said that that problem must be faced—is a problem of how things are to be fitted into the conditions which exist to-day ; not to stabilise and ossify those conditions, but as practical men who know perfectly well that within six weeks of our agreement you will have to bear responsibilities for it and we will have to bear responsibilities for it. You will have to go and face public opinion in India. You will have to go and face agitation in India. You will have probably to go and face those black flags which bade you God speed, and may be displayed in order to give you India’s welcome. So shall we. So shall this country. All I say is this ; that as practical men we must face those facts, and in the agreement we make give them a place. It is not reserved. It is not withholding. It is not withdrawing. It is this ; it is an honest study as between responsible men and responsible men of the facts relating to the conditions in India and the facts relating to public opinion here for the time being.

We have to recognise the objective nature of our task, not merely its subjective nature.

This is another point. The declaration of the Princes has revolutionised the situation. (Hear, hear.) Supposing we had met here without the Princes, supposing the Princes had come and had said nothing, or supposing they had said, "We are here merely as spectators." What a different situation would have presented itself to us! The Princes saying what they have said have at once not only opened our vision, not only cheered our hearts, not only let us lift up our eyes and see a glowing horizon, but have simplified our duties. The Princes have given a most substantial contribution in opening up the way to a really united federated India. (Applause.)

The final point that I need mention in that connection is this. We have made a great contribution here, you have made a great contribution, to the style of architecture. I had an Indian illustration in my mind. I do not think I will give it. You know, I have wandered up and down India, I have seen your beautiful old architecture. Under its walls, and standing in its shadows, I have tried to pour out my Western prejudices, shall I call them—not exactly, because I do not think they are exactly prejudices, but my Western upbringing—and I have been able to revel in that extraordinary blossoming of the artistic Indian mind. Style of architecture, my friends—remember this—has a great controlling influence on the mind that abides with it. Give us a constitution which is crude in its construction, and it will not help you. Give us a constitution which is in accordance with experience, which has become part and parcel of your spiritual thoughts, and that will help you. And the contribution I make to the style of the architecture of your constitution is this. The most characteristic foundation of our common Aryan civilization, of our common Aryan

social order, is the family. The family, as the Begum said yesterday, united in the village, the village united in the district and so on—India a federation, a federation which is flexible, a federation which meets the historical inheritance you have all got, in so far as it is worthy to be carried into the future, a federation which enables mergings to take place, a federation which embodies in itself the authority of the State and the liberty of the individual. The superiority of the combination and homage at the same time to the containing smaller co-ordinating groups within the federation; that is in accordance, I think, both with the Indian genius and the British genius, because as a matter of fact in our fundamentals we drink at the same historical fountains and are refreshed by the same historical reminiscences.

With regard to the practical points, I have a series, here which I have taken down. They are not systematic; please do not criticise them as that; they are casual. I took them down from the speeches as they were being delivered not by any of us but by you. What will be the nature of the component units which are to be fitted into a scheme of federation? What will be the nature of the central co-ordinating structure? What will be the relations of this structure to the provinces? What will be the relations of it to the States? What provisions will be made to secure the willing co-operation of the minorities and the special interests? What will be the subjects with which the general structure will deal, and in general what should be its powers, functions and responsibilities?

My friends, good debating speeches are not going to carry us over those problems and provide an answer to them (Cheers). I always delight in listening to my

very nimble Indian friends when they are in debate, and I must confess to a sin on my own part ; I love to take part in them. But that is not for here and now. Your problem and my problem is to sit down together and supply practical answers to those questions, which can be embodied in an Act of Parliament. (Applause).

This constitution, this federation or whatever it may be, must meet two fundamental requirements. In the first place, it must work. There is no good producing a constitution which will not work. That will not get you out of your difficulties and will not get us out of ours. The other point is this : The constitution must evolve. You are not in a position here to produce a static constitution that your grandsons and your great-grandsons and great-great-grandsons will worship as though it was one of your sacred inheritances. Therefore, the constitution must work and the constitution must evolve. It must be a continuing thing, and in the evolving Indian opinion and Indian experience must be the more important initiating power.

That is the history, as a matter of fact, of all the constitutions of our Dominions. In saying what I have said I am not asking you to take up any special position at all. Look at the history of our evolving Dominions and you will find that they had ardent men in the days of the evolution, cursing, swearing, going to prison, boasting that they had been in prison. It all had to be gone through. These things, although we may say it in our rashness and our thoughtlessness, are really not the acts of man. They are the things that are inevitable in relation to the great fundamental laws which govern the life and provide for the changes in the life of this world, and nobody knows it better than the great Hindu and Mohammadan philosophers. You have to apply this to our procedure.

We are not hard-headed business men always counting material gains. No, the politician is different from that. The politician has to have his spiritual draughts in order to enable him to be practical in his political proposals. I want you to remember that in your negotiations, and I hope we will still more.

That is all I need say. Final words will have to be reserved for final meetings. Between final meetings and this is the honest, laborious thinking, considering and pondering of the problems in front of us. Leaving the Chair, as I shall now proceed to do to-day, I only leave it so that somebody else may go into some other chair, and this plenary Conference may resolve into committees. All I can say of that is that in the work of those committees you have the best will, not only of His Majesty's Government but of the British Parliament, House of Lords and House of Commons together. We shall wait with expectation—a little bit anxious perhaps, as I am sure you will be—with perhaps a little anxiety but all the same with expectation and in the hope that as a result of the work of those committees we shall be able in our final meetings to register agreement which will send you back to India happy men, powerful men, men able to face your difficulties, and which will give us a chance of doing the same thing here, and which above all will enable both of us to go our various ways with the friendship which unites us strengthened and the desire to co-operate which is still with us amplified enormously beyond what it is at the present moment.

I must apologise to you. I meant to knock at the end of ten minutes. You will accept my apology, for what I hope I may say, is my first failure to do my duty at this Conference. This is the finish, and I hope the good feeling we have had and the candid expression of views we have given, may be continued in the committees. Please be assured that at any of these Committees, whatever they are, if you wish it, I am at your disposal to help you.

LAST PLENARY SESSION, 19TH JAN. 1931.**MESSAGE TO HIS MAJESTY**

At the last Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference, on January 19, 1931 Mr. MacDonald read a message to the King, which ran as follows :

The delegation to the Indian Round Table Conference at the conclusion of its proceedings desire to submit to His Majesty with their humble duty, the expression of their loyal gratitude for several marks of Royal favour so graciously bestowed on them. Through His Majesty's kindly forethought they owe the setting of their deliberations unsurpassed alike in convenience and beauty and they will ever treasure in grateful remembrance the inspiration of His Majesty's personal association with their proceedings. (Cheers).

THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

The Maharaja of Patiala, expressed his pleasure that many doubts and difficulties with which they had been confronted at the start had been cleared away. He regretted that communal and minorities problems still remained, but it was encouraging to notice that these difficulties did not hinder unity of British Indian demand for political advance. He was of opinion that the main outlines of the future structure of the constitution of India had been laid down on the lines, which it would be difficult to challenge. The main principle of federation had been accepted and he hoped that a large proportion of States would come in immediately, but they all had made it clear that they could federate only with a self-governing British India and just as they did not desire to dominate British India so also they could not consent to British India dominating them. They wished to enter the federation as equal partners in a great and honourable enterprise.

"If our work at the Conference is not to go for nought, it is necessary that Great Britain should declare her intentions, without any further delay. We join in asking that our country should acquire that status within the Empire, which can alone satisfy her." He pointed out that though the Princes would be the first to suffer from chaos and anarchy yet they joined in urging the necessity of courageous, generous and prompt political advance and if they recommended the acceptance of the present scheme need any one in Britain hesitate?"

MRS. SUBBAROYAN

Mrs. Subbaroyan, on behalf of the women's delegation, expressed appreciation of the work of the sub-committees. Their reports gave food for hope, but they were only provisional and judgment must be reserved. She did not believe that India would accept a form of government, which, while conceding the general principles of responsible self-government, contained details and reservations, which might make it really something different. But she believed that if the filling in of the picture could be approached in a spirit of goodwill that had been apparent at the Conference, the hopes now entertained would not be disappointed. She expressed the thanks of her colleagues and herself for the sympathetic hearing given to the proposals on behalf of the women. She hoped that the political status of women would not be forgotten at the future conferences and thanked Mr. Benn and Lord Irwin for recognising the principle by including women in the Conference.

LORD PEEL

Lord Peel said that the discussions at the Conference were most valuable in informing and shaping the public opinion here and probably in India. The most outstanding fact of the Conference had been that the conception of Federal India had been brought from the realm of dreams to the state of reality. He paid a tribute to the enlightened action of the Princes and those leaders of opinion in British India who had given their political aspirations the Federal colour and said that it would be a great misfortune if this mighty scheme could not be started soon on its great career.

Explaining briefly the attitude of the Conservative section [of the British delegation, Lord Peel said: "Our aim has been to sketch the main outlines of the constitution at once so flexible as to meet differences of federal unity and so firm as to create a strong cement of unity in the centre for the manifold diversities of Indian social and political life. We have done our best to free our minds from all old unitary adherences and shaped the new structure as far as possible on purely federal lines."

Lord Peel said they had tried not to look with suspicion on any new proposals, merely because it was not embedded in some older constitutional system. They had not thought that British Parliamentary methods should be transferred wholesale from Westminster to Delhi. They were anxious that the Central Legislature should be so composed that the tie with the Provinces should be firmly impressed on the constitution and that, while making a law

for All-India they were acting as agents and interpreters of the Provinces and the States.

They favoured immediate self-government for the Provinces so that the view of Responsible Ministers should be added to those present at the Conference in approving or modifying the new constitution. They were keenly interested in India's political aspirations and in discussing the constitutional safeguards they had in mind the necessity of the carrying out of Imperial responsibilities and they were not moved by any desire to fetter Indian freedom.

Lord Peel said it was generally admitted that certain subjects must be reserved to the Crown and that certain reserve powers must remain with the Viceroy. He pointed out the diversity of opinion with regard to these safeguards and emphasised that there must be no haziness in regard to them. It was imperative that while safeguards were necessary, the machinery for operating them should be closely and clearly defined. It was in the interests of general confidence that the protection for minorities should be closely and clearly defined. It was in the interests of general confidence that protection for minorities should be clearly set forth and as regards financial security, he was expressing no distrust of Indian ministers in saying that, for the present it would assist them if financial safeguards were so drawn up as to give confidence to the great commercial and financial community. Again, in transferring power British Government could not be indifferent to the interests of those who had trusted her for protection and security.

Lord Peel said he had heard with surprise that reservations were made in some quarters to complete equality of treatment of British traders and British trade. "I must make it clear that our future attitude will depend

upon such equality. I shall be obliged to withdraw what I am about to say now unless that condition is fulfilled. It must not be assumed in any way that we consider that these constitutional difficulties and requirements are incapable of solution. If safeguards can be made effective with care and goodwill and if our practical problems can be met in a workmanlike spirit, as I believe they can, then we shall not hesitate to assent to the new constitution because it will involve the transfer of new powers and responsibilities to India. (Applause).

“It is agreed that opinion neither here nor in India is to be presented at this Conference with a scheme that must be accepted as a whole or rejected. Many problems are still left over and all we ask is that these problems should be squarely faced and fairly settled.”

Referring to the communal question, Lord Peel said that long patience must be shown before a settlement could be reached and it was manifest that, unless a satisfactory agreement was concluded, the success of any future constitution must be gravely jeopardised. Again the just claims of the Depressed Classes, Anglo-Indians and other minorities must be satisfied.

Lord Peel concluded by emphasising the Conservatives' desire that the Conference's labours should bring peace, security and goodwill to India. “I trust that, in the coming months, the seals may be affixed to this new deed of partnership between two countries. May the leaders of India freed from the fevers of non-co-operation, bend all their energies to the furtherance of their great and constructive task.”

LORD READING

Lord Reading said that, when those who participated in the Conference looked back on the results attained, they would be gratified that so large a measure of agreement had been reached upon important questions and that opinion had been exchanged upon others which would be further examined by competent expert authorities and would be decided after due submission to British and Indian opinion.

“When we first met the outlook was confused and the problems seemed baffling, even insoluble, especially within the limited time at our disposal. Examination and discussion, attended by goodwill and conducted throughout with great courtesy and in a calm and restrained atmosphere, under the wise guidance of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, have overcome formidable obstacles and enabled us to bring the session of the Conference to a conclusion. At the outset none could have expected that success to the extent already described would attend our efforts or that we should have attained a substantial measure of agreement on the main groundplan. The Princes of India, to their honour be it recorded, led the advance and cleared the new way for constitutional development. Whatever may be the fate of our endeavours at this Conference the attitude of the Princes will always be gratefully remembered by those who desire a union of all that stands for India.”

Lord Reading pointed out that the Princes, however, attached conditions to perhaps the most important question of responsibility at the centre. He quoted in this connec-

tion from the important speeches of Bikaner and Bhopal and again from the last day's speech of Patiala. Lord Reading added: "The Conference whole-heartedly welcomed the idea of an All-India Federation. We therefore devoted our attention, energies and abilities to laying the foundation of the new edifice. The work of construction must proceed and, we most sincerely hope, to completion. From the moment the Conference decided to proceed upon the basis of Federation the whole aspect changed. The idea of Federation which had appealed so strongly to Sir John Simon and to the Statutory Commission and later to the Government of India and that had seemed entirely beyond realisation, sprang into being at the Conference and threw a rosier hue over the constitutional problems."

Lord Reading, continuing, said:

"Once the All-India proposal was accepted we, as a delegation, studied the problem afresh and from an entirely new angle. A Federation could not proceed unless the principle of responsibility at the Centre was accepted. Without it, the Princes would not move towards a Federation. We wished, as members of the Liberal Delegation and true to its traditions, to travel in the direction of responsibility, but we felt it necessary to stipulate that certain safeguards and reservations should be introduced and these have been explained and discussed. We expressed in plain language our definite support to the policy of conferring responsibility at the Centre provided that the safeguards were adequate and the new constitution was workable."

"Throughout the debates we have listened most attentively but have seen no reason to change our attitude. We hold to the statements I made in their entirety. These opinions were not, as some suggested, the result of impulse-

or of sudden conversion. They began to take shape immediately the Federation was launched and were only formed after protracted thought and as the result of profound conviction."

Lord Reading said, "When the delicate Hindu-Moslem negotiations proved abortive we felt free to express our views in clear and unmistakable terms. We earnestly hope that agreement may be reached between our Hindu and Moslem friends and that proper protection will be afforded to all minorities not forgetting the depressed classes. You delegates from British India are about to return to India. You will take a message of true British sympathy and goodwill. We are aware that many of you, honoured and distinguished among Indians of character, integrity and intellectual capacity have risked political fortunes to take part in this Conference. As we know, you were actuated by the highest motives. We hope that, on your return, you will be able to convince our compatriots and that India may then walk in the ways of constitutional progress and development. Riots, crime, terrorism and anarchy lead only to greater political disturbance. Great Britain will not be deterred from performing her duty and discharging her obligations by threats or violence. She can and will be won, as she hopes to win India, by sympathy, goodwill and co-operation by working together as willing partners in the best interests of India and the Empire for the benefit of India and the Empire and for the greater contentment and happiness of India in the future." (Applause.)

THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA

The Gaekwar of Baroda said that, for himself, the idea of a Federation had been present for very many years, and it had impressed him as presenting the only feasible means of securing the unity of India. He was content to believe that, in the present circumstances, realisation was at hand of the ideal he had long cherished. He described the Conference's conception of a United India, as unity without uniformity, which was the prime requisite of true federation. It was his deliberate conviction that to strain after uniformity in the Federal Structure, would be a mistaken policy. Each unit should be perfectly free to develop along its own peculiar lines. The success of the Conference's labours should be judged by only one test. Have they resulted in producing a Government capable of facing the tremendously difficult problems boldly and of adopting wise measures and policies which would enable India to take her place among the advanced countries of the world? If future Government was to be "of the people for the people by the people," then the provinces, as at present constituted, seemed too large for the end in view. The education of the people should be made an earnest endeavour and, the greatest efforts should therefore be concentrated on the uplift of the people by this means.

MR. ZAFARULLAH KHAN

Mr. Zafarullah Khan declared that the most hostile and adverse critic of the work of the Conference would not deny that a great deal had been accomplished. They had traced out the ground plan, dug out, excavated and filled in the foundations, and even raised the walls of a vast constitutional structure to a certain height, but from one viewpoint it appeared to be rather a lopsided structure. He regretted that very little had been done to establish the absolute autonomy of the provinces in the same way as the States entering the Federation would be autonomous. He earnestly hoped that the autonomous position of the provinces would be very much more clearly emphasised. He was glad to find that one of the still necessary key-stones would be supplied by an agreement, securing the rights and interests of the British commercial community. He hoped that the structure would not for too long be left standing in an incomplete condition.

Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar expressed British India's deep gratitude to the Princes for the part they had played in fostering the idea of a Federation. Nobody who had heard them at the Conference could have the smallest doubt of the great part they would take in the future Government of the country and the future of the nation. He did not wish to be regarded as speaking disparagingly of the generation whose political career might soon end, but he ventured to express the feeling of the younger generation that it was they who perhaps would have the burden of working the constitution in the coming decades. He had witnessed at this Conference, that change of heart for which his countrymen had been pleading for many generations. He had seen a change of heart in the British delegation. He had heard Lord Reading's great speeches. "How can I go back to my country, unless I am able to tell them with confidence and sincerity that we had witnessed that great change of heart? After hearing Lord Peel he had seen it too in the Conservatives. The last two decades had seen many world changes, but through it all one golden purpose was visible, and there had been an effort to bring different units of the British Empire together. He had heard a great deal of talk of the "Lost Dominion." But, the spirit generated at this Conference had not lost India for Britain, but had reconquered it; and if this temper and change of heart was seen as clearly by Indians as had been seen at this Conference—and he had no doubt that they would see it in the coming months—he gave an assurance that this new reconquered India would be a firm collaborator in the British Empire.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

When in October last we left the shore of our country we were told by friends and opponents, by men of our own party and by men of other parties, that we were going on a fool's errand, that we were incurring risks of an extraordinary character, that England had made up its mind against us, that we should reach a hostile England. Well, I do not know whether we came here in the midst of a hostile England, but I do know one thing, and I hope I am not putting it too high when I venture to say that we are leaving behind us a friendly England (Cheers.)—an England which has sent to this historic Conference some of her greatest, wisest and most farseeing statesmen, to talk to us on terms of equality, to discuss questions of high import in a spirit of give and take and not to dictate to us from their side. That has been my experience and I venture to think that, so far as that is concerned, I give expression to the views of many of us at this Conference.

Sir Phiroze Sethna : " All of us."

Dr. Sapru : Indeed, as I have been corrected, of all of us. (Cheers.)

Now during the last nine weeks, what is it that we have witnessed emerging from this great Conference? Three Central ideas have emerged—one the higher, nobler and loftier idea of All-India Federation which has taken such material shape, if I may say so, mainly because of the patriotic attitude of the Indian Princes. (Applause).

The second important idea which, from the viewpoint of British India, is of the highest importance, is the

was yet an index to the depth of English ignorance and prejudice. Above all, some officers who had misbehaved in the late tragedy still continued to exercise authority in the Punjab and the late Mr. Lajpat Rai started a propaganda to boycott the New Councils so long as they were not dispensed with. Mr. Gandhi who had already made up his mind to offer Satyagraha in varying forms in connection with the Khilafat question readily joined Lalaji and issued the following note to that effect in July 1920 :

Needless to say, I am in entire accord with Lala Lajpat Rai on the question of a boycott of the Reformed Councils. For me it is but one step in the campaign of Non-Co-operation, as I feel equally keenly on the Punjab question as on the Khilafat. Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion is doubly welcome. I have seen a suggestion made in more quarters than one that Non-Co-operation with the Reforms should commence after the process of election has been gone through. I cannot help saying that it is a mistake to go through the election farce and the expense of it, when we clearly do not intend to take part in the proceedings of these Legislative Councils. Moreover, a great deal of educative work has to be done among the people, and if I could I would not have the best attention of the country frittered away in electioneering. The populace will not understand the beauty of Non-Co-operation, if we seek election and then resign; but it would be a fine education for them if electors are taught not to elect anybody and unanimously to tell whosoever may be seeking their suffrage that he would not represent them if he sought election so long as the Punjab and Khilafat questions were not satisfactorily settled. I hope, however, that Lala Rajpat Rai does not mean to end with the boycott of the Reformed Councils. We must take, if necessary, every one of the four stages of Non-Co-operation if we are to be regarded as a self-respecting nation. The issue is clear. Both the Khilafat terms and the Punjab affairs show that Indian opinion counts for little in the Councils of the Empire. It is a humiliating position. We shall make nothing of the Reforms if we quietly swallow the humiliation. In my humble opinion, therefore, the first condition of real progress is the removal of these two difficulties in our path, and, unless some better course of action is devised, Non-Co-operation must hold the field.

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

We have referred more than once to Mr. Gandhi's connection with the Khilafat question. The country was in the throes of a tremendous agitation—an agitation which

idea of responsibility at the centre. Lord Reading, in his remarkable speech, this morning, quoted from the speeches of Bikaner and Bhopal to show how, so far as the Princes are concerned, the only condition, the only term, on which they would come into the federation was that responsible Government should be established. We responded to that call in the spirit in which their Highnesses expressed their wishes. We did so not merely because we think it benefits them but also because we think it benefits us.

The third important idea which has emerged, and which, if I may respectfully say so, is the integral idea of all systems of responsible Government is that India must be prepared in the years to come to defend herself. For years past, for 40 or 50 years past, it has been a sore point with us that we have not been admitted into the highest ranks of the Army. It is only during the last ten years that a few of our young men have had the King's Commission conferred on them, but there is no Indian to whatever school of thought he may belong, who has not felt keenly on this question and who has not urged it on the Government from time to time that a serious attempt should be made to qualify the men of India to take the burden of defence on their own shoulders. We know, and we have known it with great regret, that even the recommendation of the Skeen Committee as regards the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst has not found much support in certain official quarters in England.

To-day that principle is no longer open to discussion. It has been conceded. It has been acknowledged that we are entitled to have an Indian Sandhurst, that it must be established to qualify Indians ultimately to take responsibility for the defence of their own country. I consider it no small gain. It may be that there are certain safe-

guards. Frankly, I am not alarmed by those safeguards. They are really intended in the interests of the responsible Government that we are establishing at the centre (Cheers) and not to strengthen the hands of English control over us. That is the view I take.

It is dangerous to indulge in prophecies, especially in the field of politics. It would be dangerous for me to say that the enthusiasm with which some of us have approached the whole of this scheme here will be readily shared by everyone in India. I am fully prepared for a great many doubts and for a good deal of scepticism in certain quarters but, Mr. Prime Minister, may I appeal to your great political experience? Has there been a single constitution established in any one of the Dominions which has not been taken exception to whether in Ireland, Australia or South Africa by a certain number of people?

And indeed when we remember that on the present occasion we are marching towards a Federation (an idea with which we have not been familiar) I should not be surprised if certain doubts are expressed and certain amount of scepticism shown. But of one thing I feel sure that when the ideas which have been evolved here are carefully examined, when time is given to the people to think about them, you will find that those doubts, those misgivings and that spirit of scepticism will disappear as your London fog disappears sometimes and that we shall then enter into the bright sunshine of hopefulness for future.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have seen to-day remarkable evidence of that spirit of hopefulness. Lord Peel is not here and I am glad he is not here, for otherwise his presence would have been embarrassing to me, but I would venture to say, that I have already witnessed a remarkable

change in the attitude of that great party which he represents, during the last eight days and, may I very respectfully ask you, Sir Samuel Hoare to accept my congratulations and convey the same to your distinguished colleague for the remarkable speech which he delivered this morning, a speech which was full of hope so far as your party was concerned.

Well, Mr. Prime Minister, may I venture to make an appeal to you? You know far better than any one knows or has known during the last four months of our discussion what the condition of India is and has been.

And, speaking with a full sense of responsibility and with full appreciation of the administrative situation in India I make an earnest appeal to you to make it possible for the people of India at the present moment to apply their minds to a consideration of these problems dispassionately, not in the spirit of irritation and bitterness, but in a spirit of hopefulness.

While I am making this appeal to you, I think it my clear duty that I should make a similar appeal to my countrymen. Too long has this struggle gone on. The amount of bitterness already generated is far too great and I want revered leaders, men who command the homage, respect and affection of their countrymen and enthusiastic young men, to apply their minds seriously to a consideration of these problems and make their further contribution to a further elucidation of our ideas and further improvement of this scheme, for I recognise that it is one of the merits of Lord Sankey's scheme that it does not bolt the door against further suggestion.

Therefore, Mr. Prime Minister, I venture to express the hope that when you make your declaration, you will not merely utter the word of hope to us, but you will, with

all the weight of your position, take courage in your hands and hold out the olive branch to my country. I respectfully ask you for the release of political prisoners, for amnesty to those who have gone to jail for an opinion from which you have differed and from which many of us have differed and which we consider to be deplorable. Let a new era be established and let the struggle of this last few months be forgotten. Let the people approach the new task which awaits them in a spirit of generous appreciation and in a spirit of hope and good cheer.

Mr. Prime Minister, I am sure that in asking for the release of the prisoners, I am giving expression to the views not only of those who are here but of a very large number of men of my country who are eagerly expecting some such gesture from you. (Applause.) I will only utter one word more and then sit down. Whatever may be the verdict of our critics, either in the Press here or in the Press in India, whatever may be the verdict of my countrymen and your countrymen upon the work of the Conference there is one thing in regard to which every one of us is united without exception and that is the fine spirit which has been shown, not merely by His Majesty's Government but by the entire section of the British delegation in discussing these things with us. Our deep sense of obligation is due to you, Sir, and to every one of your colleagues and, if I may venture to mention one single name, I will say that such measure of success as has been achieved by the Federal Structure, Sub-Committee, which was entrusted with the very heavy responsibility, has to very large extent, indeed to a much larger extent than we imagine, been due to the wisdom, statesmanship and breadth of view of the Lord Chancellor.

THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR

The principal scheme that has been before us has been the evolving of a system which is ultimately going to lead to that happy consummation which I would like to describe as the 'United States of India' within the Empire. In order to achieve this ideal, we have worked on this scheme of federation under which term come all the other points that we have been discussing during these last few months. Lord Sankey originally made up twelve points for our consideration, and I am glad that they have escaped the fateful number of fourteen pronounced by the late Mr. Wilson of America, and have brought us to grips with the actual situation of the future. The component elements of the federation, the type of Federal Legislature, its powers, the number of members, the methods whereby representatives from British India and from Indian States are to be selected, the constitution, character and powers of the Executive, the powers of Provincial Legislatures, the constitution, character, powers and responsibility of the Provincial Executives, the provision for minorities, the problem of establishing a Supreme Court, the defence force and the relation of federal and provincial executives to the Crown, have been the twelve items round which we have centred our deliberations.

The Federation that we have been attempting to devise is one of a unique character for the reason that we are bringing two Indias together into political unity, where each will work out its individual domestic and internal problems and each will combine together for the good of India as a whole. This Federation scheme, which in the

Simon Report and Government of India Despatch was looked upon as a remote contingency, has become an actual reality. And why? Because the British and Indian States have come determined to join hands in order to make this scheme a success. British India has made its valuable contribution to this scheme and I believe it is already realised that Indian States have played no small part for the sake of their country in making this scheme a workable proposition of the future. Whereas in other countries this Federation has come under easier circumstances, with comparative unity in races and creeds, with comparative unity in political organisations, these questions have been more complicated in regard to India, because we have to contend with so many different races as well as with the ancient system of rule laid down by our Raj Nitis, the exponents of which are Indian States. On our side of the table we have attempted to make a contribution of which I hope our fellow countrymen and others present in this room will not have reason to say that we in any way became a spoke in the wheel. On the other hand, we have had it stated by no less a personage than the Prime Minister of the present Government, by members of the British Delegation representing Conservatives and Liberals, that the attitude which Indian States took by coming into this Federation has caused a revolution in the situation. While we are not revolutionaries in the strict sense, we are glad that, for the sake of our country and its interests, we have contributed to this vast change in hope of its ultimate success. * *

Its eventual realisation lies in appreciating two basic principles; firstly, one, on which we are all agreed, that we want India to aspire to the highest status possible within the British Empire itself, and secondly, and no less

fundamental, the principle that we must each be left free to go our own way in working out our internal problems of the provinces and the Centre or on the other side of the Indian States according to our best dictates and of our human capacities for the happiness and progress of the people destined to have been placed in the hands of our respective governments. For while the one cannot dictate to the other as to the best methods of Government for all, I think that it is not altogether an unfortunate factor (in fact I believe that it is for the common good) that we have two or more systems working out their proposition towards our one common aim inside the Federation. It is only by mutual understanding of our respective rights and privileges that we can, in unanimity and unity, work out our united goal. There will be tendencies for sparks to fly from one side to the other, and as none can afford to get themselves encased in watertight compartments, I am sure that under our two different systems (the ancient of the East, the other, the modern of the West) for the sake of our Motherland we can still arrive at our very laudable goal for the benefit of India.

The responsibility at the centre of the Government of India is a question on which a great part of the success of this Conference depends and a great part of the success of the future governance of the country and, while certain subjects have been reserved, we hope that the spirit will move and conceive ideals on all sides that will help towards the working out of satisfactory solutions in the shortest space of time.

SIR M. SHAFI



Sir Mahomed Shafi, on behalf of his brethren of the British Indian delegation, expressed grateful acknowledgment of the far-sighted statesmanship and sympathetic co-operation, which Mr. MacDonald and the members of the Labour, Liberal and Conservative delegations had displayed throughout the Conference. Sir M. Shafi: envisaged the day when India would rise to the full stature of an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, as one of His Majesty's Dominions, not only to the incalculable happiness and contentment of its vast population, but also to the benefit and immense strength of the British Commonwealth itself. He declared that the Round Table Conference had brought England and India much closer together than they had ever been before. Sir Mahomed concluding, said, " May God grant that the new concord, which arises from to-day, will grow in sincerity and strength to the mutual benefit of the two countries and the incalculable good of humanity at large." (Cheers).



THE RT. HON. SASTRI

The Rt. Hon. Sastri said that Mr. MacDonald had been a valiant soldier of peace. He declared, "On your breast my vision sees many prizes and medals in this pacific war, but if our work goes through and sees its consummation then you will have won the Victoria Cross of Peace." (Applause.) Only the first and hardest part of their task was over. There was a good deal to follow, scarcely less arduous on both sides of the water. When they went back to India this scheme must find champions willing to brave risks in spreading it all over the country. (Hear, hear). "No doubt among us here, who have helped to shape the constitution we must look for the best and most convinced champions, but on the other side too we must look for advocacy. We want the Princes, Chiefs and ruling powers to find among you too men somewhat made for this Indian Federation, who like Don Quixote, will do battle for it regardless of what may be said around them, who are prepared to risk everything—life, limb and wealth—in pursuit of this great ideal."

Mr. Sastri appealed to the Princes to convince the lesser Princes that the Federation would be in their interests.

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ

Begum Shah Nawaz declared that Mr. MacDonald's momentous and historic words so deeply touched her heart that words failed to express her feelings. Mr. MacDonald's name would not only be written in letters of gold but would go down to history as the name of one, who knew how to combine statesmanship with wisdom and friendship. "The great moment, for which we have waited so long has arrived and, thanks to you (Mr. MacDonald) the greatest friend of my country, we stand before the dawn of a new era, which will always be remembered for this wonderful achievement of having united England and India in an everlasting link of comradeship and friendship." (Cheers).

Begum Shaw Nawaz asked Mr. MacDonald to convey to Their Majesties, their best thanks for their generous messages, sympathetic interest and kind hospitality. The Begum thanked all the British Nation for their kind hospitality and sympathy and the warmth of their welcome.

gained enormously in its intensity and popular appeal by the mere fact of Mr. Gandhi's participation in it. It would take us far afield to discuss the whole question of the history of the Khilafat movement. Briefly put, it resolves itself into two primary factors. The first was the then Premier's pledge and promise, that after the War nothing would be done to disturb the integrity of the Ottoman Empire both as a concession to Muslim loyalty and in accordance with the principles of self-determination. The second was that the violation of imperial obligation was thoroughly immoral and should at all costs be resisted by all self-respecting Mahomedans. In this gigantic enterprise Hindus must help Mahomedans and join hands with them as a token of neighbourly regard. "This, at any rate, was the interpretation put upon the Khilafat question by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi would not stop to consider that the Government of India could possibly have no voice in the determination of an international negotiation. He knew that the Government of India had represented the Indian feeling with some warmth and that Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha had done their best to voice the claims of India at the Peace Table. But he held that the Government of India had not done all in their power and when the terms of Treaty with Turkey were published with a lengthy note from the Government of India to soothe the injured sentiment of the Muslim people, Mr. Gandhi wrote a remarkably frank letter to H. E. Lord Chelmsford on June 14, 1920, setting forth his reasons for resorting to Non-Co-operation.

The Peace terms and Your Excellency's defence of them have given the Mussalmans of India a shock from which it will be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate Ministerial pledges and utterly disregard the Mussalman sentiment. I consider that as a staunch Hindu, wishing to live on terms of the closest friendship with my Mussalman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

Mr. Prime Minister : In one brief word I wish to join my colleagues in their respectful tributes to the Lord Chancellor for the great work which he has assisted in accomplishing. Proceeding to the Report before us I wish to state, again in a brief word, one feature that runs through it—namely, that the most important matters have been left as open questions. In paragraph after paragraph we come across the observation that the question requires further investigation or exploration, or that no member who expresses any opinion in the sub-Committee stood committed to that opinion or to any other. Therefore it remains still an open question what exactly will be many of the features of the future constitution, upon the soundness of which will depend not only its efficient and harmonious working but the degrees of satisfaction and contentment which it can bring to the people concerned.

Now, Sir, I confine myself to one particular point—namely, responsibility at the Centre—and here the Lord Chancellor and his colleagues of the Federal Structure Committee will pardon me for saying that I cannot express any sense of enthusiasm or unbounded satisfaction, but rather I feel bound to express my sense of disappointment at one or two features of the proposals.

In the first place, the reservations proposed are not only with regard to foreign affairs and the defence of the country, on which there has been no difference of opinion but with regard to questions of finance, questions of currency and exchange, with regard to which my opinion

and feeling are entirely different from those which informed the proposals made by the Marquess of Reading. Mr. Prime Minister, I hope recrimination is no part of my composition, but I shall be forgiven for saying that the manner in which Indian finance, currency, exchange and allied subjects have been managed by the present Government of India does not surely establish their claim to the reservation of power in such matters in the hands of the Viceroy in the future. If there is one matter on which Indian opinion has been most keen it is that India should be in a financial sense mistress of her own household. *That* this Report does not promise to India; and to that extent I anticipate that nationalist opinion—not only Congress opinion but nationalist opinion of a more moderate variety—will dissent from some of the conclusions come to here.

Next with regard to the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature I am bound to express my feeling that, while in theory we shall have an executive removable by the Legislature, in practice it will be an irremovable Executive on almost all occasions. I can assure my friend Colonel Haksar that he need not include me among those whom he had in mind when he referred to constitutional purists. I realise only too well that all these are matters dealt with by imperfect men in an imperfect manner. But, Sir, if the imperfections so overshadow the good points and to obscure them, then I think we shall not be held guilty of purism if we express our dissatisfaction. The responsibility is to both Houses of the Legislature, composed in very large part of members nominated by the ruling Princes, and even that responsibility is further limited by the fact that it requires the vote of a two-thirds majority of a joint session of the two Houses for the removal of the ministry. I shall congratulate those who will be in

charge of no-confidence motions in the future legislature on the rare occasions when they may by Providence or similar intervention succeed in getting that two-thirds majority, I should like to know the self-governing country in the world where responsibility is expressed in this form. On this point, Mr. Prime Minister, I am bound to confess that I am dissatisfied with the report of the Federal Structure Committee and I do not contemplate that any section of Indian opinion will acquiesce in this.

Mr. Prime Minister, at this stage I do not want to take up the time of the Committee further; but I do not wish it to be understood that I sit down only with an expression of dissatisfaction. In order to avoid that impression I should like to say that I am impressed as much as any other member by the great work that has been done and I look forward with hope and confidence that in the near future this work may be consummated and India shall be a contented member of a Commonwealth of free nations.

UNDELIVERED SPEECHES

In response to Mr. MacDonald's earlier appeal Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Pannirselvam, Mr. H. P. Mody, Sir H. Carr, The Chief of Sangli, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Col. Haksar, the Raja of Parlakimedi, Raja Narendra Nath, Mr. Narendra Nath Law and Mr. Jadhav handed in their speeches, instead of delivering them.

DR. AMBEDKAR

Dr. Ambedkar, however, was not sanguine that Lord Sankey's plan would grow. He expressed the fear that franchise on a limited basis would result in a government of the masses by the classes, but if the constitution for the centre satisfied Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and Sir A. P. Patro he felt that it was not for him to oppose it.

MR. PANNIRSELVAM

Mr. Pannirselvam on behalf of the Indian Christians expressed satisfaction at the conclusion of the various sub-committees and felt assured that the community would be prepared to make its own contribution to the new self-governing India.

MR. H. P. MODY

Mr. Mody said that the Conference had achieved much but he felt disappointed that so many matters were left undetermined. He emphasised that India's main demand must remain unaffected by the fate of the principle of federalism. He added with reference to finance that India must have a complete financial and fiscal autonomy. He submitted that stability would be assured with the acceptance of legal and moral obligations respecting debts and with large powers vested in the Viceroy.

Mr. Narendranath Law associated himself with this view.

SIR HUBERT CARR

Sir Hubert Carr felt that when the framework was filled in it would attract the support of the best elements in India. He emphasised the conditions on which the Europeans approved, namely, that the states should receive a strong proportion of representation, that the Crown should be adequately represented in the legislature—this representation to be reduced as the transitional period expired—and that the executive should hold office during the life of parliament unless defeated by a two-thirds vote or dismissed by the Governor-General.

Sir Hubert Carr emphasised the need for assuring the stability of the constitution and ensuring the protection of British commerce and said that the Europeans would only be able to overcome the natural hesitation accompanying a forward move if they were satisfied that the new constitution gave not only themselves but all the minorities complete confidence.

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

Sir Mirza Ismail declared that the delegates were returning to India conscious that their duty was done and with the message of trust and goodwill from Britain. He pointed out that the communal negotiations had tended to accentuate a few of the points of difference and obscure many points of agreement. He did not doubt that a just settlement would be accepted by the mass of Indians of all communities. In any case the British Government must pursue the work to which they had so nobly set their hands. He concluded by saying that it was now for Indians to build on the solid foundations laid. If they failed history would not blame England but India.

SIR COWASJI JEHangIR

Sir Cowasji Jehangir hoped that the Government would ensure that there should be no break in the continuity of work and hoped that committees for this purpose would soon be appointed. He further expressed the hope that the services would be reassured by the Services Sub-Committee's report but he was not completely satisfied with the Franchise Committee's report.

THE CHIEF OF SANGLI

The Chief of Sangli believed that the smaller states would be as ready as others to recognise the essential unity of India and participate in realising the federal ideal.

SIR AKBAR HYDARI

Sir Akbar Hydari deprecated the emphasis laid on the points of disagreement and counselled giving attention to the brighter side of the picture. He believed that there was general agreement in favour of an all-India federation, with subjects definitely defined and with responsibility at the centre for those subjects and autonomy in the provinces, a stable federal legislature and definite and clear reservations and safeguards with the Crown for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity and financial stability and for the fulfilment of treaty obligations with the States. Sir Akbar Hydari expressed gratification that the scheme adopted was one which in essentials he had thought out as the best solution and that he was privileged to play his part, in its final acceptance.

Sir Akbar Hydari considered that a practical agreement on most essential points was no mean achievement by the Conference and said that there was plenty of time to adjust the differences while working out the details. He promised to do his best to induce the States, great and small, to accept the federal idea. He said that his friends from British India had a harder task but he believed that they would secure the adherence of all fairminded men if they concentrated on principles while working for the adjustment of differences. He hoped that in two or three months the work of the Conference would secure such support in India that it would be possible for the various expert committees to draft a detailed constitution on sound lines.

SIR MANUBHAI MEHTA

Sir Manubhai Mehta pointed out that the Princes' support for Federalism was due to their attachment to the King-Emperor, their love for their own Motherland which had inspired the surrender of a part of their internal sovereignty to a federal government, their regard for the interests of their own subjects which had driven them to secure adequate safeguards for financial justice respecting the future fiscal arrangements and their own instinct of self-preservation. He pointed out that their internal sovereignty was being whittled down before the claims of Paramountcy and said that while the Princes were prepared for a diminution of some of their sovereignty in the interests of commonweal no needless sacrifice should be demanded.

COL. HAKSAR

Col. Haksar emphasised that the Conference had shown that Britain's policy was designed to secure harmony and agreement. He pointed out that it was far more to India's interest than Britain's that India's finance should be stable. He regarded safeguards as scaffolding and declared that in acquiring responsible government India also acquired Dominion Status.

THE RAJA OF PARLAKIMEDI

The Raja of Parlakimedi expressed his thanks to the Conference on behalf of the Oriyas and the zemindars of Madras. He emphasised the need for security for all, mentioning in this connection the services and foreign commerce.

RAJA NARENDRA NATH

Raja Narendra Nath declared that the main outline of the Constitution showed a material and substantial advance. He regretted that the minorities question had not been settled. He assured the Conference that the view he had taken in this regard was not due to class or communal or parochial interests but to the desire to construct the constitution on a scientific basis.

MR. JADHAV

Mr. Jadhav considered that the constitution to be hammered out might be acceptable but it was the spirit which was really important. The spirit of Mr. Churchill would not make for peace. Conciliation was the only true remedy. He was gratified to see that the foremost British statesmen had realised the necessity of meeting the national demand. He urged adequate consideration of rural interests when the basis of suffrage was laid down.

KING'S REPLY TO MESSAGE

Mr. MacDonald then read the following reply from the King to the Conference's message :—

I have received with much pleasure the loyal message which the Chairman of your Conference conveyed to me on your behalf. The time has now come for me to bid you God-speed on the conclusion of your deliberations which I inaugurated some nine weeks ago.

I have followed your proceedings with the closest interest, and have been impressed with the dignity and earnestness with which they were conducted and the unity of aim which inspired them... It was not to be expected that in nine short weeks, however close and intensive the labour that was crowded into them—I know full well how exacting your labours have been—a clear-cut and final solution of the vast problems which confronted you should be found. But I am persuaded that, great as is the volume of patient thought, careful work is still to be done. You have opened a new chapter in the history of India. I am sure you will, one and all, strive to secure the aid of your countrymen in carrying on the task in the same spirit that has marked your discussions and I hopefully look forward to the outcome which will restore peace and contentment throughout India.

R. T. C. RESOLUTION

After the reading of the King's message and before adjourning for the last time, the Conference adopted a formal Resolution recording the progress achieved so far by Consultations between the various delegations and their Sub-Committees. The Resolution which was put by Mr. MacDonald and passed unanimously, ran as follows :

These reports, provisional though they are together with the recorded notes attached to them afford, in the opinion of the Conference, material of the highest value for use in framing a constitution for India, embodying as they do, a substantial measure of the agreement on the main ground of the plan and many helpful indications of the points of detail to be further pursued and the Conference feels that arrangements should be made to pursue uninterruptedly the work, on which it has been engaged including provision in the constitution of adequate safe-guards for Mussalmans, Depressed Classes, Sikhs and all other important minorities.

India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be punished if their sentiment is to be respected. Muslim soldiers did not fight to inflict punishment on their own Khalifa or to deprive him of his territories. The Mussalman attitude has been consistent throughout these five years. My duty to the Empire to which I owe my loyalty, requires me to resist the cruel violence that had been done to Mussalman sentiment. So far as I am aware the Mussalmans and Hindus have, as a whole, lost faith in British justice and honour.

The report of the majority of the Hunter Committee, Your Excellency's despatch thereon, and Mr. Montagu's reply have only aggravated the distrust. In these circumstances the only course open to one like me is either in despair to sever all connection with British Rule or if I still retained the faith in the inherent superiority of the British Constitution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrong done and thus restore that confidence.

Non-Co-operation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action. For it is a right recognised from times immemorial of the subjects to refuse to assist the ruler who misrules. At the same time I admit Non-Co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks. But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Mussalmans of India, no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. Not to run some risks will be to count much greater risks if not the virtual destruction of law and order; but there is yet an escape from Non-Co-operation. The Mussalman representation has requested Your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself as did your distinguished predecessor at the time of the South African trouble, but if you cannot see your way to do so and Non-Co-operation becomes the dire necessity, I hope Your Excellency will give those who have accepted my advice and myself credit for being actuated by nothing less than a stern sense of duty.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION PROGRAMME

And what was the Non-Co-operation programme that Mr. Gandhi had worked out for the adoption of the country for rectifying the wrongs done to Muslim sentiment? He enunciated the four stages in the programme of Non-Co-operation in clear and unambiguous terms. The first was the giving up of titles and honorary offices; the second was the refusal to serve Government in paid appointments or to participate in any manner in the working of the existing machinery of civil and judicial

THE PREMIER'S STATEMENT

The following statement of Government policy was made by Mr. MacDonald at the concluding session of the Conference :

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have met for the last part of this Conference. You will believe me I am perfectly certain when I assure you that never in the whole of my life have I presided over a gathering with more pleasure and more pride than I have presided over this Conference (Applause). When I spoke to you at the end of the first part of our proceedings, I assured you that you had come here as our colleagues, that you would have no necessity to persuade us regarding status because our conception of my parliamentary colleagues as well was that you had come from India to meet us representing the legislature of Great Britain for the purpose of taking counsel together to achieve the purpose, the self-government of India (Applause).

I think I was right. I think you will go back to India whether you are disappointed as to the work or not and say we were met by our British colleagues on terms of hospitable equality (Applause). We have put our case before them and they have listened with a desire to accommodate us and they have put their case before us and we assure you that there is so much in their case, so much experience in the working of institutions, so much in relation to peculiar conditions of India that they and we must come to agreements upon it. Now we have gone

as far as we can go at this moment. You have to go back to India. We have to go back to our public opinion. You have spoken here subject to reconsideration, and subject to reaction which your public opinion will show to your work.

We Government and Parliamentary representatives alike have spoken in the same way and we must also listen to reactions. We must also explain, expound and defend, we must also make ourselves champions of your findings (Applause) and do our best to bring our people with us in our pilgrimage of hope to its conclusion (Applause). What have we been doing? Pledge after pledge had been given to India that British Raj was there not for perpetual domination. Why did we put facilities for education at your disposal? Why did we put in your hands text-books from which we draw political inspiration? If we meant that the people of India should for ever be silent and negative, subordinated to our rule, why have our Queens and our Kings given you pledges? Why have our Viceroy's given you pledges? Why has our Parliament given you pledges?

Why, when Morely-Minto Reforms were launched, did those reforms contain not merely machinery of Government but promise of advance. Why, when Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were in due course launched, did they, too not only set up a system of government but give you a pledge that something else was to follow? The very Simon Commission itself was appointed not because there was Government in office desirous of change. The Simon Commission was appointed because it was contained as a sacred pledge in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and if to-day, if during the last ten weeks, we had met you with uniform non-possimus, we would have been untrue to the

pledges given to India by the Government for which we are responsible.

When the Simon Commission was appointed—the Commission let me say, because I must say it, has done a work remarkable, conspicuous and essential (Cheers). You may agree with it or you may not, but you could not have come to conclusions with us to which you have come had there been no Simon Commission (Cheers) and had not the Simon Commission opened doors that up to then were closed and brought ears into action that up to then were deaf (Cheers). India will never be able to be too grateful or to show too great a gratitude for the labours of men who composed the Simon Commission (Cheers).

When that Commission was appointed we all agreed—leaders of the three political parties here agreed—that when British Government came to consider, came to give its literary system a legal constitutional value at some time or other, somehow consultation would have to take place between the representatives of the British Parliament and the representatives of Indian opinion, and that is why you are here. I regret profoundly that important sections of Indian political activity are not here too (Cheers).

I am one of those, who, I dare say, is regarded by you and my colleagues the same as belonging to left-wing politics. That is neither here nor there. But do believe me, my Indian friends, Left-wing, Centre, or Right, I am one of those who believe that he who stirs enmity between peoples is not going to advance liberty in the world. (Cheers.) He who spreads suspicion, he who makes co-operation impossible, is not one of those agents for good that the world, in its present distracted frame of mind, is so much in need of. If anything has been done by you and us here during the last ten weeks to make the youth

of India, inspired by its youth, turn to practical problems, turn to ways of conquest by calm reason, my case is unanswerable and I am prepared to put it to the test of reason. If anything that you and I have been able to do here will produce that result, and if we do nothing else, we will have made a great contribution to the progressive political development of the Indian nation.

Everyone must honestly admit that situations have arisen, like some of the communal difficulties, which have put obstruction in our way. Now I want you to take it from me that the attitude of the British Government in such relations is nothing more than an overpowering desire to leave you to settle your own affairs. We are not pro-Hindu. We are not pro-anything-else. If we are animated by anything it is by a conception of India herself—India a unity, India feeling behind and below and above and beyond her communal differences that the mystic bond of unity, which the great poets, the great philosophers and great religious teachers of India have always taught. Believe me, the British Government has no desire to use your disagreements for any ulterior purpose—quite the opposite. Our one ambition is that, being in a sense kith and kindred with you, its history, whether you liked it or whether we liked it, has woven our destinies somehow together—that we, feeling that we have this one desire—to use that unity with you in order that we might have your way and smooth you the path to that much required internal unity amongst yourselves.

In a few moments I will make further reference to the position of the minorities, but I take great pride and I am sure my colleagues do the same that as a result of this Conference and conversations both private and public that have taken place at this Conference, the gap between you

is much narrower than it was before (Cheers) and that the very men, who feeling that they must be loyal to their community were in sorrow that they were unable to agree, are inspired more by that feeling than ever and that in the conversations and negotiations that are going to take place they will be moved by it more than ever they had been before.

I have convinced my friends that you can settle it and I am also convinced of this—that an imposed agreement might make your constitution unworkable. I would like now to make one or two observations from the point of view, first of all, of one who had good deal of experience in political values—value of words and the value of provisions.

I have listened to some of my minority friends making their claims. Do remember this, my friends. We, sitting here, are not a legislature. We, sitting here, cannot impose pains and penalties. We, sitting here, can declare rights and hand over to you political power to see that these rights are enforced and respected. We can put in a constitution that this disability may not be put upon you and that the next disability may not be put upon you. Believe me, after some experience in those things, ultimately it depends upon the intelligence of your people. It depends upon their organisation. It depends upon their strength of will. It depends upon the success of their leadership as to whether words become deeds and declarations actions.

As regards the form of the constitution, all speakers have said that it has been determined that it is to be a Federation. Your Highnesses, I can add nothing to the tribute that has been paid to you by the previous speakers regarding the magnificent part you have played in making

that possible (Cheers). Before you came, the structure of the Indian constitution was in doubt. Many people as was said this morning, were doubtful when British India alone could bear central authority. You came and you made your declaration. You showed your patriotic interest in Indian affairs and your very wise vision regarding the future and your words made it possible for us to build up a constitution and to put political weight upon it of the nature of an All-India Federation. That has been the great achievement and the great work for which both India and Britain are grateful to Your Highnesses (Cheers).

In building up that constitution we have come across some very awkward things. There is a word which, when used in politics—and some of my friends here also know in economics—I detest and that is 'safeguarding' (Laughter). That is one of my sins, I suppose. Safeguarding—I do not like the word. It is an ugly word. It is a word which quite naturally rouses great suspicions in your hearts. It is a word the aspects, meanings, connotations and associations of which are forbidding; let us apply commonsense to it. The safeguards that have been suggested here fall under three categories. One category is the group of reserved powers given to somebody—Governor, Governor-General, Crown or somebody else. And that category of safeguards you will find, either expressed or implicit, in every free constitution from the rising sun to the setting sun. That category includes powers which may be put into operation by somebody authorised, somebody in authority somebody, in a distinguished position, in a powerful position in the state to be put into operation by him in the event of a breakdown of the ordinary normal operations of Government. And, my Indian friends, you can twist, you can turn, you can turn the blind eye to this,

the blind eye to that, you can draft with care and you can hide up what really is the substance of your draft, but if you were drafting your own constitution without any outside assistance or consultation you could not draft a constitution without embodying safeguards of that kind in it (Applause).

Then there is the second category of safeguards and there are two sections of that. The first covers guarantees made by the Secretary of State or by the British Crown for which, by virtue of contracts that we have made in your behalf, we remain responsible under a new constitution, just as under the existing one. The typical instance of that is Finance and also the existing Services. These guarantees, in the interests of India herself, have to be made clear to the world. It is not that we want to interfere. It is not even that we want the money. It is that if there were any doubt at all about India shouldering these obligations and responsibilities the moral status of India would be deteriorated and in spite of the materialism of this age there is far more of the materialist power founded on moral foundations than many of you wot of. It is to put India in a moral position in the eyes of the rest of the world that that section of reserved subjects will be required.

Then there is another section. There are matters not solely Indian, owing mainly to India's history and requiring some time for change. Do not be afraid of time. I know your patience has been tried. I know you have waited long, but, nevertheless, when you are going fastest you have not to be too penurious of time, because, that which is built—I do not say unnecessarily slowly—but that which is built calmly and steadily, step by step, endures, whilst that which is built in a hurry wastes away and comes to ruin.

Then there is the third category of safeguards relating to communities. Now, I repeat what I have said to you so often regarding that. If you fail to agree to set up your own safeguards and to come to a settlement between yourselves regarding those safeguards, the Government will have to provide in the constitution provisions designed for the purpose. But do remember the best of all is your own and we do not propose to lose grip of you. We do not propose to let you go as though you have said the last word here, because we do not believe you have said the last word.

Communities, small and great, must be safeguarded in the Indian constitution (Applause) not only in the terms of the constitution but the content of those terms, the details of those terms and a settlement that satisfies those terms. My Indian friends, are you to allow them to pass away from your own hands and ask anybody outside yourselves to do for you what you are going to declare you are not able to do for yourselves? (Applause).

There is one great danger inherent in these safeguards which I will mention, because it is of the utmost importance in the working of the constitution. The Ministers responsible must not shield themselves from taking upon their own shoulders their responsibility when it is unpopular, by leaving the Viceroy or the Governor to put into operation his reserved powers (Hear, hear).

Moreover, we have this problem in front of us too. In Executive, in particular, there must be unified responsibility (Applause). I am not going to push that observation to any more pointed conclusion, but a great task in forming the Executive is not so much the task of responsibility, which is the peculiar characteristic of legislatures. The great task in forming the Executive is to create

through the Executive the confidence of the legislature together with its own united working in policy.

Now, as regards the future, we have before us reports of various sub-committees all of them noted together with your observations upon them.

The Government proposes at once to study these very carefully in order to face the problems which they present to it. We have, for instance, Sub-Committee No. I, the Sub-Committee presided over with such conspicuous ability by the Lord Chancellor, who by that one act of service, has won for himself a great place in your hearts (Applause). That report is rough wood, if I may say so, wood of very varying lengths, full of knots, full of difficulties in handling and using and must be planned and fitted into logical and consistent structure.

The Sub-Committee No. II, has endorsed the principle of fully representative Government in Governors' provinces, subject to the retention by the Governors of certain powers which were widely agreed to be necessary at this stage.

The Minorities Sub-Committee, I have already referred to. You have not heard the last of us regarding that.

As to the Sub-Committee on Burma its findings have been noted and the Government will pursue the decisions of that Sub-Committee separating Burma and making the necessary enquiries as to the conditions upon which separation is to take place.

With regard to the North West Frontier Province, which was the subject of Sub-Committee No. V, that Sub-Committee recommended the elevation of its status to that of a Governor's Province, with a constitution analogous to that of the other Governor's Provinces, under the new regime, but with the necessary modification and adaptations

to suit the peculiar local conditions and requirements and with the necessary financial adjustments with the Central Government.

The Sub-Committee No. VI the Franchise Sub-Committee has recommended the setting up of a Committee and that Committee will be set up.

Sub-Committee No. VII dealt with Defence. That will be proceeded with and if it is possible to put into operation without the delay that will be required in the building up of a full constitution, some of its parts by administration, we shall get into touch with the Government of India and see how that can be done. I refer to such things for instance as the creation of a Military Sandhurst in India (Applause).

Sub-Committee No. VII dealt with the services and affirmed the necessity of continuing to the existing members of the services under the new constitution the guarantees which the present Act, and the rules framed under it give them and has explored the position as regards the future.

Sub-Committee No. IX dealt with Sind and adopted, with two dissentients, the principle that Sind should be formed into a separate province, but left its feasibility for future decision after an enquiry by an Expert Committee into financial problems involved. That also will be undertaken. I need not go through any more details than that. These pledges I give you. These statements I make relate to the administration and to the setting up merely of Committees.

One or two of you, who have had large experience in administration, have pressed upon us that under the existing Government of India Act, some things of importance could be done by the Administration to bring Indian Admi-

administration. The third was to decline to pay tax and the last was to ask the police and the military to withdraw co-operation from the Government. From the first Mr. Gandhi realised the full scope of the movement and he had no doubt of its far-reaching effects. It cannot, therefore, be said that he started the movement as a fit of indignation. Far from it, he had worked out a programme to the farthest limits of its logic and had a clear grasp of all its implications. From time to time he set right many a misconception in the mind of the non-co-operationists, such for instance, in regard to the position of the non-co-operationist Vakil. There is no ambiguity in what Mr. Gandhi said. The Vakil should quietly wash his hands off the courts, cases and all. Mr. Gandhi took care to explain that no stage would be taken until he had a measure that he was on firm ground. That is, he would not embark on the last two stages till he had created an indigenous panchayat to dispense justice and an organization of volunteers to maintain peace and order. In any case violence should be completely avoided.

Now it must be admitted that many people had only a vague and hazy notion of Mr. Gandhi's programme. There were, of course, those who plainly told Mr. Gandhi of the impracticability of his scheme and the dangers involved in it. Many Liberal League organisations implored Mr. Gandhi not to lead the country to a repetition of the Punjab tragedy. Moderate leaders like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar argued the futility of methods leading to anarchy and chaos. But the most amusing, even at such serious times, was the attitude of some Congressmen. These were variously divided. All hailed Non-Co-operation in theory and were determined to uphold it at any cost! But when the time came for practising it, they

nistrative action more in accordance with the Declaration made here than is the case to-day. We cannot commit ourselves as to whether that is so or not, but we propose, in consultation with Indians of administrative experience, to explore that. As the result of the exploration we shall take action or otherwise. (Applause.)

At this point I may turn to the very moving appeal made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to me this morning regarding amnesty. It was a wise and moving appeal, which, I can assure the Conference, lodges very naturally in my own heart. I should like this Conference to open a new chapter in the relations of India and ourselves. If Dr. Sapru's appeal to India, as well as to us, is responded to in India and civil quiet is proclaimed and assured His Majesty's Government will certainly not be backward in responding to his plea which is endorsed by so many of his colleagues here. (Applause).

Now, that brings me to the question of what is to be done to complete our labours. We have agreed upon certain features of the constitution but the successful launching of the constitution depends still upon a very careful study of the conditions and structure. I think it was Lord Peel who said that we were not so short-sighted, so self-centred, as to be under the impression that the only successful constitutional machinery is that under which we work ourselves. As a matter of fact if you ask my opinion, I can give you some very bad results of its working.

Therefore it is certainly not perfect. We have got the United States type. We have the type which has been used in Japan and which is of very great interest especially in some of its aspects if not in all. We have the type such as was used in Germany before the War. We

have got the French methods and so on and in order that we may have all the world experience of working legislatures elected in different ways and composed in different ways we shall study those. We have as a matter of fact studied those and we hope to get from that study with your ideas, suggestions and plans from which the New Indian constitution can be benefited and made workable. Some conditions that have been attached to the working of the constitution have been practically agreed upon and they have become of the nature of problems that can quite easily be settled by the Chairman's ruling or by Government decision involving no principle and creating no friction. Others still require work especially the open questions and notes of dissent taken to report of Committee No. 1.

There is, for instance, the place of the States in the Federation and the provision which must be made that the States, in everything which they are not agreed to hand over to the Federal authority, owe direct contact to the Crown (Cheers). There is the composition of the Legislatures and the Executives and some problems regarding practical working. There are problems of communities and various details of safeguarding.

Now, I think I am right that so much work has been done upon this that the time has come for us to begin to try and draft something, because it is only when you begin to draft that you discover what you have overlooked and what you have not properly considered.

Now this work must not be left to the bureaucracy in either country, (Cheers), but must be conducted on the direct responsibility of politicians aided and guided by those admirably equipped servants of the States which both our Civil Services contain. (Cheers).

I hope, for instance that in further negotiations and explorations we are going to have the great pleasure of continuing the Parliamentary unity which has been maintained with so much good feeling during the last ten weeks in the work of this Conference (Cheers).

There is another important thing. One of the secrets of our success thus far—in fact I am not at all sure it is not the main secret of success is the personal contacts that we have been able to establish and keep going (Cheers). I have had a good deal of experience of these Conferences. One week of Conference produces more good than six months of diplomatic correspondence. Let us get down face to face. Let us sit round a table. Let each of us state our claims, state our hopes, state our fears, state our expectations. Let each of us be candid, one to another and, sitting face to face, there is an enormously better chance of understanding and agreement than under other circumstances (Cheers). I wish to continue that condition. There are practical difficulties as you know. Much work has still to be done in India, of educational and explanatory character.

At this minute, after all the heavy work we have had to undertake without remission during the whole day and very often far into the night, you will understand me when I say that I am not in a position at this moment to tell you precisely the plan by which those personal contacts are to be maintained. I mention that because I know that some of my friends place great store upon those points and I want to assure you, before you go home, that I thoroughly agree with you regarding them. I propose to confer at once with the new Viceroy, who is arriving here in a few days, and tell him what has been done—by my colleagues and myself, and I hope in this

that I may include my Parliamentary colleagues as well as my Governmental colleagues—and agree to a plan which will satisfy the requirements which I have just stated.

At this point I will read to you the Declaration which I am authorised to make by my colleagues of the Government.

The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures Central and Provincial, with such provision as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances and also with such guarantees as are required by the minorities to protect their political liberties and rights. (Cheers).

In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government. (Applause).

His Majesty's Government, whilst making this declaration, is aware that some of the conditions which are essential to the working of such a Constitution as is contemplated have not been finally settled, but it believes that, as the result of work done here, they have been brought to a point which encourages the hope that further negotiations after this declaration will be successful. His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis accepted by all parties that the Central Government should be a Federation of all-India embracing both Indian States and British India in a bicameral legislature. The precise form and structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and representatives of British India.

The range of subjects to be committed to it will also require further discussion because a Federal Government

will have authority only in such matters concerning the States as will be ceded by their rulers in agreement made by them on entering into the Federation. (Cheers).

The connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that, with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation their relations will be with the Crown, acting through the agency of the Viceroy (Cheers).

With a legislature constituted on the Federal basis His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of responsibility of the Executive to Legislature. Under the existing conditions, the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects. Moreover, as the Governor-General must as a last resort, be able, in an emergency, to maintain the tranquillity of the state and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of minorities, he must be granted the necessary power for those purposes.

As regards Finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as will ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance, unimpaired, of the financial stability and credit of India. The report of the Federal Structure Committee indicates some ways of dealing with this subject, including a Reserve Bank, the service of loans and exchange policy, which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for somehow in the new constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in India to accept these provisions to maintain financial confidence.

Subject to these provisions the Indian Government would have full financial responsibility for methods of raising revenue and for the control of expenditure on non-reserved services. This will mean that, under the existing conditions, the Central Legislature and Executive will have some features of dualism which will have to be fitted into the constitutional structure.

The provision of reserved powers is necessary in the circumstances and some such reservation has indeed been incidental to the development of most free constitutions, but every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which will necessitate their use. (Hear, hear). It is, for instance, undesirable that Ministers should trust to special powers of the Governor-General as a means of avoiding responsibilities which are properly their own, thus defeating the development of Responsible Government by bringing into use powers meant to lie in reserve and in the background. Let there be no mistake about that.

The Governor's Provinces will be constituted on the basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them the greatest possible measure of Self-Government. The authority of the Federal Government will be limited to the provisions required to secure its administration of the federal subjects and to discharge its responsibility for subjects defined in the constitution as of All-India concern. There will be reserved to the Governor only that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in exceptional circumstances, the reservation of tranquillity and the guarantee of the maintenance of rights provided by the Statute for the the Public Services and the Minorities.

Finally, His Majesty's Government considers that the institution in the Provinces of Responsible Government requires, both that the Legislatures should be enlarged and that they should be based on a more liberal franchise. In framing the constitution His Majesty's Government considers that it will be its duty to insert provisions guaranteeing to the various minorities, in addition to political representation, that the differences of religion, race, sect or caste shall not in themselves constitute civic disabilities.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government it is the duty of the communities to come to an agreement amongst themselves on the points raised there. During the continuing negotiations such agreement will continue to render what good offices it can to help to secure that end, as it is anxious not only that no delay should take place in putting the new constitution into operation, but that it should start with the goodwill and confidence of all communities concerned.

The various Sub-Committees, which have been studying the more important points of a constitution which would meet Indian conditions, have surveyed a considerable part of the structure in detail and the still unsettled points have been advanced a good way to an agreement.

His Majesty's Government, however, in view of the character of the Conference and of the limited time at its disposal in London, has deemed it advisable to suspend its work at this point so that Indian opinion may be consulted upon the work done and expedients considered for overcoming the difficulties which have been raised. His Majesty's Government will consider without delay a plan by which our co-operation may be continued so that the results of our completed work may be seen in a new India.

Constitution. If, in the meantime, there is a response to the Viceroy's appeal to those engaged at present in Civil Disobedience and there is a wish to co-operate on the general lines of this declaration, steps will be taken to enlist their services.

I must convey to you all, on behalf of the Government, our hearty appreciation of the services you have rendered, not only to India, but to this country, by coming here and engaging in these personal negotiations. Personal contact is the best way of removing these unfortunate differences and misunderstandings, which too many people on both sides have been engendering between us in recent years. A mutual understanding of the intention and difficulty gained under such conditions as have prevailed here is by far the best way for discovering the ways and means of settling the differences and satisfying the claims. His Majesty's Government will strive to secure such amount of agreement as will enable the new Constitution to be passed through British Parliament and to be put into operation with the active goodwill of the people of both countries (Applause). And now, my friends, we go our various ways. Our ten weeks of valuable co-operation and pleasant companionship and friendship are ended.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said, I think, that he hoped he was leaving England with friendly memories behind him. I can assure you that that it is not only true of Sir Tej Bahadur. It is true of you all and I can only hope that the memories you are taking away of us are equally precious to you as your memories will be to us (Applause). I pray that our contacts and our negotiations may be continued, though oceans divide us by a whelm of seas. I hope you will go back and tell your compatriots what you have found. You may have to disagree sometimes

and somewhere with the letter of what has been written. I hope you will never have to disagree with the spirit in which you have been met (Hear, hear).

Finally, I hope and I trust and I pray that, by our labours together, India will possess the only thing which she now lacks to give her the status of a Dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations, what she now lacks for that—the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens and the difficulties, but the pride and the honour of responsible self-Government (Loud applause).

APPENDIX

i. THE COMMONS' DEBATE

ON

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

I. THE PREMIER

In the House of Commons on January 26th, immediately after questions, the Premier initiated a debate on the Round Table Conference. It was in the nature of a review of the work of the Conference. After setting forth in detail the nature of the work done at the Conference, the Premier pointed out the absolute necessity there was for all the parties to agree to the general conclusions arrived by the Conference and authorise his government to pursue the problems in detail with representative Indians and constitutional experts. He wound up his great speech with the following words:—

“The stage has almost been reached—I am not at all sure, I should not be quite justified in saying that it has actually been reached—when we should begin our plans with trial drafts.

If we refused, supposing we do not do this, what are the prospects? Repression, nothing but repression and it is very curious repression, very uncomfortable repression and a kind of repression from which we shall get neither credit nor success. It is the repression of the masses of

flooded the country with a mass of literature of the most tortuous kind. These friends and "followers" proved to be the real thorn on Mr. Gandhi's side. Aspirants after Council honours refused to commit what they called "political suicide" by boycotting the New Councils. Others affected to believe in the possibilities of further efforts of constitutional agitation. Still others detected illegalities in some stages of Non-Co-operation. And yet some would not commit themselves but await the verdict of the Special Congress. A minority would contest at the elections only to resign again and yet some others would join the New Councils just to wreck the Reforms! What a cloud of words and mystification of meaning! To all this warfare of words Mr. Gandhi's own direct and simple statements are in refreshing contrast. He spoke and wrote strongly on the subject. There could be no doubt of his intentions or his plans. There was no ambiguity in his language. His words went straight as a bullet and he had a wholesome scorn of diplomatic reserves in opinion.

Accordingly on the 1st August, as he had already announced, he led the movement by returning the *Kaiser-i-Hind* gold medal to the Viceroy. In returning it he wrote a letter to His Excellency from which we must quote the following sentences :—

Events that have happened during the past month have confirmed me in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral, and unjust, manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a Government. * • *

Your Excellency's light-hearted treatment of official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr. Montagu's despatch, and above all, the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and callous disregard of the feelings of Indians betrayed by the House of Lords have filled me with the gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Gov-

the people—a great proportion of these masses being women and children.

It is repression not of organisations, not of bodies but it will develop into a repression of a whole population. If we are prepared to march our soldiers from Himalayas to Cape Comorin, then refuse to allow us to go on.

“ If we are prepared to subdue by force not only the people but the spirit of the time, refuse to allow us to proceed. If we are prepared to stage, for the whole world to behold, the failure of our political genius and at the same time provide it with a spectacle which will bring our name and our fame very low, indeed, then refuse to allow us to go on. If, on the other hand, you wish to bind India to you by bonds of confidence and make her happy within your Empire and Commonwealth, if you wish to hear her praise you in gratitude and remain with you in pride, then accept the work that has been done by the Conference and instruct the Government to proceed with it to its complete conclusion.” (Cheers).

II. MR. STANLEY BALDWIN

Mr Stanley Baldwin strongly repudiated Mr. Churchill's view of the Indian situation and made in the course of his speech the following observations :—

“The imagination of the whole country had been caught by the idea of the United States of India. Therefore we were on entirely fresh territory. The whole situation had been changed by the attitude of the Princes.

* * * *

I do not believe that there will be any permanent solution of the question of Indian Government until you get complete co-operation, understanding and goodwill between Indians and ourselves.

III. MR. WEDGWOOD BENN

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, made a vigorous onslaught on Mr. Churchill's criticisms and pointed out what the logical consequences of his policy would be :—

“What that has meant is lathi stick and, after rifle, the machine gun. You must either base the Government on the assent of the people or govern by force. The logical consequence of Mr. Churchill's policy, if put into force, is Government by force, without the assent of the people. The alternative is Government by the people for the people. That is why people of all parties have grasped the principle almost with unanimity.”

He wound up his speech as follows :—

“For the future, in our judgment, two things are necessary : one thing is sincerity, the second is speed. One of the effects of the Conference is that we have begun to re-establish the tender plant of understanding and trust by continuing the work of the Conference. We shall foster this plant for that purpose. Speed is necessary. What can be gained by delay? If India is to be fitted for self-Government she must be fitted for it at the earliest moment.

Delay had been the tragedy in the past. Thirty years ago, men, who, to-day are opposing us in India were firm advocates of the British connection.

Mr. Gandhi was a stretcher-bearer in the South-African War and it was his influence which got us a large contribution of money and endless troops. There is no tragedy like delay and that is why I say it will require not only sincerity, but also speed.

Supposing that, by the labours of all parties in the House, something is done, supposing we succeed in build-

ing up a Constitution, not of sealed and delivered pattern on the English model, but something unique and moulded according to the tradition and spirit of the Indian people and resting in their good-will, if we can succeed in that, if all parties can succeed in that, we shall have done something to discharge the true mission of the British Commonwealth, which is to extend the area of peace and contentment in the world among the free peoples."

IV. MR. ISAAC FOOT

Mr. Isaac Foot, who spoke on behalf of the Liberals said :—

"I am a believer in self-Government for India, because I believe that upon those lines there is the best hope for these people * * * Our task of bringing India within the Commonwealth is the biggest thing we have ever yet attempted. The great problem of future will be the problem of race and colour.

'The peace of the world largely depends on the solution of this problem. We have had a long association with India. There have been put upon us a great responsibility. If we have given the great blessings of peace to India, and a common language and recognition of justice would it not be the most lamentable thing if that long and honourable association should now be broken in the midst of anger, hatred and illwill? I believe that along the lines of the proposed settlement that association can be maintained and that problems cannot be solved except upon lines of friendship."

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ernment and have disabled me from rendering as I have hitherto whole-heartedly tendered, my loyal co-operation.

In my humble opinion the ordinary method of agitating by way of petitions, deputations, and the like is no remedy for moving to repentance a Government so hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge as the Government of India has proved to be. In European countries condonation of such grievous wrong as the Khilafat and the Punjab would have resulted in a bloody revolution by the people. They would have resisted, at all costs, national emasculation. Half of India is too weak to offer violent resistance and the other half is unwilling to do so. I have, therefore, ventured to suggest the remedy of Non-Co-operation, which enables those who wish to dissociate themselves from Government, and which, if it is unattended by violence and undertaken in an ordered manner, must compel it to retrace its steps and undo the wrongs committed; but whilst I pursue the policy of Non-Co-operation, in so far as I can carry the people with me, I shall not lose hope that you will yet see your way to do justice. I, thereafter, respectfully ask Your Excellency to summon a conference of recognised leaders of the people, and, in consultation with them, to find a way that will gladden Mussalmans and do reparation to the unhappy Punjab.

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holes to escape the rigours of Mr. Gandhi's discipline. Everybody would throw everybody else into the struggle. A body of men who had sworn by Mr. Gandhi and denounced those who had the courage to differ from him were suddenly faced with an awkward dilemma. They felt the inconvenience of suffering and sacrifice and would fain be relieved of their unwitting words of bravado. But Mr. Gandhi would stand four square to all the winds that blow. Nor could they with any grace secede from the Congress, having so violently denounced as treason the Moderates' disregard of the Delhi and Amritsar Resolutions. There was to their mind only one course left open, *i.e.*, to thwart Mr. Gandhi's resolution in the open Congress. But Mr. Gandhi had prepared the ground with characteristic thoroughness. Khilafat specials from Bombay and Madras had flooded the Congress with delegates sworn to vote for him. There was a tough fight in the Subjects Committee which sat for eight long hours without coming to any apparent decision. Over forty amendments (dear to the legal mind!) were brought in by different members, twelve of them were ruled out as mere verbal repetitions and there remained no less than 28 amendments to consider. The speeches in the Subjects Committee were remarkably frank. Messrs. Malaviya, Das, Pal, Jinnah, Baptista, all attacked the original resolution with warmth, while Dr. Besant vigorously assailed the very principle of Non-Co-operation. The debate was most exciting. The President, Mr. Lajpat Rai himself, spoke strongly against certain important provisions of the resolution. He would not agree to the withdrawal of boys from schools nor could he think it at all possible to call upon lawyers to leave their practice. He was personally in favour of the principle of Non-Co-operation but he doubted the wisdom of com-

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ARTICLES ON R. T. C. ⁶⁵²

AND OTHER ADDRESSES

BY

C. R. REDDY, M.A. (CANTAB.)

Ex Vice-chancellor, Andhra University

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THE MODERN BOOK MART

MADRAS

1931

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FOREWORD

It was in the beginning of 1905 during my second English visit that I made the acquaintance of Mr. Reddy at Cambridge. Even during his student career he had made his mark as an acute debator. I believe he was soon rewarded for his brilliant talents by the secretaryship to the Cambridge University Liberal Club.

Since then, I have been watching Mr. Reddy's career with considerable interest. He has filled high offices, first at Mysore as an Educational Officer and subsequently as the Vice-Chancellor of the newly-founded Andhra University.

Mr. Reddy has the courage of his conviction. When he found that his views came into clash with those of the bureaucracy he had not a moment's hesitation in throwing off the robe of office and the spirited letter which he addressed to the Chancellor of the University will long be regarded as a classic on the subject.

The essays embodied in the booklet are of more than passing interest and the publishers have done well in bringing it out at the present moment. The author's views on the *Round Table Conference* are as refreshing as suggestive. His addresses to the Students' Conference in Bengal and at Allahabad deserve careful perusal; when they appeared in the newspapers I took care to have cuttings therefrom and read, marked, and digested many of the passages. They are not mere verbiage or empty platitudes but are the result of deep thinking on the burning problems of the day.

No less valuable is his address at Vizagapatam on Swadeshi and Swaraj. The ideas incorporated in it tally with those held by Mahatma Gandhi and my humble self, and it is

refreshing to find a cultured alumnus of the great British University not indulging in cheap sneers at the Charka.

I have very great pleasure in recommending the essays to the reading public.

CALCUTTA }
29-8-31 }

P. C. RAY.

PREFACE

The chronological order of the Addresses and Articles comprised in this volume is as follows:—

- I. Address to the Women's University—middle of last year.
- II. Address to U. P. Students—January 1931.
- III. Address to Vizagapatam Swadeshi League—January 1931.
- IV. Articles on the R. T. C. Proposals—January and February 1931.
- V. Address to Bengal Students—March 1931.

The subject matter falls under two divisions: The Gandhian Movement and the R. T. C.

As regards my views on the R.T.C., they have been fully endorsed by the Liberal Conference recently held at Bombay. Needless to say that the Nationalists have always favoured them. Recent developments have but confirmed me in my opinions. Though the proposals of the R.T.C. were ostensibly declared to be tentative and open for reconsideration, the separation of Burma has been held to be a settled fact. There will be many more settled facts soon. The Liberals are not fighters by character though they trade on the fight put up by others, and they are sure to swallow settled facts—settled by others for them—with diplomatic grace and creature appetite. It seems to me that the purpose of the Government is to rally the Liberals, Communalist Muslims, and all varieties of special interests and careerists and employ them to smash the Nationalist Movement. With more places open for Indians, which is a certainty, there may be defections from the Congress ranks themselves. Mr.

mitting the Congress to those extravagant and far-reaching items in Mr. Gandhi's programme.

BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS

But by far the most contentious item in the Resolution was that relating to the boycott of Councils. The bulk of the Nationalists were strangely enough opposed to it and by a curious stretch of logic they considered obstruction in the Council as preferable to wholesale boycott.

Mr. C. R. Das, who was in charge of the main resolution on behalf of the Reception Committee, agreed to Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's amendment of his resolution, but if it was defeated, he would stand by his own. Mr. Pal's amendment was put to the vote and was lost, 155 voting for and 161 against. Then another vote was taken on Mr. Das's resolution and Mr. Gandhi's resolution as amended by Pundit Motilal Nehru and as accepted by Mr. Gandhi himself was passed. It is said that in the final voting a poll was taken, 133 voting for Mr. Das's resolution and 148 for Mr. Gandhi's thus giving a majority to Mr. Gandhi of 15 votes and thus showing that the voting was very close. It is clear that the Subjects Committee consisted of 296 members present and that 15 of whom remained neutral. The greatest excitement prevailed both inside the Committee room and outside when it was known that Mr. Gandhi won the day. Nearly two thousand people collected outside and shouted "Gandhi Mahatma Kee Jai" and "Bande Mataram".

THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION

That gives the clue to the mentality of the Congress. If Mr. Gandhi could win in the Subjects Committee itself there was no doubt of his triumph in the open Congress. Still Mr. Das proposed to bring his amendments in the

Shaukat Ali has gone back to his pre-war "Comrade" politics. His policy is to get all the power or rather positions he can for his community in alliance with the British and then use the leverage thus obtained, if the Hindus will join him on his own terms, for Pan-Islamic purposes, irrespective of its possible effects on the integrity of the British Empire. The British are quite aware of this dire possibility, of which Mr. Hazrat Mohani is an open exponent, and they have to choose between Indian Nationalism, which in essence is no enemy of the Empire and Pan-Islamism which is Anti-National to-day and may become Anti-Imperial to-morrow. It is the fear of a strongly Nationalist Constitution which could not be employed for purposes foreign to India's integrity and interests, that has led a section of extreme Muslims to oppose Federation and a powerful Central Government. Hindu Princes will be a big factor in a Federation, bigger than Muslim Princes and this does not suit their book. And a powerful Central Government blocks the way for Sir Muhamad Iqbal's Muslim sphere of sovereignty and the pressure that such a sphere could exert on India's International and inter-Imperial relations. The Muslim State is their objective; and so they dislike Federation and a strong responsible Government in the Centre with residuary powers and justice as an all-India subject. Government are for Federation without a democratic responsible government in the Centre. And so are the majority of the Princes. They won't have democracy either within or without; but they are prepared to honour British India by claiming a large share in ruling it, an honour which we do not seem to be in a hurry to welcome. Certain civilians used to advocate partition of British India into Native States, a clumsy process. Lord Sankey will "Native-Statesise" British India, wholesale, a more decorous procedure, which retains the end aimed at while modifying the means. As for Mr. Shaukat Ali, he

is to-day in favour of the British, of the Princes, of Capitalists, of Landholders, and the whole gamut of Oligarchy, provided only they agree to concede special privileges for Muslims and enable "Muslim" Provinces to function for all practical purposes as autonomous Muslim States. The Muslim State is of primary importance to him and his party, and not the good of Indian Muslim people. If this can't be obtained without sacrificing Muslim democracy involved in Universal Suffrage etc., well then it will have to go. And Indian democracy must of course go the sooner. Nor should Muslims be exposed to the risk of becoming Indians first and Muslims next. They must be a State within a feeble State and there should be no unauthorised traffic across the frontiers. I do not see what other hypothesis could collegate into a consistent whole Mr. Shaukat Ali's recent pronouncements.

Mahatma Gandhi appears to be more concerned with nation-building from within than Constitution building from London or Delhi. The text of the Constitution is of less consequence to him than the spirit of the people. He is slowly evolving a people who will be Indians politically without ceasing to maintain, if they want to, their religious and cultural individuality, and who will be able to act with the courage and honour of a free people and a scrupulous regard for equality of rights within the Nation, which is the soul of democracy. This can't be done in London. If it is to be done at all, it must be done here in India. Hence his devotion to the masses and his indifference to the R. T. C. and other intellectualist confabulations. His is a dusty road, with steep ascents and abrupt descents, strewn with thorns and beset with beasts of careeristic prey. But if there must be real salvation, honest and enduring, the arduous journey must be faced and completed. Even a Constitution is only a means to this end and not an end in itself. That is why Sabarmati has become the mean between Simla and Yerra-

wada. While others feast, he fasts ; while others prey he does so with an " a " ! If he goes half-naked to the horror of the Churchills, it is probably because he feels that our shame as a race cannot be completely covered by evening dresses morning coats, and saloon cars, and that no man can enjoy a higher honour and respect than what pertains to his nation. When the nation has been stripped naked of its rights, can the individuals composing it acquire grandeur by resort to Bond Street or triumphal Government House parties ? He is a man of sorrows, because ours is a land of sorrows and humiliations.

And this volume I offer at his feet as my little flower of worship.

" Padma-Prabhasa " }
 Chittoor, N. A. }
 25-8-1931. }

C. R. REDDY.

The Round Table Conference

Is it fair on the part of the R. T. C. invitees to carry on a propaganda in favour of their achievements while the Congress at the instance of some of their leaders has refrained from publishing its opinion and has agreed to suspend judgment until it has had an opportunity of discussing the situation with Dr. Sapru and his colleagues? It is a question of honour, rendered all the more imperative by their own admission that their achievements were in no small measure due to the Congress and Nationalist agitation. The Congress dynamo generates power and it is a pity that there are people ready to convert it to their own use by an odious act of misappropriation.

Transfer of power, transfer of responsibility, responsible government at the Centre—these are the slogans in which their success is acclaimed. Is the success nominal or real—that is the question. It looks as though it is the shell without the kernel.

The power transferred is small and insignificant. The reservations and safeguards reduce it to a decorous formality. Power may be given to an Indian agency, but if the agent is not free and has to obey the master, the Viceroy, it is of little use to the country, however valuable it may be to the individuals concerned. We have had Indian Members, Indian Executive Councillors and Indian Ministers under the present regime but of what use have they been to the country? Places without power are a source of demoralisation. It is far better to have power without places.

Transfer of responsibility forsooth : From whom and to whom? Will the Viceroy's responsibility undergo any diminution? Will the new Ministers be responsible to him or to the legislature?

And they talk of responsible government, limited no doubt but real, at the Centre. The limitations are obvious but is the reality quite so obvious?

Responsible government means government, responsible to the legislature in the first instance and to the electorate in the last. Will the R. T. Ministry be in any sense responsible to either?

In the Federal Assembly or Lower House there will be the agents of the States—forming probably 1/3rd of the strength. There will be in addition the representatives of special groups and interests of no less strength than the former. Residuary nationalism will bring up the rear. In the Upper House the strength of the States and special groups will be proportionately larger and there may even be nominated members. Two-thirds of the Legislature thus constituted is required to turn out a Ministry. Does any one in his senses hold that such a majority can ever be a possibility? The ministry will be impregnable by the legislature. And so, responsibility to the Legislature may be dismissed as non-existent.

Leaving the other categories aside, let us take up the States' delegates—who are in no sense representatives of the people. Will they become members of any of the political groups? Obviously not, for they won't have anything to do with British Indian subjects. They will flock to a separate block under the Viceregal gallery. In view of the vassalage of the Princes to the Viceroy, they are sure to be at his beck and call. How then can any ministry be formed independently of Viceregal

support? Suppose 30 out of 100 members are at the disposal of the Viceroy. Then for a party ministry independent of the Viceroy to be formed, it must capture no less than 51 out of the remaining 70 seats, leaving its opponents only 19 out of those seats. Is such an extensive capture possible except under a revolutionary deluge? The R. T. Constitution can function independently of the Viceroy only under conditions of an abnormal landslide. A constitution which can be democratic only under a revolution or something near it, is a peril to be avoided as it suppresses normal political forces until they result in a volcanic eruption. In the R. T. Constitution this process of dangerous suppression will be far more drastic than in the illustration given.

A constitution to be at all satisfactory should result in the elimination of direct action as a justifiable course on the part of the people. It should within the constitution enable the views of the vast majority of the people to prevail; and in the case of constitutional amendments, which will have to be enacted by Parliament, it should serve as a faithful exponent of the views of such a majority. If it can perform neither of these functions, nationalistic politics will have to operate from outside. Direct action and its concomitant repression will become inevitable. And there won't be any advance on the dangerous state of things prevalent at the present time. The R. T. Constitution fails hopelessly under both the tests.

If a Ministry can't be independent of the Viceroy and if the latter has the power to appoint and dismiss them, the sorry spectacle of the present dyarchical Ministers will be staged in Simla and Delhi. They must either act as the agents of the Viceroy or go—and of course they won't go. Constitutional opposition

becomes meaningless, since the opposition too, however favourable the results of a general election may be, can't generally aspire to office except by grace of the Viceroy. Instead of a government and its opposition, there will be room within the constitution only for competitive loyalisms and intrigues. Politics will degenerate into place hunting and the diet of the ministers will chiefly consist of the declarations made when out of office.

Commenting on the legislative omnipotence of the Governor due to his command of official and nominated votes, the late Rajah of Panagal, a very good judge of dyarchy, remarked at Coimbatore that, with his countenance, any Tom, Dick or Harry could carry on government. The competition to be the favoured Toms, Dicks and Harries is always very keen. In one sense dyarchy is unworkable *viz.*, as a form of responsible government. In all other senses it is not only workable but fool-proof. It has in this way more than democratised government—it has vulgarised. And it is this type in a more aggravated form that the R. T. C. proposes to instal at the Centre.

I have no aversion for a "limited" responsibility provided that responsibility to the Legislature and the electorate could be enforced with the same facility as in other constitutions. If it can't, then it may be government through (not even by) Indian hands but not by popular hands. I have no objection to service members being included in the Ministry for War or Defence as in Japan, provided of course that they too resign with the rest.

If normally no one party can have a majority over the rest and if further there is a bloc unaffected by general elections constituting 1/3rd of the strength of

the Legislature, and there are also separate groups, large and small, a party ministry—the essence and soul of collective responsibility, becomes impossible.

The Viceroy's powers, positive and negative, are sought to be defended on the analogy of the Dominions. In point of sober fact such extensive and extraordinary powers are not vested in any of the heads of Dominions. Doubtless they appoint and dismiss ministers and can dissolve the legislatures and order a fresh election. The other powers are nominal. They can't issue an emergency ordinance except by and with the consent of the Ministry. And no ministry is irresponsible whether in name or fact to the Legislature. As regards appointment of ministers, they have to choose from the majority party or rather empower its leader to form a cabinet. Dissolution again is ordered on the advice of the ministry. Dismissal of ministers has practically ceased to be a modern phenomenon. The reason why the head of a Dominion has to function only as a constitutional head and not as an executive, as is proposed here, is that there is a legislature which he can't manipulate and one through which the majority of the nation can express its will. Having the backing of such a legislature, which is not a tool of the Governor-General, ministers can withstand him easily and successfully in case he displays a tendency to interfere and convert his nominal role of an executive into reality. This all important substance of constitutionalism is reduced to a shadow in the R. T. C. resolutions and yet we are asked to believe that transfer of responsibility and responsible government in the Centre have been secured. The utmost that has been secured is an Indirect Indian Bureaucracy—the last thing that one would desire in the interests of clean and decent politics.

The novel ministers of the Delhi Durbar can't withstand the Viceroy and they can with his patronage withstand the legislature. It is not central responsibility, but central moonshine, that has been brought back from London.

I had all along thought that this result was due to want of thought. To my surprise I find that it was deliberately aimed at by some of the invitees to the R. T. C. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, whom it is no pleasure to challenge, is reported to have declared that "the gain of certain responsible government at the centre is the greatest achievement in the history of my country." Where the fact thus, the claim would be justified. He continues that he himself offered some of the safeguards "freely and willingly" at the very commencement of the Conference—a noble way of conducting a bargain. "In every dominion constitution there is a provision for extraordinary or emergency action on the part of the Governor-General in the case of financial breakdown." True, but can the Governor-General act as an executive possessing his own initiative and without reference to the ministry? Is the ministry dependent on him? Has he control over the legislature or any portion of it? Why even in England such emergency powers exist, but they are exercised by the ministry in the name of the King. Here in India they will be exercised by the Viceroy in his own right and there is no ministry or legislature capable of coping with him.

But the best elucidation of the responsibility secured at the centre is this statement. "The political safeguards suggested are devised to ensure stability in the Central Government". . . . "We do not want to see the Indian Government or Executive at the mercy of changing groups or varying political alliances" and that

Nationalism is not yet completely born in India." If Nationalism is not yet born in India, they why should the Moderates have postulated Dominion Status including right of secession as their minimum demand? Is it to deceive the people or keep up their hearts by shouting what they did not mean? Secondly, does he not want nationalism to be completely born instead of being but partially delivered as now? If so, will his constitutional midwifery help the process or retard? Mr. Jinnah invited the Dominion Premiers to remain and witness the birth of a new Dominion. They were men of sense and sensibility, and so they did not remain to witness the miscarriage. If a nation is to be born it can't be under or by this constitution—only by action outside.

Our Viceroy is fortified in all three directions—in the legislature, the ministry and in his own executive supremacy. Such a head of the state is unknown to modern constitutions. He is a rock but not one on which the Church of Responsible Government can be founded.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wants to make the Indian Executive stable. He certainly has made it irremovable by the legislature. Apparently the Viceroy is a more reliable master than the Assembly and he won't remove his nominees in a hurry especially as they will illustrate dyarchical docility. The composition of the legislature is their first safety—the joint session their second—and the 2/3rds majority their final and infallible. But having secured this Himalayan stability (even the Himalayas are said to grow but this is immutable, serene and unearthly) how can he be said to have secured responsibility at the Centre, the greatest achievement in the history of his country? He probably means responsibility to the Centre, which is the Viceroy and this he has secured to the brim. For the new

open Congress and take the verdict. That verdict was a foregone conclusion.

The Nationalists complained (what an irony of things!) that the Khilafats had packed the house and manœuvred a majority. There is no doubt that each party strove for victory. When the Congress met the next day, Sir Asutosh Choudhuri moved for adjournment of the question in the right legal way. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao seconded it but the motion was lost by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Gandhi then rose to move his famous Non-Co-operation resolution amidst thunderous applause. The Resolution ran as follows :—

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him.

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the Debate in the House of Commons and specially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab :

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent Non-Co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion and

ministers will be less independent of him than the present members of Council with their statutory rights and powers.

Was it worthwhile securing this ministerial stability at the total cost of responsibility to the legislature and the people? Dr. Sapru apparently thinks, "Yes". We shall not be like those absurd Frenchmen, Germans and other nations who keep constantly changing their cabinets. No ministerial mercury for us but just lead. And he has accordingly devised or agreed to a constitution absolutely staid and sober, with no fizz or intoxication of any kind but ice-cold water to damp down the Legislature. No frivolous Paris this but Allahabad minus Anand Bhavan. But why is he not equally solicitous about ministerial bills and policies and made them also untouchable by imposing a 2/3rds majority for rejection or amendment? What is the good of ministers being kept tight there if their policies can be bowled over like nine pins? Very probable that such ministers—genuine collective ministry is out of the question, very nearly—won't have a policy to be bowled over. Also as the ministers are a fate decreed by the Viceroy, the legislature, a very human mosaic of variegated colours and composition, will naturally in its helplessness resign itself to chronic submission. What cannot be cured will be endured. Dyarchic Councils have shown how under such conditions a large number of legislators will enroll themselves as Ministerialists, a bastard tribe known only to Indian politics. Ministers may change—but the constancy of ministerialists never; they will sit on the government side whether Rama is on the treasury bench or Ravana. They are devotees of the abstract ministry which is immortal, continuous and not of the concrete ministers whom sometimes a Lord

Goschen may send out in order to prevent a dyarchic dynasty being established.

Dr. Sapru knows that extraordinary majorities are required in modern States only in the case of constitutional amendments. Is change of ministry a constitutional amendment in India?

May not one object of these sinister arrangements be to load the dice against Congress and other nationalist parties and keep them in permanent constitutional subordination to the vested interests and the parties amenable to their dictation? Is it not courting trouble to try to keep the majority of the nation under subjection by means of inequitous constitutional tricks, reservations and safeguards?

The Princes are brought in as a justification for these proposals. God knows they have much to answer for in all conscience but should they be made answerable for this also? One is not quite clear. It is said that the Princes would not enter a Federation unless there was responsible self-government given for India. That is a patriotic attitude. Did they claim to have a voice in determining British Indian Ministers or was this honour thrust upon them by those that distrust Indian nationalism? They were against intervening in British Indian affairs. Even if their Highnesses wanted to have a share in the Government of India, however indirect in form, it was not a desire which could be gratified without inflicting a serious grievance on the British Indians. I cannot believe that the Princes were for a self-government for British India which was no self-government at all but a travesty of responsible constitutionalism. Or is it that they wanted to be in a position to help the Viceroy to rule through Indian tools at Delhi so that in return his rule over them may become lighter and less

strict? Is it all a deal between the British and the Princes with the Moderates as brokers to maintain each other's autocracy and prevent real responsible government being enjoyed in any part of India? The thought is too black to be entertained. But however it may have arisen, the R. T. Constitution must be deemed to be no form of responsible government or even an introduction to responsible government at the centre. It can neither facilitate nor lead to Home Rule or Dominion Status.

We want both federation and Responsible Government at the Centre. If they are incompatible with each other, we must give up Federation for the time being. The aim of Indian agitation is not to place the country under the dual control of England and the Princes but to secure self-expression for the people.

British obstinacy will uphold the R. T. Constitution against all criticism and opposition. It is the nature of an Englishman to hold that whatever is, is the best until it is changed when the latter becomes the object of his attachment. Nothing could be more ridiculous than the way that during the last 10 years support of provincial dyarchy was regarded as the only sign of political sanity and fitness for self-government. Yet to day that dyarchy is in retrospect dismissed as a poor machine fit only to be scrapped. In the same way they will try to inflict the R. T. Constitution on India though it is a far more objectionable and demoralising type of government than provincial dyarchy. Since there is no term fixed for the revision of the new constitution and since it can't serve as the instrument of further evolution, the country must be prepared for an indefinite period of agony and agitation. The future is being overcast with clouds darker than any that have so far obscured our prospects.

But as the final word has not been said and as the recent Parliamentary debate and more especially Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's speech have given a hopeful indication of a big change in the attitude of Great Britain, I think it is too soon to despair of reasonable arrangements being evolved. The Congress would do well to enter into negotiations on the basis of responsible Government at the centre, limited perhaps in scope but real, and do its best to secure the substance of it in place of the vain shadow now projected. The stars do not appear to be altogether inauspicious. Even if the efforts of the Congress with which I shall always bracket the Jamiatul-ulema of India fail to achieve passable success, the responsibility for the frustration of the hopes raised and pledges given will then in the judgment of the world rest on Great Britain and the prestige of Indian Nationalism will stand even higher than it is to-day. A blank refusal to negotiate or an ultimatum embodying final demands to be forthwith accepted will prove to be an inexcusable blunder.

II

It is held by some that the results of the R.T.C. are an advance over the Simon Report and the Government of India recommendations and that being so, they ought to be held to be satisfactory. It is necessary to scrutinise what the nature and limitations of this advance are and to whom they will be satisfactory.

The point of view from which they ought to be examined is the nationalistic demand of India for a transfer of real power to the representatives of the people.

Provincial autonomy has been granted and this is an advance over the existing constitution. But this does not touch except in a subsidiary manner the primary question of national self-government which is

the real test to which the Round Table Conference results should be submitted.

Even in the sphere of provincial autonomy absolute powers of veto and absolute powers of administrative direction and control in respect of the interests of the minorities are vested in the Governor. To this extent they abridge the powers of ministers and the peoples' representatives and imply that the Governor is the real custodian of good government in the presidencies. Absolute veto is sought to be defended by the analogy of the United States and other constitutions in which such veto is vested in the head of the State. But in those constitutions the head of the State is himself an elected functionary. In the United States the Chief executive is elected by the vote of the entire people and as such he can rightly claim to exercise his powers on behalf of the people. In India the Governors will be nominated by the Imperial Government. He is the agent of the Imperial Government and therefore the analogy fails. In the other constitutions of the world the Chief executive possesses only a suspensory veto. He can only refer the matter in controversy back to the existing legislative council and if he thinks that there is enough party division in the country to give him a chance of popular support, he may empanel another ministry or dissolve the council. The verdict of the country given as a result of such dissolution is held to be binding. Without bringing the Governor's veto down to the level of a suspensory operation the substantial responsibility of ministers for legislation and administration will be badly weakened.

In the Central Government it is held by the apologists of the Round Table Conference that there will be under their proposals transfer of power to Indian hands.

The issues are what amount of power and to which hands ?

The reservations are drastic and some of them cut at the very root of the main object of the nationalist agitation. The safeguards in respect of military affairs and foreign policy may be regarded as necessary for the time being. But even here provision should be made for giving the Federal Legislature some power to develop the military organization of the country on national lines so that when the new organization makes sufficient progress the old organization and with it the Viceregal control, may be proportionately diminished. This will combine responsibility with safety. But it is in the field of fiscal and tariff policy that reservations of an inadmissible character are sought to be made. Without control of currency, exchange, credit organisations, transportation and tariffs, there can be no revival of the industrial and commercial life of the country. It is the bread of the people that is involved in this question and not merely political advance which under the circumstances can only mean more careers for educated Indians, hardly a compensation for leaving these vast and vital interests unprotected by the Federal Legislature. This is practically to ask the Congress and the Nationalists to sacrifice the merchants, the industrialists and the agriculturists to the tender mercies of foreign operators. Indian History on its economic side has been in the main the history of the exploitation of the masses by British Capitalists. This reservation therefore cannot be accepted without defeating the very object for which Mahatma Gandhi has been fighting all his life through, *viz.*, the economic betterment of the people. Mr. Jinnah has again and again declared that fiscal autonomy was an essential demand on which no

compromise was possible. If, in addition to this reservation, what is called equality of treatment to British economic interests which in actual practice means preferential treatment to the detriment of Indian enterprise and development, is conceded, there won't be any the least advance over the present deplorable situation. The theory of economic trusteeship of Great Britain which has cost India so much will be continued to our distress and dismay.

The next question to be considered is into what hands the proposed transfer of power is to be made. Is it to the Indian democracy, or is it to an oligarchy which will be amenable to the imperialist discipline and with the aid of which the national movement may be crushed by the agency of Indians themselves?

The composition of the Federal Assembly is oligarchical. This is to consist, we are told, of delegates sent by the Indian States who will not be representatives of the people of those States but mandatories of the Durbars who will naturally be prepared to accept and carry out the instructions of those Governments. So the Federal Assembly cannot even possess the character of a representative institution. The number of such delegates or agents is sought to be fixed at the high percentage of $33\frac{1}{3}$ of the strength of the legislature. Even if by bargaining this proportion is reduced to 25, it would still mean a higher percentage of votes at the disposal of Government than what is now seen in the various legislatures. Add to this the members returned by the various types of separate electorates, communal, economic, racial etc., such as Europeans, Labour, Commerce and so forth. The nation is reduced to the position of dregs or a residue. The Mahomedans claim $\frac{1}{3}$ representation by means of separate electorates. Even

if the rest put together come up to 1/5 the total, what is left for what may be called real popular representation may not exceed 1/5 of the entire legislature. It is likely to be less. If the total representation of the nationalist elements which have made all these tragic sacrifices could only be about 1/5 of the legislature or less, can it be said that this will satisfy the just and the legitimate interests of the country? Won't it, on the other hand, give an internal character to the present struggle and create an atmosphere of civil war more bitter and perhaps more cruel in its incidents than the non-violent agitation against the present system of British rule? It looks as though these proposals are an invitation to civil war.

Is the competence of the States' delegates to be confined to All-India subjects? Apparently not. They claim to determine the complexion of the Indian Government, as can be seen from the provision made in respect of censure and no-confidence motions. If they are allowed to take part and decide on the fate of Ministries, it follows that they will have a considerable, perhaps a predominant share in settling what kind of Government British India shall possess. The iniquity of this is enhanced by their claim that there should be no kind of interference on the part of British India in their internal affairs including the composition of their Governments, if any; nor can British India interfere in their external affairs, subsumed under Paramountcy. The States will be directly under the Viceroy, while British India is to be subjected to the interference of the States. Being directly under the Viceroy, it is not an uncharitable presumption that they and their agents will not be in a position to withstand the will of the Viceroy and will generally speaking act in subordination to the Imperial Government. Instead of

an official block there will be an Indian States' block in the legislature ready to give support through thick and thin to the Viceroy and his Ministry. As though to add insult to injury the states demand direct representation in the All-India Cabinet. It is no doubt very kind on the part of the Princes to be so ready to take part in ruling us, while resisting a reciprocation of the compliment, but the country is not yet prepared for this climax or rather catastrophe, since it has never asked or worked for it. What kind of upholders of Responsible Government these princes must be who devoutly anathematise it in their own States! And if they and their agents are given places in the British Indian Responsible Governments, Central or Provincial, we shall have enacted a political farce Gilbertian in type though of gruesome, tragic aspect. Democracy could not be made to stultify itself in better style.

The Viceroy's control of the Ministry is calculated to reduce it to a show and a shadow. He can dismiss the Ministers. But they cannot in effect be dismissed by the legislature and though in theory they are removable, in practice they will be beyond the reach of the legislature. It is laid down that a $2/3$ majority of a joint session of the Lower and Upper Houses is necessary before a Ministry can be dismissed by the legislature. This will be even more difficult to obtain than an ordinary majority under the present system of provincial dyarchies in which the official block and the nominated members act as the bodyguard of the Government and its Ministers. If the Ministers are dismissable by the Viceroy and secured from the legislature, it follows that they will have to act as the agents of the Viceroy and not as a popular Ministry. The general election will be reduced

to a farce and the people, unable to secure redress through constitutional action, will be obliged to have recourse to direct action. Unconstitutionality will thus become the only remedy available for the nation. Such are the arrangements provocative of disorder that the idolaters of Law and Order propose to make.

The surprising thing about this arrangement is that no such special majorities are required for passing the budgets or legislation. By a simple majority the legislature can veto the bills and the budgets. But it can not dismiss the Ministry. Places are evidently more important than policies. Is it intended to overawe the legislature by the apparition of an irremovable ministry and force it to resign itself to impotent criticism? Experience shows that under these circumstances the Ministers will have ample power and opportunity to produce legislative demoralization by appealing to the cupidity of individuals and sections and building personal parties possessing little or no relation to principles and policies. So if, under this scheme, there is a transfer of power, it is from the right hand to the left hand of the Viceroy. There will be an oligarchy of vested interests and willing tools of Government enthroned in Delhi. Indirect bureaucracy subsisting on a putrid legislature is no advance on direct bureaucracy frankly independent of the votes of the members. Is it for this that the nation has sent sixty thousand of its most honourable and patriotic citizens, men and women, to the jails? Is the nation to be satisfied by a constitution breathing distrust of the people at every pore and aiming to reduce them to decorous impotence? Distrust of the people is called caution.

In the Round Table constitution there won't be any legislative chamber to represent the nation as a

inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, the Congress earnestly advises :

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies.

(b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour ;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces ;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes ;

(e) refusal on the part of military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia ;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election.

(g) And inasmuch as Non-Co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-Co-operation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piecegoods on a vast scale and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Gandhi spoke with compelling fervour. "I stand before you, in fear of God," he said, "and with a sense of duty towards my country to commend this resolution to your hearty acceptance." Mr. Gandhi said that the only weapon in their hands was Non-Co-operation, and non-violence should

whole and to voice its feelings. There will be the States' delegates and men returned by separate and special constituencies, not one returned with a right to speak for all the sections of the people. How is Dominion Status possible without any representatives of the Dominion as such? The Maharaja of Mahomadabad, Sir Ali Imam and the Bengali Muslims, always an advanced class, have very rightly pointed out that without a chamber to embody the principle of national representation, the legislature is bound to be weak and disunited and can never speak with the authority of the nation's representatives. With regard to the Hindu, Muslim as well as other special claims those who have been fighters in the cause will agree more easily than the arm-chair critics, and if the Congress, the Jamait-ul-ulema and the Muslim League and other nationalist organisations convene a new conference, it is very likely that a nationalistic solution will be evolved in it.

The location of residuary powers seems to have been left in a vague condition. So far as the All-India legislature in the session in which it is competent for the Indian States to take part is concerned it may not have the residuary powers because the States being sovereign bodies will give up only special subjects of an All-India character to be enumerated and defined to the control of the All-India session. But to proceed on this analogy and argue that the provinces also should be constituted into sovereign States is to introduce disastrous disintegration of the country. The British India legislature should have the residuary powers not given to the provinces. If this is made clear it would give a chance for British India to proceed uninterrupted on its course of progressive development.

A Federal Constitution necessitates the establishment of a Supreme Court and federal judiciary. It also necessitates the establishment of a federal administration for the subjects allotted to the federal government. What is to be the relation between the federal judiciary and the federal administration and the judicial and administrative systems of the States and provinces? In some countries the component States and provinces are required to act as agents of the federal government in respect of these departments. But this has been found to be a very unsatisfactory expedient. So far as administration is concerned the federal governments have generally had their own agents and departments even in the provinces. As regards the judiciary, in some constitutions the local judges have been empowered to deal with federal cases also while the appellate jurisdiction is naturally reserved to the Federal Supreme Court. In America they have both State and Federal Courts functioning in the States and there has been a lot of litigation regarding their respective spheres of competence. This has led to an enormous increase of litigation and a country will have to be as rich as the United States to be able to stand the burden of such a system. In some constitutions the entire judicial system, local and central, is placed under the federal judiciary and there are no judges locally appointed, though the Supreme Court would naturally appoint people recommended by local Governments. Such a judiciary will deal with litigation arising both under local and under Federal laws. It is desirable to adopt this system in India so as to give the greatest possible confidence in judicial administration and bring about automatically a separation of executive and judicial functions. It is not known if these subjects had

been dealt with in any detail at the Round Table Conference, and whether the Indian States are prepared to part with the necessary amount of administrative and judicial patronage and power in favour of the Federal State.

Every Federal constitution makes provision for constitutional amendments by means of referendum or special legislative majorities, the object being that the constitution should be elastic and responsive to the considered will of the country. It is obvious that the Round Table constitution can contain no such seed of self-development. It establishes an oligarchy and oligarchies will not consent to amend down their own powers and prerogatives. Once again there will have to be a terrible agitation bordering on revolution before this constitution could be democratised, and without a democratic constitution there won't be a permanent cessation of political agitation. The country cannot concentrate on internal development until its rights and liberties are properly secured. The dreary prospect now obtaining is not likely to be shortened by the Round Table constitution.

The position of the Viceroy as settled by the Round Table Conference is hardly different from that of an autocrat. He will continue to be the successor of the Grand Mogul. The main portion of the budget is his. He is in absolute control of the Indian States. He has enormous administrative powers. He appoints Ministers who are practically independent of the legislature. He has an absolute power of veto. He can legislate by means of ordinances and under the new constitution he has every facility to employ Indian hands to throttle Indian nationalism. He is the defender of special interests. He is the guardian of the services, he or his

master the Secretary of State. He is a direct autocrat in respect of these subjects and in the Ministerial sphere he is an indirect autocrat. The only thing that is not safe from him is the interest of the country. On the whole it seems nationalism will be smothered under safeguards and vested interests and won't be able to breathe. Because direct elections are held to be impossible in the Indian-States it is sought to impose indirect election to the Federal Assembly and make the provincial legislatures the constituencies for the All-India legislature. For the analogy to be complete, it ought to be the Provincial Governments and they should send, not representatives, but agents. Even the vision of a united India is thus taken away from the eyes and hearts of the people. It is all Simon in a new shape.

The better way of safeguarding personal rights and the cultural and other rights of minorities is by vesting the necessary jurisdiction in the Courts. The tendency of a democratic constitution is to trust the judiciary and not the executive.

When the Viceroy is given so much power, negative and positive, the proper remedy is to give the Legislature the right of self-convention, *i.e.*, the right to be summoned by the President on requisition of 1/5th of the members or the Leader of the Opposition, so that the Legislature may immediately deal with the situations created by the Viceroy. There should be no infringement of the Parliamentary freedom of the Legislature—the Opposition Leader must be given the right to move votes of censure or of no-confidence as in the House of Commons. Thus only can the Legislature become a force for good in the country. At present the Councils are like meetings of Boards convened to register the

decrees of the Directors. It seems they are business bodies. It is best not to divulge the business in which they excel. However small an Opposition may be in numbers, so long as it is the regular Opposition it must enjoy the unfettered right to challenge the Ministry.

In spite of all these defects and shortcomings there are possibilities in the new attitude adopted by the British Government. Mr. MacDonald's speech raises hopes and that is something. The transfer of responsibility to Indian hands has been conceded in principle, though why this is made contingent on an All-India Federation is not quite clear unless it be that Britain will not transfer power to nationalist India but only to its own instruments and channels. But a conference with the leaders of the Congress and the Jamait-ul-Ulema may lead to better and more satisfactory results. It remains to be seen whether any such conference would be held and conducted in the right spirit of give and take. The Government must trust nationalist India, those men of honour and patriotism who are now rotting in the jails. A constitution based on distrust of the nation's gallant leaders can't be acceptable to the country. Still less a constitution which, whether so intended or not, will result in the rallying of certain elements in the country, not of the highest repute, for an onslaught on the Congress. Even Government cannot fairly expect the Congress and nationalist India to exchange the country for showy careers.

The most important essential for the success of the new conference is that it should not consist merely of the invitees of the Government. The different political organizations in the country should be asked to send up representatives with full powers. Or the political prisoners should be set free, the present councils dis-

solved, new elections held, and the representatives thus chosen given the right to select the members of the new Round Table Conference; special interests and communities also being accorded the same privilege on the same basis. Only the depressed classes will have to be given nominated representatives. All the rest of the British Indian delegation including Europeans, Businessmen etc., must enter by election. The Princes will of course send their delegates. But the British Indian members should have a representative character. If that is done there is hope of a satisfactory settlement being reached on most of these questions.

III

In my recent articles on the proposed R. T. C. constitution I treated genuine Ministerial responsibility to a truly democratic Lower House—whether Federal or Unitary—as the crux of the problem. In my opinion, safeguards and reservations are relatively to those minor considerations, however objectionable they may be *per se*. Because, given a legislature responsive to the will of the country, which the Rotten Table legislature is not, and a Ministry truly responsible to such a legislature, the political leverage thus placed in our hands could be used, and will certainly be used, to reduce gradually the amount of safeguards and reservations, and after confidence and goodwill have become firmly established, to remove them altogether and gain full Dominion Equality. With a legislature which can easily flout the country's will and with a Ministry which can even more easily flout that legislature, or worse still, ride it according to its own pleasure, the gifts of the Rotten Table, even after the elimination of the safeguards and reservations, won't be of much use to the

country, and the British control will continue undiminished though it may come to be exercised through toadyish Indian Ministers. Central responsibility to a truly representative Lower House, even though its jurisdiction may be limited to begin with, will be a satisfactory enough solution if none better is forthcoming and may be accepted as a good enough temporary settlement. The unrealisable responsibility offered by the R. T. C. is hardly honest or decent politics.

Federation was evidently sprung on the Conference as a surprise, and instead of taking time to study, the guests seem to have walked into the parlour talking all the way. And now having nobody to blame except themselves for the mess created, they are boosting and boasting for all they are worth.

The Calcutta Europeans demand an Irremovable Executive. An Irremovable Executive is perfectly consistent with democracy provided certain conditions are fulfilled, and they can have it if they agree to the conditions. (1) Firstly, the Chief Executive himself should be elected by the people as in the U.S.A. But this may be waived as England will have to appoint the Viceroy. (2) The Legislature should be thoroughly democratic and independent of the Executive, the Executive not even having seats in it. It must have power of self-convention, power of examining the Executive and Departmental officials, settling the departmental budgets by means of its own committees etc. The executive will then merely execute and not govern. (3) The Executive shall be legally bound to carry out the orders of the Legislature and this obligation should be enforceable by the Courts. (4) An independent judiciary, independent from top to toe and absolute separation of executive and judicial functions.

Our people can have but a faint idea of such a constitution. One must dwell in the United States to know what the separation of Executive, Legislature and Judicial functions means and involves. For instance, there won't be any resolutions of the Legislature which are only recommendations to Government—every resolution will be a binding order.

The R. T. constitution combines the anti-democratic features of the British and American types and does not in the least provide for popular sovereignty which is the root principle of both those systems. Having dished democracy at every turn, by the composition of the Federal Legislature, by fictitious Ministerial responsibility etc., they want safeguards also; safeguards against whom—not the legislature which will be a tool in their hands nor yet Ministers who will be their toadies, but like lunatics, against themselves, the only remaining factor! These safeguards are, I suppose, intended to make assurance doubly sure.

No wonder the British Government has nothing but praise for the Police and Moderates, who are both serving them admirably—I mean zealously.

ALL-BENGAL STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

6th March 1931

Inaugural Address

FRIENDS,

Although I am not happy under the burden of responsibility placed on my feeble shoulders, I yet feel it to be a proud privilege to be invited to occupy a chair of which the first incumbent has been that hero of young

India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. He is now mourning the loss of his great father and the nation mourns with him. No greater calamity has befallen the country than the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru at this juncture. He united in himself the three-fold graces of courage, patriotism and position and he sacrificed his all, including his family, for the good and honour of our motherland. Of the builders of the Indian Nation six of the greatest have gone. Tilak, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Lala Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Muhammad Ali and Motilal Nehru. Though they are gone their spirit has, I trust, incarnated itself in the youth of the country. I wonder if it is they that are really dead or we that are only in name alive. There is such a thing as moral death and if our condition is going to be that, then indeed would have been in vain the sacrifices and sufferings of those immortal heroes of the Nation.

I have no desire to inflict direct advice on students who are clever enough to be critics of their elders and occasionally good enough to give advice to themselves. I abhor picketting of the body. If I can picket your souls by presenting to you the binding logic of events, that would be enough. I am getting old in years. The prospect is short and the retrospect is long. I therefore naturally dwell in the more roomy sphere of retrospect. But I fancy this retrospect itself will have its own lesson for the future and you, young people, who are the builders of that future. The most noticeable observation that forces itself on my attention as I review the past is the remarkable change that has come about in the estimation in which India is held by the world at large. In my first tour to America in 1906, I had the good fortune to make friends with Mr. J. T. McCutcheon, a man of wide travel and culture, the cartoonist of the

Chicago Tribune and a journalist of high standing. He had visited India and he told me in terms of sombre sadness that the Hindus appeared to be a spent race and the Muslims extinct volcanoes. He thought that the Indian people were done up and finished. I know in England and Europe too the opinion about our racial capacity was low. Then followed the years of the Bengal Partition and Nationalist agitations under the leadership of Arabindo Ghose, Tilak, and Lajpat Rai. Politics took a new and more manly turn, and though it was still all a speculation which might burst like a bubble, our stock in the international market seems to have gone up a bit. In 1913 I again visited Europe and America. Sgr. Luzzati, an Ex-Premier of Italy, whom I met at Rome, made to my surprise anxious enquiries regarding what he called the "Independence Movement in India." I had to confess that, though such a movement might be visible to the distant reaching telescope, it was not to the near scrutiny of the microscope. Professor Alfred Marshall of Cambridge, a very real friend of ours, had no high opinion of the average character of Indians as exemplified even by the undergraduates in Cambridge and contrasted us very unfavourably with the Chinese and Japanese students whose sole idea was to serve the country and not to secure jobs. I again met Mr. McCutcheon at Chicago. He could only say that there were some symptoms of national re-awakening but they were too faint and feeble to permit of an assured reading of the future. The Canadian statesman, Mr. Cook, made a penetrating observation. Expressing his admiration for the Poet Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and a few other persons he added that, though India could produce great individuals equal to the world's

be their creed. Dr. Kitchlew seconded the resolution in Urdu.

Mr. Pal then placed his amendment which proposed a mission to England to present our demands and in the meanwhile to establish national schools, formulate arbitration courts and not to boycott the Councils.

Mr. Das in supporting the amendment made an appeal to Mr. Gandhi to consider the practical effect of his victory. Dr. Besant opposed both the resolution and the amendment, while Pundit Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah preferred the latter. Messrs. Yakub Hasan, Jitendra Lal Banerjea, Motilal Nehru and Rambhujji Dutt supported Mr. Gandhi whose resolution was finally carried.

The Congress re-assembled on the 9th and the whole morning was devoted to the taking of votes, province by province, for and against Mr. Gandhi's motion. Out of twelve provinces only the Central Provinces and Berar showed a majority against Mr. Gandhi's motion, while in the remaining ten provinces the majority of votes were in his favour. The President announced that out of 5,814 delegates, the registered number of delegates who took part in the voting was 2,728 while 63 did not vote. Actual voting showed that 1,855 voted for and 879 against Mr. Gandhi's motion.

THE FATEFUL DECISION

After this fateful decision it was no wonder that Congressmen who were avowedly against Non-Co-operation found themselves in a difficult predicament. They hastily called for a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and it was resolved to find a way out of the situation.

The mandatory nature of the Congress Resolution was relaxed at the instance of Pundit Malaviya and a few others

highest, the race and society appeared to be decadent. To him India was like a vast manure heap on which grew a few occasional flowers of striking beauty. From America I crossed over to Japan and there too Indians were looked down upon as a subject race too feeble and disunited and too lacking in patriotism to deserve respect. The illustrious Count Okuma, a statesman with international sympathies and outlook, spoke to me unreservedly of the situation in Egypt, Persia, India and other oriental countries and he ranked us the last. He had great veneration for our ancient culture. He told me that many Japanese revered India, the birth place of the Buddha, as the "Umbrella of Heaven". But the present day people—they were an unedifying spectacle. It will be remembered that, when our great Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, visited Japan sometime after the War, the Japanese could hardly forbear dubbing him "the Poet Laureate of a defeatist country". Those of you who have read the works of Lala Lajpat Rai need not be told how keenly he felt our racial humiliation at every point of the compass.

In those days I used to dabble with the theory of Indian degeneration. Do not racial stocks degenerate? Are not Rome and Greece instances of that incurable malady? Has anybody discovered a remedy for this biological deterioration? One sign of degeneration is a certain divorce between ideas, feeling and will. People may think aright and overflow with correct emotion, but their will having decayed, they can't act, more especially as organised bodies, and can but simply watch like outside spectators their own collective impotence and hypocrisy. Mutual jealousy is the characteristic of slaves and don't we possess it in abundance? Truth, honour, courage and strength are inter-related

virtues. Were they at their best in us? I used to read works that directly or indirectly touched on this gruesome topic like Mr. Balfour's lecture on the Decay of Rome and Max Nordau's works and also make what I imagined were original notes on the subject. Is not progress a matter of instinct and ultimately of physiology? Are our instincts sufficiently strong and do they spontaneously take the right direction? Can a decadent race be made virile by lectures and reasoning? Is giving people the idea of courage or patriotism the same as giving them courage or patriotism? Do ideas influence or generate will or are they only the attorneys of the vast irrational life-force surging in the depths—or death-force? Writing to a member of the Servants of India Society on what I called an obituary outburst over the death of an important leader I asked, "We have a great capacity for weeping together. Have we any for working together?" Such was the gloomy and oppressive influence of our position and surroundings on my mind in those days. I was without hope: to-day I am not hopeless.

Has there not been a change in our world-standing since 1920, that is to say, within the last decade, some change, however small, but significant and hopeful? No doubt even during the War the British Press lavished praise on our people and soldiers. But war-praise like war-idealism is mostly policy, propaganda and pretence. But apply what test you will, I rather think there has been a genuine improvement within the last 10 years in our international position. The British Press devotes considerable attention to our affairs. It may not be always considerate but it is something that we are not ignored altogether and dismissed as a race of philosophical worms. Even the Continental Press

which cannot afford to displease England finds space for Indian discussions and news. Democratic America which is no respecter of imperialism has so interested herself in our cause as to send down distinguished press representatives to study at first hand and report. More remarkable still, Great Britain, the mistress of the seas and therefore of our salt, has found it necessary to organise propaganda in the United States to stem the tide of their pro-Indian sympathies. The Labour Ministry, with the concurrence of the other parties, thinks it desirable to confer with Indians on the future of our constitution instead of following the traditional practice of giving us pills of their own prescription to cure our political melancholy—stimulants for toning up the nerves of our moderates. Mahatma Gandhi is more than a world figure. He is a world factor, the first Indian since the days of the Grand Moghul that has counted for so much. His effigy decorates the dining tables of Paris and the walls of New York institutions. India is no longer a haphazard news. She is an event to be taken into account. 1920 marks a new era in our history—the Gandhian era of our national rebirth.

But do not let us exaggerate the reality and extent of our advancement. We have not yet conquered and the goal is yet far distant. There is not the least ground for self-complacency and the inertia that springs from self-complacency. Indeed in a world ever changing, ever progressive, there is never room for self-complacency, which spells stagnation and decay. However limited then our satisfaction may be, however partial and imperfect, can we not at any rate say on proved grounds of recent history and experience that during the last 10 years we have stuck to the right path and maintained our

march with tolerable vigour and infer from it that continued progress on the same lines would lead us sooner or later to success?

Is it by our mere ideas or thought-output that we have improved our world status? I hardly think so. Our philosophic and other contributions have always been there during countless ages. And those who have admired our thought did not usually admire our character. Indeed thought without will and character is likely to be derided as cleverness, the phosphorescence of putrifying matter. Modern Japan is, on account of her national spirit, higher up in the scale of nations than we with our ballast of ideas. We were never famished for ideas. We have always been chokeful of them, suffering from surfeit and indigestion. Nobody could write a better dissertation on freedom, patriotism, unity, discipline, organisation and all other subjects under the Moon, than our intellectuals. I am tempted to think that people who do little can think a great deal, for, they will have more time and are less hampered by the facts and trials of life. It is not therefore on account of more ideas, greater capacity to argue our case in London and added power of eloquence that we have been able to emerge from our degradation but rather owing to the new mentality, which is more than ideas, and character evoked by the Gandhian mission. Is there not some truth in the observation that art and literature are the flowers that adorn the path of national decay?

Nor is it an impersonal timespirit, a celestial mechanism, that is impelling us onwards. The devotees of time spirit are generally men of the tame spirit. It is a form of fatalism of which we have had enough in our composition. Optimistic fatalism is just as much

a bane as pessimistic. If, however, by timespirit is meant the sum total of circumstances and human endeavour, then it is not worthwhile invoking it as an agent of progress and relying on it for all time to come. Timespirit is not going to bring us Swaraj without organisation and disciplined action on the part of the people. If you sit quiet with closed eyes and open mouth trusting that time will shake the fruit into it, the flies will make of it a convenient home. We never entrust our personal affairs like match-making and money-making to the guardianship of Time Spirit. It never serves individuals but it is by some supposed to serve the race. Is time spirit then a wholesale shop in which no retail dealings are permitted?

Neither is mere emotionalism any better factor than ineffective intellect. The weak are proverbially emotional. The strong are calm and self-restrained. They do not flare up and go speedily out in smoke, but burn with a steady flame. At the Cocanada Congress I sat by Sir P. C. Ray, our great Acharya. The sight of the huge crowd assembled there in thousands, men, women, children and babies, made him wonder what it was worth. It is his habit to give a hearty slap first and then a talk and the slap is the sharper of the two. He told me if such a gathering had met in any European country, its government would have disappeared the very next day—but here amongst us—he paused, shrugged his shoulders and gave me another slap, which is his way of driving home a lesson.

Well, our ideas have always been there, our feelings have always been there, for years and years before 1920. And yet the conduct of to-day was not there. It is this new conduct that is the new factor in our nation.

It is therefore in improved character that we must seek an explanation of the movement towards nationhood that is taking place in our midst. And by character I mean the character of our people as a people and not as private individuals. The weakness of Indian mentality is that it concentrates too much on the self to the neglect of general good, which is perhaps inevitable in a people who have long been in a state of subjection and to whom the ethics of a free people has not been a code of habitual conduct. I remember a person with a vast and funded reputation for being religious on the income of which he enjoys a thriving position, explain on one occasion why he could not undertake a public duty which however he was vigorously impressing on others. He had to build a house. He had a large number of daughters to be disposed of in matrimony. He had other private circumstances and therefore he could do nothing but preach. In this way each individual tries to exempt himself from national work and there is no individual who cannot plead similar justification. If therefore all such individuals are held to be good, it follows that you can have a society in which all the individuals are good while the society itself is rotten which, as Euclid would say, is a *reductio ad absurdum*. The Greeks regarded justice as the highest virtue and justice is concerned with conduct between man and man and above all between man and the State. Westerners infer the worth of individuals from the worth of the society to which they belong. If the society is worthless there is no meaning in lauding the individuals composing it as a highly worthy people. And this appears to me the truer way of estimating conduct values and character. If then there has been a change for the better in our character, it is progress in our racial and social

character that must be held to account for the newborn esteem that the world has begun to entertain for Indians.

There is no such thing as character which does not operate in life and manifest itself in activity. And social activity or social conduct is in its very nature organised conduct and organised activity. No doubt we sometimes witness a widespread rising of people united only in the object but not in method or leadership. Such a rising cannot last long. It disappears soon leaving a gulf of gloom and despair behind. Our present national movement is not a sporadic outburst of this evanescent type. At all events it has lasted a decade, no doubt with ups and downs but still as a continuous and on the whole an ever broadening stream. Further, even when most of the leaders had been clapped in jail it did not collapse but has shown capacity to maintain itself—a proof that it has spread deep and wide. It is fair inference from this that our people are not likely to be easily crushed. I am not an astrologer. So I cannot say that we would be able to sustain the struggle till success is achieved. There is no celestial mechanism to guarantee success but if we can put forth the necessary effort, keep up the ranks by supplying new recruits, organise better and more extensively, then it follows that there will be a settlement between England and India based on mutual respect and equality of status.

Is it too much to hazard the opinion that it is Mahatma Gandhi who has translated us from oblivion to modern history, that it is his genius that has organised our feelings and ideas into integral personality by impregnating them with will and courage, and enabling us to achieve character as a nation and giving us a method and programme of action in which that character can find a field of effective operation and fulfilment—

a fulfilment which does not exhaust but rather continuously revitalises and regenerates our being as individuals and nation ?

Historically speaking the seeds of our national regeneration were first sown in Bengal by Swami Vivekananda, the greatest synthetic thinker of modern times. Aurobindo Ghose directly inaugurated the movement during the Partition agitation. Swadeshi and boycott of British goods had its origin here and something of greater significance than these particular lines of operation—a change in the psychology of the people themselves. Until then the Bengalis used to be admired for their intellect and at the same time despised as the weakest of the Indian races. But even our worst critics were obliged to change their view as a result of the widespread courage and patriotism displayed by young Bengal. The mendicant policy of the Moderates was abandoned and people began to rely on their own strength and organisation for securing redress of their grievances. Mahatma Gandhi may be said to have built on the foundations thus laid by Aurobindo Ghose, though undoubtedly he gave it a new strength and more extended scope and operation and infused it to an extent unknown before with the spirit of a vigorous democracy.

Just reflect for a moment on the miracles wrought by the genius of Gandhi. Who would have thought from a study of our history that the peasantry, mercantile and industrial communities, and the women of our country would have shown themselves to be the heroic soldiers of nationalism that they are to-day? Bardoli and Borsad are a new revelation. Guzerat too used to be despised, more especially by the Mahrattas, as a province of the tame and weak. Yet

to-day can any province be said to excel the men and women of Guzerat in courage, power of organisation, discipline unto death and patriotic devotion and scorn of danger and suffering? More than conduct is character and personality. Does it not appear to you that from the ashes of old India a new being, stately and stalwart, is coming into existence and Gandhi is the life-giving breath? The merchants of Bombay, of Calcutta, Cawnpore, Lahore and even of Madras at long last, have placed the country before immediate personal profits. Their calculation has shifted from their personal accounts to the country's credit. The sellers' boycott organised by the merchants is an even more telling weapon than the consumers' boycott organised by the people. Some of the biggest firms in the land have agreed to abide by the conditions laid down by the Congress thus giving to the Congress the status of a *de facto* government. The youth of the country from the young lads composing the Prabhat Pheries to men of 20 and 30 are offering themselves in their hundreds and thousands as Congress volunteers subordinating personal convenience to the dictates of their conscience. And lastly who can fail to be moved by the sublime heroism of the women of our country? In Bombay, Bengal, Guzerat, Madras and everywhere they have risen superior to their traditional limitations and are undergoing unparalleled and unimaginable sacrifices. Speaking for myself, and I am an old man not easily accessible to romantic feelings, I may say nothing has overwhelmed me so completely as the noble patriotism of our daughters, sisters and mothers who have not hesitated to sacrifice their cherished feelings of home and family and march with a smile on their face to the jails—the guardian angels of our nation. The lathi and

the rifle are no longer a terror to our people. Honour to-day is to them dearer than life itself. Some years ago foreigners used to look down on India as a dead country. To-day resurrection is taking place on earth itself. Even if we fail and are crushed we shall go down holding aloft the flag and as men and women of honour. If this movement cannot inspire you to immediate and active response we would deserve to be treated with contempt as a race without honour, without shame. Mr. H. N. Brailsford has given a masterly exposition alike of the present spirit of the people, Congressmen and genuine nationalists, as illustrated by their sufferings and endurance, and the detailed programme, swadeshi, boycott of British goods, defiance of salt laws, no-tax campaign etc., that has been in operation. I have nothing to add to his treatment of the subject which appears to me to be fair and well-balanced. I wish that his articles will be brought out soon in volume form and translated into every vernacular in the country.

The insurgence of nationalism on this scale and degree is a historical surprise. It may either be a temporary ebullition which will soon subside or the beginning of a new evolution. If the youth of the country rally strongly it will be the beginning of a new evolution. If they fail in their duty it will become a memorable episode. Is it to be an episode or a history? It is for you to answer.

By far the greatest surprise is the steadfast adherence in such a large movement spread over nearly a year to truth and non-violence, the bedrock of Gandhian *karma yoga*. Nothing akin to this has been known to human history. It is through this that we have been able to conquer the hearts of the very Britishers to whose

who thought it suicidal to let slip the benefits of the new reforms. It was, however, thought inexpedient to impair the authority of the Congress, and Congressmen like M. Patel in Bombay, Mr. Das in Bengal, Pundit Motilal Nehru in U. P., Messrs. Madhava Rao and Vijayaraghavachari in Madras—though they had opposed the Resolution in the Congress—decided to abide by it, and withdrew their candidature from the forthcoming elections. Many leading Congressmen resigned their honorary offices and relinquished their titles. While several office-bearers in the Provincial Congress Committees who were opposed to the Resolution, resigned their offices so as to leave the Congress organisations free to work out Mr. Gandhi's programme.

If Mr. Gandhi's influence was so decisive at the Special Congress as to set at naught the opinions of Congressmen like C. R. Das and Bipin Chandra Pal, his authority was supreme at the Nagpur Session in December. Nagpur, in fact, witnessed the turning point in the history of the Congress, as in that year Mr. Gandhi, with an overwhelming majority, completely captured this institution and converted its leading spirits to his creed. Here it was that the old creed of the Congress was discarded for the new one of indifference to British overlordship.

With the change of creed and the wholesale adoption of the programme of Non-Co-operation the old Congress was virtually dead. The new Congress was inspired by a new hope and sustained by new methods altogether alien to the faith of men like Dadabhai and Gokhale who had guided it in its years of infancy and adolescence.

Mr. Gandhi was not slow to use his great authority over the Congress to further the movement of which he was the directing head. At his command were all the Congress and Khilafat organisations, and he set out on an

present system of government we are opposed and of America, Europe and other neutral spectators. Religions might have preached salvation through suffering. But it was left to Gandhi and India to illustrate it on a scale transcending historical anticipations. The basis of this philosophy is trust in the essential goodness of human nature. We believe that through such suffering the most obdurate hearts will be melted and converted. "Enmity," says the Mahabharatha, "is not killed by enmity." True that Mr. George Bernard Shaw has dismissed it with the vitriolic remark that the non-resistance of the cow has not converted the tiger to vegetarianism. But then are men, even Britishers if you please, no better than tigers? What a sublime application Gandhism is of that spiritual truth that in weakness is our strength. The meek shall inherit the kingdom of Heaven and also the earth into the bargain. Defeat is no disgrace. The real disgrace is cowardice. The warrior dies fighting and he is honoured by all decent minded people, and if in the same way we must perish without resisting and without harbouring hatred and violence in our hearts, our martyrdom will be a crown of glory and no disgrace.

This new spirit has produced a dynamic leaven in our character, obliterating old landmarks. The indomitable Pathan of the Frontier, supposed to be fiery and violent by nature, practices non-violence as required by the Mahatma. The unlettered peasantry of Guzerat, including their women, supposed to be mild, meek and soft, display a capacity for organised passive resistance and fortitude under suffering, which has pierced the soul of American, French, and English observers. Mr. H. N. Brailsford however doubts if we can develop active courage. Is not active courage

easier of production than passive? After the mutations witnessed can any one say definitely that is beyond possibility? Incapacity to organise has been another venerable charge against us. Has not the Congress disproved this? Think of the large number of enterprises it has organised from the Lathi Hospitals to No-tax Campaigns. It has at any rate shown that the Indian soil has not grown quite exhausted and barren. Labour, too, to-day is not quite so quiescent or incapable as before. When it moves, it is likely to develop a tremendous momentum.

The reaction of Government is a convincing testimony to the strength and solidarity of the present movement. The repression now taking place beats anything seen 10 years ago. Even Moderate leaders have declared that the measures adopted by the Executive are not always in accordance with the principles of Law and Order which they profess to maintain. Mr. Brailsford has given harrowing instances of administrative and police excesses. One of the latest and most revolting is the treatment alleged by witnesses of integrity to have been inflicted by the police on women at Borsad. The Commissioners appointed by Government to inquire into the settlement grievances in Bardoli noted with admiration the perfect veracity of the witnesses examined. There is no reason to hold that in the present case people have been less truthful. And yet Government hesitates to institute an impartial enquiry though even the "Times of India" demands it. Even the sanctity of Universities has not been respected. We are anxious that the fight should be non-violent and chivalrous on both sides and surely here at least complete co-operation between Congress and Government should be possible. In the same spirit I would condemn all

acts of violence on our part unreservedly, whatever the motive and purpose of such violence. Government, I am told, are arranging to give jaghirs to the Loyalists in some provinces. In Madras, I gather, they have given cash, which is better. And so they have recoiled to mediæval methods of rewarding the faithful. How long will this bounty-fed loyalism last? They confiscate the lands and houses of the Congress adherents and they give doles to organisers of co-operation. I wonder if the motto of these people is that famous line of Omar Khayyam: "Oh take the cash and let the credit go." In Madras Government officials are engaged in Anti-Congress propaganda, not the Ministers so much, mind you, and their followers, but permanent officials, who should have nothing to do with politics. One of our District Educational Officers is so impressed by the effects of the education now given that he has made our unfitness for Swaraj the burden of his lectures, while Government have declared for Dominion Status and Central responsibility. It is a strange scheme of things altogether and let us pray that it won't become stranger still.

I hope I have not led you to believe that the movement had spread sufficiently for us to relax our efforts. Not at all. Such an impression will be false and misleading. India is too vast a country and too full of internal complexities and problems to be refashioned into an integral whole so soon and with this amount of effort. This is only a good beginning perhaps and as I have said above I cannot be sure that it will be persisted through to the end. Why, it has not melted the hearts of many thousands of our own countrymen and educated ones at that. Sometime ago a member of the Justice Party asked me whether these sufferings would

not melt the hearts of the Britishers. I asked him to let me know how far they had melted his and that was the end of our conversation. There are communalists amongst us to whom selfish and sectional interests are the main object and the country only a means to that end. The sufferings of one province are often received coldly by the people of another as though they happened in Siberia or Lapland. There is still much scope for the expansion of our national spirit and its uniform penetration into all our provinces and peoples. In this process it is the Gandhian spirit and action that is the most potent factor. In fact none other appears to exist. Can the programme and mentality of the Moderates achieve this end, or even start the process? Or the communalists, or the localists who are concerned only with small reforms in their own province or those who think that the capture of official positions is tantamount to the acquisition of popular rights and Swaraj, that Indianisation of services and the appointment of Indian Ministers is enough popularisation of Government and Dominion Status? Have not some members even of the Congress and the Swarajist parties deserted the movement the moment it took an active turn and have since become the defenders of policies that they erstwhile denounced? Why blame the Police for the lathi charges which they make under orders? Most of them are poor and ill-educated. Are they any worse than many of those, possessing cash and culture, who yet have no mind or hearts for the cause of the country? After all a people cannot be held down against their united will and therefore it must be presumed that we are worse enemies of ourselves than the Britishers, whose attitude is at all events natural and from their point of view honour-

able and patriotic. Indeed it seems to me that more hearts have to be melted at home than abroad.

Here then therefore is a call not for despair but for greater exertion. In most cases cowardice and despair are corollaries of selfishness. The altruistic do not easily give up hope. Did anything look more like a gambler's throw than the Mahatma's historical march to Dandi? The country did not appear to be prepared to follow him. I suppose there were divided counsels in his own camp. And yet he threw calculation to the winds and boldly went forward. I think I can understand the psychology of that sublime soul. He probably said to himself: "What does it matter whether the people follow me or hang back. As I do not live for myself, my death will not be mine but the death of the people whom I serve. My losses are no personal losses. My gains are no personal gains." Thus does moral genius transcend, paradoxical as it may sound, the limitations of personality in fulfilling itself.

It would be a mistake to think that the Gandhian movement is limited to politics and that it will have no valid reason to exist when once Swaraj or dominion status is attained. I think it is primarily a moral movement, a movement of inner purification and nation-building from within. So long as there are racial, communal and economical problems and social evils of such type as exist in India, the Gandhian movement will have to be continued. Doubtless its aspects may change. It may take new forms. But the spirit and method will have to be there if we are to live and thrive as an efficient nation. Was it not he who started the Vykam Satyagraha against untouchability? Therefore there can be no peace for Gandhi unless there is peace and prosperity within the country.

What then should be the contribution of students to this movement? The first question is: Are you convinced that you should make a contribution? I have dealt with this question in my address to University Students at Allahabad in considerable detail and I will therefore here just summarise. The precept of exclusive concentration on your studies is fundamentally wrong and if you remain for four long years thinking and feeling but never acting you will only qualify yourselves for a first-class degree in hypocrisy, a commodity already sufficiently plentiful in the country. Thoughts and emotions without outward manifestation in activity will corrode your souls. Brilliant intellects like post-graduate students or research workers should certainly confine themselves to their studies. For, in their case there is a chance of their contributing something to the stock of human knowledge which will redound to the credit of our motherland. As regards ordinary graduates I need not tell you in Bengal that unemployment will be their chief occupation. The livelihood value of our university education is generally speaking small. Lord Burnham has described our university education as clerkship education and yet I suppose if the Congress called upon you to forsake your books he will throw up his hands in holy horror as though clerkship is higher than citizenship. I hope that there are none here who feel that politics is beneath them. That would no doubt be the superior attitude of very inferior minds. Granting then that in addition to studies and discussions of political matters you have to contribute something by way of activity and organised activity at that, may I venture to suggest the following programme? I know students find fault, with their elders for not doing enough for the country. It is better you shame them by example.

If any of you feel convinced that you should suspend your studies in order to take part in the national movement, I certainly would regard it as a decision embodying a noble spirit. It would not be as big a sacrifice as that made by the peasants of Borsad and Bardoli or the glorious women of India. They have given up lands crops, homes and have even migrated. They are tasting the bitterness of Police Raj. And as regards our women they have had to leave behind husband and children and overcome their most holy instincts and affections. They are conquering their old habits in order to conquer new freedom for the country. And many of them belong to the first families in the country, high in rank and riches. No sacrifice that you can make or I can make or anybody else can make could equal that of the peasants and the women. And indeed why talk of sacrifice even? Sacrifice and duty do not taste as sweet as the grand Greek expression "Virtue". Facing danger is no sacrifice to the courageous. It is their nature to face it. Patriotism is not sacrifice if we are at all men and women. If you have the virtue in you, the right spirit, you will be spontaneously bounding forward to the call of the country. Such a spirit of adventure if it is illustrated by a large number of our students, I would regard as a convincing sign of racial vitality. I do not think people have much to loose in the way of culture by a life of spirited adventure. And as regards character; no University can build it so well as that. Why, Mahatma Gandhi has done more to increase our will power and elevate our character than all the Universities in India put together. Which would be the greater calamity—closing the universities for a time for lack of students or closing down the national movement for want of recruits? Answer for yourselves.

But there may be those who may not feel so intensively as all that but who yet, rather than be drones, would like to do something. For such there is ample work to be done in term time and still greater work during vacations. In term time you can engage in organised social service in the metropolis, such as night schools, workmen's clubs, temperance propaganda and extension lectures in the different wards of the city. The organization must be done by outside persons or parties and I include your own professors among such persons. Suppose as in Bombay the Congress starts workmen's clubs with a view to get into touch with labour and to promote temperance and swadeshi amongst them. Students may volunteer to work in batches of 3 or 4 at each club, working for about a fortnight each term and hold simple classes to them and lecture on subjects of general interest and more especially Indian History and the history of modern nations. Lantern lectures on biology, hygiene etc., will be of great use. Oxford and Cambridge have organised students' settlements for social work in the East End of London. It would be best if the University or the Colleges undertook this organization in Calcutta. Failing which, the only alternative is the Congress, the only party interested in the welfare and uplift of the masses by direct work amongst them.

You all enjoy long vacations of nearly three months and a shorter one of one month. Many of you come from mofussil villages. If you could be organized into a vast rural education league, you would become a most effective army of enlightenment. You need not devote the whole of your vacation any more than you need the whole of your term time. It is enough if you devote one half of each vacation for visiting

villages in batches of 3 or 4 and giving them evening lectures on general cultural subjects or welfare subjects like hygiene and temperance. You may take up the villages nearest to your own homes for this work and if you go in batches of 3 or 4, time won't hang heavy on you and you can also learn a great deal of the actual conditions under which our rural folk live. This work again must be organized by some outside body though you should form the staff working the scheme. If the University or different colleges can do it, well and good. Other-wise the Congress must take it up. For, that is the only organization in the country capable and willing to undertake such a task. This is only an illustration, not an exhaustive programme. As early as 1924 Mr. M. K. Rangachary of the Madras Tutorial College published my detailed scheme on the subject. But I am sorry to say that it continues to be only a paper programme. Under present circumstances both classes of work will be viewed with suspicion and hostility by Government and their agents. It is but natural that they should view with disfavour whatever tends to organize the country and build up its strength from within. If the Indian lamb refuses to be sheared and bleats aloud under the process, it may be charged with sedition. But then, if we must live, we must go through these ordeals undaunted. Even the policemen may follow you to the villages you visit. But this must be looked upon as the shadow cast by the rising Sun of nationalism. When he reaches the zenith the shadows will dwindle. It is only when he is young and feeble that the shadows are longest. And when the new political adjustment between England and India becomes a fact, Government as well as the people will appreciate your services.

Swadeshi should be your universal creed. The boycott of foreign goods is the negative aspect of that positive creed. They are like the two blades of a pair of scissors. But in so far as boycott is not intended as an economic but as a political weapon, that will have to be withdrawn as soon as the political exchanges between England and India are put on a satisfactory basis. What I mean is that where there is competition of foreign goods to the detriment of Indian enterprise, the boycott will have to be kept up until Indian industries are sufficiently well developed or adequate protection is given. But if there is no such competition and India cannot manufacture the British goods imported, then their boycott might be undertaken only as part of our political programme and should not be continued longer than necessary for that purpose. Those of you who are sons and daughters of merchants should picket your fathers and prevent them from dealing in foreign goods. There is no ordinance issued yet against family picketing, which in its very nature is bound to be peaceful. I need not recount to you the various articles in respect of which swadeshi and boycott should be observed. Calcutta papers have published long lists of them. And from one of the speeches of Sir P. C. Ray I understand that young Bengal unable to give up smoking has confined itself to swadeshi *beedis* and cigarettes. I would further advise you to avoid all unnecessary expenditure. Write on Post Cards in preference to covers and similarly reduce your personal needs to a healthy minimum. For those who wish to serve their country must not become slaves of luxury. If progress could always be had on terms of ease and comfort, everybody would be a progressive. It is not every one that can rise like Motilal Nehru above the influence

extensive tour of the country preaching the new cult with the fervour of a prophet. Everywhere he was received with ovation.

As he went from place to place accompanied by the Ali Brothers, the movement became popular among the ignorant as well as the literate. His fourfold programme of boycotting schools, cloths, councils and Government service was the theme of multitudinous discourses. But the most painful result (at any rate to those who were not of his persuasion) was the calling away of youths from schools and colleges. Many a lad, led away by the glamour of the great ideal and the irresistible appeal of a saintly leader, gave up his school education—the only education available in the country.

One peculiarity of the programme was that emphasis was laid on each item as the occasion demanded. At one time it was the boycott of schools, again it was the collection of a crore of rupees for the Swarajya Fund, a third time it was the burning of mill cloths, and yet again it was the boycott of the Duke or the good Prince. Each was in turn to bring Swarajya within the year. Thus in February the agitation centred on the boycott of the Duke of Connaught to whom Mr. Gandhi addressed a dignified if uncompromising letter.

By May the spirit of lawlessness had spread far and wide, and strikes and *hartals* became the order of the day. Mr. Gandhi, however, resolutely discountenanced all violence and he was seldom sparing in his admonition of those who took part in the incident at Malegaon and other places. Again and again, he spoke strongly against the spirit of non-violence which for a time broke out as often as he decried it in all earnestness.

of his surroundings and therefore we had better reform the environment itself as an easier way of reforming ourselves. Communal unity and the elimination of untouchability and other social evils ought to enlist your service. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and all other races and creeds must come together, not by trafficking away the integrity of the nation, a suicidal policy, but by realising that justice and citizenship in a free country is a good which is far superior to the minor interests over which they squabble.

In its fundamentals this is more a moral struggle than political. Qualities which are considered meritorious on the other side of Suez, such as patriotism, are regarded here as hazardous, unnatural adventures. Actions and words which are not sedition elsewhere are sedition in India. The ethics of the European in India belongs to the order of the Superman, ours has to be at the level of the slave. Public position and personal worth cannot generally go together. This is the dead of our political night and it is but natural that the rats should get into the granaries. The best and the bravest are in jails. Movements and measures which Governments in Europe would gladly promote are frowned upon here. Morality has become a function of latitude and longitude, a geographical proposition. The great Gandhian objective is to evolve a moral cosmos out of this chaos, both internally and in our external relations. That is why it has taken a religious tinge and has powerfully appealed to the sincere devotees of all the great religions of the world. Doubtless he wants Swaraj—but not perhaps as an end in itself but as a step in the larger and better integration of the Empire and the world. He, like One greater than he before him, bears the cross of suffering and sorrow in order to

establish a new Heaven on Earth. Will his mission succeed? If it fails, so much the worse for India and Humanity.

Students of Bengal: You will be told that yours is the age of preparation and not action. What is this preparation? Does it not include the formation of habits, including habits of patriotic citizenship? And can you form habits without action and conduct? And who can guide you to noble action so well as the great men of action? Is it the highest wisdom to place yourself in the safe-keeping—safe it is for certain—of writers of ancient history to the exclusion of makers of modern? Remember the Kantian doctrine of morality, *viz.*, that we should universalise the principle of our conduct. If you exempt yourself from the rule of duty, you must allow every body else to do likewise and there won't be any to do the duty. Do you admire a certain line of conduct in others? Is it proper to be content with idle admiration? Should you not try to follow where you admire? It is easy to have an insatiable relish for other people's sacrifices; not so easy to have the appetite to sacrifice one's self. As Mrs. Annie Besant has said in her noble autobiography: "Between, this is the duty of all and therefore let others do it and this is the duty of all and therefore I must perform it, there are whole ages of moral evolution." It is mean to try and flourish on other people's sacrifices. Parasitism and patriotism are hardly identical qualities. You are living in times pregnant with the fate of our Motherland. If success crowns our efforts and Dominion Status is really achieved, the gain will be yours and not of the elder generations setting in the west. Wordsworth thus hailed the French Revolution:—

Bliss was it in that age to live

But to be young was very heaven.

He meant of course young and active and not young and vegetative.

Our Universities will be judged by two tests by the contribution they make to art, science and applied sciences and by the stalwart manly citizenship possessed with enthusiasm and perseverance they produce. I trust that the students of Bengal will satisfy these tests and be the imperishable glory of the province and India.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

MR. C. R. REDDY'S ADVICE

*Address at U. P. Conference held at Allahabad
17th January 1931.*

Friends,—It is the custom of Hindus to begin every function with the worship of Ganesha, who can remove all obstacles except those preventing his own marriage. Now the Ganeshas of these conferences who overcome the obstacles and organize them, are the Executive Committee. Let me then begin by saluting the Committee who have organized this Conference and incidentally did me the honour to invite me to preside. Under ordinary circumstances I should have thankfully accepted the invitation but my poor health and the cold of Northern India have frightened me away from this long journey.

The misfortune is mine. I should have liked to be with you and refreshed my spirit in the clear waters of

youth and replenished my soul, wearied and cheerless, in the virile atmosphere of the United Provinces. Also it would have been my duty and privilege to have paid my homage at Ananda Bhavan, which next to Sabar-mati is the most holy shrine of Indian Nationalism. I wonder why any address from any quarter is necessary to you who have the immortal Nehrus in your midst. They were my hosts last year and where are they today? Their example is inspiration enough to every Indian who is not already dead to the nobler impulses of life and dictates of duty.

I feel also that a journey to North India cannot be an unmixed pleasure to me. Most of my political friends, women as well as men, are behind prison bars. No doubt they are happy, happy in the thought of being true to their conscience and country. But we, how can we be happy or contented at the contemplation of the great misery surrounding us, especially of wives, mothers and sisters heroically suffering imprisonment at what tragic cost of personal feeling and domestic sorrow imagination reels at picturing. India is bravely working out her Karma and may the end be near and auspicious.

But it is some consolation to me that my professorial friends are intact. Theirs is the realm of thought—the starry heavens above and the moral law within, and no action without. They prepare the youth for the battle of life by precept, while the others do so only by example.

This address from Chittoor to Allahabad is a long-distance shot. I am not a very good marksman and if it goes wide of the target, you will please pardon my inability. Moreover, an address to students is no easy task. For students are a very critical lot—critical of others. So I must reciprocate the virtue and give them

a bit of my mind. And yet not being a dogmatist I can only present issues to be judged and acted upon by you and not lay down doctrines.

Avoid the habit of saying that all others are in the wrong, unless you are prepared to be in the right here and now. To decry others for their shortcomings is a good thing, to set the right example is a trifle better if less convenient. Idle criticism corrodes the soul that makes it. Action is the only salvation of life.

It is usual to preach discipline to students. Others need it no less. The purpose of discipline is to increase our efficiency as individuals and society and not to produce stultification. A discipline which infringes this object is only terrorism in another form. When Gokhale and Lajpat Rai visited England in 1905 on behalf of the Congress to plead the cause of the country, I, who was then an under-graduate in Cambridge, was requested by them and Sir William Wedderburn to help them on the platform, which I did. As I was a Government of India scholar, objection was taken by Sir Curzon Wyllie, a very good friend of mine, to my participation in politics. I argued that a scholarship was not a salary, that it was given to help me to develop my own personality, and that a scholar was not a salaried civil servant. The matter was not pursued any further but I believe the scholarship rules were changed thereafter.

Make no mistake about it. Book education is not the panacea for all the ills that our flesh is heir to. You can have ideas without character and no^u infrequently you can have character without clearly defined ideas. There are some who can define courage without being courageous and there are also people who are innately courageous without being able to write a learned dis-

sertation on courage. Similarly with patriotism. Every patriot is not a political philosopher and every political philosopher is not a patriot—necessarily I mean.

Spirit is of infinitely greater consequence than intellect. I can't define it, not being sufficiently intellectual. We can see it in its operation. The English were a most spirited and determined race of patriots long before the Compulsory Elementary Education Act of 1870. It is a life force springing from unfathomable depths and spreading more by example and imitation than precept and dry doctrine. Are the Bardoli peasants more spirited than you? Are the Deshi Sevakas more spirited than you? I don't know. You must draw the comparison, or is it the contrast, yourselves.

Is there then any ground, other than thoughtless, fruitless vanity, for graduates and 'Varsity men to consider themselves as such superior to their neighbours? Intellectual vanity is less excusable than the vanity of physical beauty. The latter is a perceptible good; the former, more often than not, an insidious evil. Consider the response made to the vital forces now operating in the country by the different categories of people. If gradations of superiority and inferiority are to be based on this, what would be the position of most of us? I would shudder to look at myself in the mirror after your critical hands have done my grading or rather degrading.

The question whether students should take part in politics is a burning question, burning like foreign cloth, and every term of this question has to be investigated.

The theory of the S. S. L. C. is that it is a preparation for life as well as the 'Varsity. Therefore all post-S. S. L. C. men could without doing violence to our educational presumption take part in politics, which is

a part of life. No body objects to the students going out into life taking such part. The problem is thus narrowed down to the case of students in the 'Varsities. Ought students while remaining students to take part in politics? That is the question.

Is not "Not-taking part in politics" a species of politics? Solon in his wisdom decreed punishment for people who did not take one side or the other in a crisis, for he held that remaining neutral was a dereliction of citizen duty. It is a weighty observation of George Elliot that only two subjects can engage the whole personality of man, *viz.*, Theology which deals with the relation of the individual soul to the unseen powers above and politics which deals with the relations of man to man and to society in general. They are both an atmosphere, all-enveloping, which we cannot avoid without spiritual or moral suffocation. Education is undoubtedly concerned with the development of the individual; but is there such a thing as an individual apart from society? Man reaches himself soonest through society and indeed can be reached only thus. Aristotle defined man as a political animal. Are not students men? Both Plato and Aristotle wrote their monumental treatises on Education as chapters of their Politics, giving it its due place of subordination. If it is said that students should confine themselves to studies, should not the same principle of exclusive concentration be applied to lawyers, merchants and all other varieties? Then should husbandmen do nothing but keep on husbanding? Who then are left to do the work of the country? Is it suggested that a race of professional politicians should be created? They are coming into existence even without anybody's suggestion and God save us and the country from them.

Citizenship is the common duty of all because it involves the common destiny of all. Every large question discharges itself sooner or later into politics. Industry, commerce, taxation, etc., are in no small measure the stuff of politics. Educational systems, the careers open to our graduates, general and technical, medical degrees and registration, autonomy of Universities—are these in no way affected or conditioned by politics? Lord Burnham says that ours is clerkship's education. Has politics nothing to do with the type thus installed?

Then they say that students could take part in politics but it must not be an active part. It should only be a contemplative part. Be you philosophers for four long years and then you can be men if possible. You may study politics to your heart's content or, rather head's repletion. You may think politics; so long as you don't act, nobody will object to thinking as you please. I must say this amount of toleration has always persisted in this otherwise horrible world and we must be thankful that patriotism has not been declared an illegal emotion.

But let me ask. Education, it is conceded, must develop character. Is it possible to have character without conduct? Is conduct to be postponed till after education is completed? And when is education brought to a dead stop? I should think at death only if we are a live people. Is our thought in no way conditioned by our conduct, the trials and experiences we undergo? How are wisdom and correct judgment possible without action and reaction between self and environment? Abstract yourself from life for 4 years—refuse to respond to the sights and calls around you for four years. What would be your capacity for right spirit and conduct

after such a regime of self-suppression? If the better impulses and ideas are not allowed to flow into action of some sort won't you become a sink of hypocrisy? Even a balanced mind can't ensue from this system of training.

What then should be the form of activity? Nobody rules out study and thought: and in this field addresses by experienced administrators on their particular departments and by politicians of differing schools of thought, Moderates, Extremists, Loyalists, Nationalists, Communalists, etc., will be of special value. They are a part of the realistic study of politics which will act as a corrective of vague theories and impossible doctrines. I must say that the average Indian student lacks grasp of realities, experience and balanced judgment. You must therefore be put into touch with men of affairs and affairs as well.

On the practical side the Universities themselves should organize social and rural reconstruction work. Social work is a recognised course in some of the Universities in England. Oxford and Cambridge maintain missions in the East End of London. Bristol has a two-year social Testamur course—theoretical and practical. Monastic abstraction into books tend to produce extreme mentalities—deadening hypocrisy or an explosive temperament.

Rural work, I understand, has been organized in one or two Universities in India. You have a long vacation of three months. If you could be organized in batches of 3 or 4 and sent out to the villages nearest your native homes to hold evening classes for a month or a fortnight at each centre on cultural subjects like General History of Modern Nations. Social problems, Civics, Indian History and Administration etc., and welfare subjects

like Hygiene, you will have done a good deal to awaken the masses to some knowledge of the world as it is to-day and also gained valuable experience of the real conditions in our own country—our problems and the extent to which remedies on a voluntary basis are possible. You will have trained yourselves in habits of organised work. In the big cities, you can by turns run workmen's clubs—such as have been recently opened in Bombay and build up contacts with factories and labour organizations. Temperance work calls for vigorous propaganda. I have been advocating this kind of work since 1924. But while many applaud, few have taken up. Reading and arm-chair thinking are so much easier than conduct. Just think or rather imagine, 4,000 college students attacking roughly 1,000 villages or centres accessible to 2 or 3 villages for a month each year and for 4 years—what an army of enlightenment you would become. And how illumined you would be yourselves.

The illustrious Professor Alfred Marshall one of the truest English friends of India—once remarked to me that he was puzzled and pained by the mentality exhibited by Indian students in Cambridge. Whereas the Chinese and Japanese boys were habitually eager to go and work for the uplift of their countries, Indian students were only after official careers and often went to him for recommendations. He said it in pity and no malice. The China of to-day, with its distinct prospect of nationhood, is to a large extent the work of Chinese students, who went out enthusiastically into the villages and carried on propaganda.

The nation is the centre round which the life of the advanced races revolves. Is it so sufficiently amongst us ?

The activities I have hinted at above enjoy two merits.

INTERVIEW WITH THE NEW VICEROY

It was about this time too that Lord Chelmsford retired and his place was taken by Lord Reading, who came to India with a great reputation as jurist and diplomat. An ex-Lord Chief Justice of England and sometime British Ambassador at Washington during the fateful years of the War—the new Viceroy inspired great hopes. His reputation for justice, strengthened by his repeated assurances, and his reputation for tactful dealing of delicate questions were just the things of momentous need for India. No wonder, an air of hope and expectancy hung over the whole country.

Soon after Lord Reading arrived in India, an interview was arranged by Pundit Malaviya between the new Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. This interview, which lasted many hours, took place at Simla in May 1921. Much speculation was rife as to its result and Mr. Gandhi explained the circumstances and the results of his talk in an article in *Young India* under the title "The Simla Visit". What was the upshot of the visit? The leader of the Non-Cooperation movement and the head of the Government of India got to know each other. It was a great thing.

But the immediate result of this was the statement issued by the Ali Brothers—a statement in which they regretted their occasional lapse into excessive language and promised to refrain from writing or speaking in any manner likely to provoke violence. This "definite result of the interview" was claimed as a victory for the Government. Others claimed that it was a victory for Mr. Gandhi who explained that it was no apology or undertaking to the Government, but a re-assertion of the principle of non-violence to which the Ali Brothers had subscribed. It was a statement to the public irrespective of what the Govern-

Firstly, they don't interfere with your studies. If anything this change of occupation during vacations will act as a tonic on you. Secondly, you don't incur risk of disfavour with Government or the university authorities. In fact universities should organise this work, otherwise it can't be done efficiently or on a large enough scale

Students should take part in elections. It is to be hoped that they will introduce an element of idealism into our contests. In America the university students are a big factor in deciding the fate of candidates. As Secretary of Cambridge University Liberal Club I helped to organize over a hundred meetings in the General Elections of 1905.

I presume that few will question the right and propriety of students taking active part in civic life and politics in the above and similar ways. But sometimes a more heroic call is made on students not consistent with their personal safety or pursuit of studies. They are asked to quit colleges and undertake picketing of liquor shops, enforce boycott of British goods and in other ways play their part as energetic missionaries in the national upheaval. During the Non-Co-operation movement of 1921 quite a number of students suspended their studies and at the present time too colleges have been in some places picketed with success.

This policy is vigorously denounced by Government, the University authorities and a number of Indian leaders, who regard it as sacrilege to ask students to give up their studies.

I shall try to present the pros and cons of this interesting controversy, because in some respects it affords a clear index of the divergent minds in the country and their code of values.

It is admitted that during the Great War Universities in England and Europe were emptied of their students in order to get recruits for the fighting forces. The sanctity of books was subordinated to the life of the nation. The Universities of the West did not sit idle through their civil wars either. They would not be kept off the field of battle. Has this been regarded as a sin and slur on their fair name? Did it retard the intellectual progress of Europe or did it act as a spur for discovery and invention and even the progress of literature and fine arts? True such desertion of studies could only be a rare exception to the rule to be justified only on the ground of a big national crisis. The question then is 'Is the crisis through which India is now passing such a big crisis as to justify students forsaking their classes and plunging into the movement'. It is for each one amongst you to answer with hand on heart. If you think it is not a big enough crisis, take the world into your confidence and say in what particulars it should be improved in order to deserve your patronage.

Will it argue a bad or weak moral character if you do non-co-operate? Is there anything immoral in the methods or aims of the national movement? Who is the nobler of the two—the student who is blind and deaf to the sights and cries around him or he who, impulsively if you like, rushes to show sympathy with his suffering brothers? Which is the better principle of action, blood is thicker than water or examinations are thicker than blood?

Consider whether the growth into strong sincere manhood will be promoted by years of cold callous calculating indifference to the call of the country—the most penetrating so far heard in India. But is it asked, could we disobey our teachers? What: Are Gandhi and

Motilal Nehru not teachers, teachers of life which is a bit better than books? Are they less interested in the welfare and progress of young India than professors and lecturers, less wise, less patriotic? Is association with them moral depravity qualifying you for a long sojourn in Borstal settlements, while obedience to Chancellors is sanity and saintliness?

But it may be objected we honestly differ from this movement and its mandates and consider them wrong. Certainly this alters the case. If you honestly think it is all wrong, resist it to the best of your ability and opportunity. Don't act except under irresistible conviction.

If on the other hand you hold it to be a noble endeavour and admire the men and women bravely bearing the burden of the fight and undergoing sufferings unflinchingly, then it were cowardice to remain without demonstrating your sympathy and support by some section however mild or moderate but unmistakable.

I would add two cautions. You are not self-supporting. Your idealism rests on parental finance. You must therefore act with the consent of your parents, unless you are convinced that it is your duty to cut adrift if need be. Many a young English lad has taken to the sea in a spirit of adventure. If young men here similarly take to a life of adventure it is a sign of racial vitality which nobody need mourn.

Secondly, if any organization calls you out, it should find you work and in some cases maintenance during your employment in national work. Will not such a life make real men of you, alert, strong, self-reliant and able to look danger in the face without wincing? Talk of character building—will not that build your character better than the class room and notes taking? Who has

built the character of our women and made them the sublime heroines that so many of them are to-day? Mahatma Gandhi or the Universities? And within what time too? The Mahatma has achieved more in one year than all the Universities in India put together in all their lifetime from their foundation to this hour. The glorious Deshi Sevakas did not calculate. So they have secured immortality for themselves and may secure salvation for the motherland. You calculate—don't you? And where are you? The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, a demon of Moderatism, declared not long ago in England that he was very proud of the part played by the women of our country. Which women? And what part? And who was their inspiration and guide?

Let us estimate the material loss accruing from suspending studies. What is the loss in terms of livelihood? You know that unemployment will be one of the pleasures of your post-graduate life. In Madras some 200 B.A.'s apply for a single vacancy of Rs. 50 or 60. The hope of one meagre bone collects a congregation of 200 piteous souls wagging their tails—if souls have tails. So what is the livelihood value of your education which you have to forego? I mean in the case of ordinary graduates.

Now what is the cultural loss to be apprehended? Our University education has a high cultural value though it is inferior in this respect to European Universities. But can it be said that fellowship in a noble struggle and the experience it brings have no bearing on richness of life and mind. A large number of young men in England go straight from school to the Military and Naval Academies—men of high social rank and influential connections. Any one who knows a British officer knows that he is in every sense of the term a gentleman

and man of culture. Many of the best British administrators in India have hailed from military ranks. In sympathy, generosity, knowledge of human nature, wide outlook and straight dealing, soldiers are not behind-hand graduate civilians. Loss of book lore may be compensated for by the lore supplied by the book of life.

And as regards character, few people would rank the educational factor above the large factor of social, political and business life.

I take it that here as elsewhere there will be special cases. Should a brilliant researcher opening up new fields of knowledge or adding, be it in modest measure, to our store of knowledge, exchange the laboratory or library for picketing a liquor shop? Would it result in the best possible distribution of our national energies? You may be a Raman in the making and Raman (and shall I add while here Saha) is a builder of India though not in the sense in which the Gandhis, Nehrus, Ansaries and Azads are. He increases the amount of international respect felt for India. Just as self-respect is a function of the respect felt by others for you, similarly national self-respect is in some measure a result of international respect. Moral factors are of the essence of nationalism and he who contributes them whether poet, philosopher or scientist is in very truth a nation-builder, the maker of our racial personality. Highly-specialised talent would do well to remain and work in its own sphere.

So if you are all Ramans and Sahas in various stages of development, please don't give up your studies, I beseech you, but stick to your desks for my sake and the sake of the country. In fact you should not have attended this Conference.

I hope that in discussing this subject—a difficult and

delicate one—I have succeeded in analysing it into its significant factors, reducing it to its proper proportions and placing it in its due perspective in the scheme of life for which youth must prepare itself.

The most robust amongst us can't escape fits of pessimism as we survey the situation and this hinders effort. Is the national movement a deep-seated, permanent and growing reality or is it only a momentary flash and temporary hysteria? Can we persevere? Or will we succumb to exhaustion? If it is going to succeed, won't it succeed without our help? If it is going to fail, won't it fail even if we help? Then why not look on unconcernedly and attend to our private business or snap up the places that Congressmen vacate? It is a question of faith, honour and self-confidence. The bestial element in us operates with greater persistency than the divine. Do we therefore want to become naked brutes? The lightning flash lasts but a moment, while the castor oil lamp blinks away for hours; which do we prefer? Truth is less widespread than falsehood. Is falsehood the reality and truth a mirage? If success is guaranteed, you will say where is the need for effort? If it is not, you will turn round and say, what is the use of effort? After all have not things been better to-day than a few years ago and may they not be improved further? Some years ago nothing was stirring in India except the mosquito. To-day the masses even are astir. 1930 has revealed the glory that is India at her best. It is for us to capture the lightning and convert it into steady abiding illumination.

The other obstacle to moral conduct is what Dr. Gore the eminent English divine, called the sight of the solid, sordid world comfortably thriving on our sacrifice. Gandhi, Ansari, Abul Kalam Azad and Nehrus go to

jail; the others that toiled not to go to the Round Table Conference. The soldiers risk their lives, the stay-at-homes become Ministers and Executive Councillors. The lion sheds its blood in opening a way in the jungle, the jackal follows at a safe distance and laps up that blood with evident satisfaction and prides itself on its prudence. The foaming horses pull the chariot, the fly on the wheel congratulates itself on the dust raised and imagines that it controls the direction. These discrepancies are inevitable in the uneven career of progress. And if there are no soldiers willing to die and sacrifice themselves so that the others and future generations may prosper, the race will become decadent and none will be saved. The sight of the unworthy prospering is but an added element in the sacrifice undertaken and must not be allowed to damp our moral ardour.

Presiding at the All-India Students' Conference in Belgaum during the Congress sessions, I said India was not yet a nation. Though we are nearer nationhood now than five years ago, still we have not reached the culmination of our ambition. There are the communal squabbles not free from the reproach even of separatism as witnessed by Sir Mahomed Iqbal's speech. The united front presented to the Simon Commission broke up at sight of the Round Table and those who declared that only Congress could deliver the goods delivered themselves as the only goods at their disposal. The attraction of jobs has not visibly abated. Honour, the positive incentive for noble action, and shame, the negative feeling that makes us refrain from the ignoble, are not operating to the extent requisite. Grant all this and worse, and yet what is to be done? Shall we give up in despair? Or shall we in meekness of spirit and candour acknowledge the facts and work

with greater vigour though with diminishing hope to repair the damages and consolidate our people? Suppose we dismiss nationalism as impossible. How shall we save our character from lapsing into gross callous selfishness and cynicism? What are the possible regulative ideals of conduct? Religion, Humanity, Abstract Ethics and Nationalism—which of these is a force active, effective and in widest commonalty spread? Look at the world to-day and answer. We want a full-blooded, warm-blooded category for regulating our lives. So Nationalism, as I conceive it, is not merely a secular concern. It is a moral factor. If it is not a fact with us, it must be a hypothesis and we must act as though it was a fact. Robespierre declared that if God did not exist He must be invented. If Nationalism does not exist, it must be invented; otherwise one of the most effective agents of morality will be gone and we will rapidly slide down the slope of racial degeneration.

I have no practical programme to advance for you. You are such good thinkers and critics that you must be able to give one for India even if you don't adopt it for yourselves. Intercommunal consolidations should be promoted. The secular interests of India are the same for all communities and so are the moral. A nation is not the arithmetical sum of its component parts. It is an organic whole endowed with a general will. In a bicameral federal legislature the lower house should represent the general will of the country. The upper house should have real power as in America and should be so composed as not to give a majority to any one community over the combined strength of the rest and the same principle might be applied to the provinces. Swadeshi should be the universal economic creed of India. Hindus must set their own tattered house in

order by eliminating caste and untouchability. Under a democratic constitution many of these objectives will be promoted if we work in the spirit of service and not of selfish plunder and jobbery. A democratic constitution is a tremendous responsibility and not a comfortable possession and calls for a steady continuous subordination of selfish and sectional interests for the good of the whole.

One word of political faith—unpopular though it may sound—and I have done. I am a believer in the British Empire, which is a Commonwealth of nations except in relation to India. If India could attain the position of sister commonwealth, that would be far better than independence. Grant that the Empire as now functioning has been an evil to us. Still the point for consideration is, Can it not become a good? Has it not become a good in respect of Canada and other Dominions? There is a pregnant saying in the *Mahabharata* which strikes the keynote, "Look not too closely into the origin of Gods rivers and heroes." The origins are perhaps small and mean. But it is their present and future that determine the estimation in which they are to be held. Vast historical unities that bring together different races, creeds and cultures, and promote fecund intercourse, should not be broken up. If we are strong enough for independence we are *a fortiori* strong enough for Dominion Status which combines the advantages of separation and combination. From the point of view of universal humanity, our cry for Independence is another form of communalism. With India as a Dominion, the Empire will become an epoch-making stage in the federation of the world. If Sir Muhammad Iqbal's neighbouring Islamic nations desire to leaven this mass with their great culture, let them come into this federation and

enlarge its scope, variety and richness by their sublime contributions. We honour and respect the glorious Islamic culture, none more so than myself who have earned however undeservedly the reputation of having been the champion of Mysore Moslems and Malabar Moplas. But we must not leave the greater for the smaller or break up the known for the uncertain advantages of the unknown. Similarly in regard to the idea of a Pan-Asiatic Federation. Expansion of the existing British Federation or rather the Indo-British Federation that I hope will be brought into existence, is a more feasible prospect than destruction and reconstruction in untried directions. Nor need Dominion Status call forth less energy on our part than Independence. To be a moderate in ideal is not the same thing as being moderate in conscience, courage, or capacity for sacrifice. I am glad that the great Mahatma of India and the world has toned down Independence to the substance of Independence. Form is often more perplexing and vexatious than substance. If we can get the substance, we might reasonably ignore the form.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish this conference every success and hope it will result in some workable programme of action being adopted and pursued with your united energy and enthusiasm.

WOMEN AND NATIONAL LIFE

ADDRESS PREPARED FOR THE CONVOCATION OF
THE INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY,
POONA, 1930 MAY.

The Indian Women's University is a racy institution. It is Oriental in the best sense of the term. Its inspiration comes from the great Women's University in

ment might or might not do with them. In answer to criticisms against his advice to the Brothers, Mr. Gandhi stoutly defended his action, and praised the Brothers' attitude.

Indeed Mr. Gandhi's loyalty to his colleagues and particularly his affectionate and fraternal regard for the Brothers is beautiful and touching to a degree. And when in September 1921 the Brothers were prosecuted by the Bombay Government, Mr. Gandhi with fifty others issued a public manifesto that "it is the inherent right of every one to express his opinion without restraint about the propriety of citizens offering their services to, or remaining in the employ of, the Government whether in the civil or the military department". To think of those days and Mr. Shaikat Ali's later performances is a study in contrast. Who could have imagined that the "big brother" would lead the revolt against his erstwhile leader?

- THE BOMBAY RIOTS

Now to take up the thread of the story. Whatever the root-cause of the breaking out of violence and hooliganism, the landing of the Prince of Wales in Bombay on the 17th November was made the occasion of a ghastly tragedy. Mr. Gandhi had since the announcement of the Royal visit appealed to his countrymen to refrain from participating in the functions got up in honour of the Prince. Non-Co-operators all over the country had organised what are known as 'hartals', closing of shops and suspending all work, and boycotting the Prince. In Bombay such activities resulted in a great riot in which all parties suffered owing to the hooliganism of the mischievous elements in the mob who violated Mr. Gandhi's injunctions to be non-violent and brought about a terrible riot. Mr. Gandhi was then in Bombay and after witnessing the

Tokyo, the organisation of which served as the model. Karve, the educational Sanyasi, is its founder. It spreads knowledge through the natural medium of vernacular.

But its outlook is not orthodox and reactionary. The spirit is racial but the flow is towards the broadening human future. It is out to satisfy the demands of our Nationalism. It is preparing women workers for all the fields of their special needs and activities. Your graduates are playing an important part in developing women's education. They are serving as members of Local Boards and other public bodies. Citizenship, good, strong and resolute, is the ideal of this University. You, graduates and students, are fulfilling that ideal with conspicuous energy and devotion.

But let me tell you that citizenship has two aspects—the routine and the dynamic. Service in existing institutions is of the routine order. The endeavour to create bigger and grander institutions through which the soul of our country can express itself more fully and uninterruptedly is dynamic citizenship. The number of those, who make themselves comfortable in routine, is always large. Those who adventure forth to evolve better worlds and a more spacious life are generally far fewer in number. They are the disturbing factors of our quiet-going routine, the romantic knights who become either martyrs or heroes according as their efforts end in failure or lead to success.

Faith never accepts failure as final. Time is endless and the failure of to-day may yet become the triumph of to-morrow. Did not Jesus Christ say that the discarded pieces may become the corner stones of the Church? The caution and prudence that discourage movements rooted in lofty ideals on the score of weak-

ness and the impossibility of triumphing over the opposition are a form of cowardice.

We are meeting in a new era for Indian women and of Indian history. If anybody had ventured to think that Indian women would have been playing the heroic part that they are doing in the present national movement, he would have been regarded as a lunatic. Contrary to all historical induction and positive inference, Mahatma Gandhi has produced an explosion of the pent-up women-power of India, which is nothing short of a miracle. Genius can transcend history—this is the essence of the miracle-working power it possesses. The power of genius has often blasted historical inductions to pieces.

The men who adhere too closely to what they call facts—is there, I wonder, any fact which is not coloured and conditioned by interest?—thus miss reality. Reality is evolution, creation. What you call a fact is the dead tissue. Factual politicians will analyse all the difficulties of the Indian situation and conclude that little or no progress is possible. Fateful heroes of nations will look on existing defects as an evil dream which disappears at the break of the new dawn. Shall we say that the former are always right and the latter always wrong? Is stagnation eternal and progress a chimera? As a Professor of History, which I once was, I used to say that in Indian History there have been only battles and no wars until the rise of the Mahrattas and Sikhs, and I used to comment on the national psychology thus revealed, which is our lack of perseverance and the incapacity to outlive and overcome a defeat. To-day after the failure of the first Non-Co-operation movement, a similar one on a bigger scale is in full swing and the women of India are leading the struggle. Whether we agree with the

policies and methods of Mahatma Gandhi or not,—that is not relevant to this occasion—there can be no disagreeing on the fact that so far as national character is concerned, he has done more to strengthen and elevate it than all the Indian Universities put together. It is this ethical aspect that I am concerned with here as an educationist and the further truth charged with hope for human progress that Gandhi's genius jumps the bounds of historical anticipations and soars to higher heavens.

Take another of his achievements. Did anyone imagine the possibility of Mass movements in India on the scale now operating? We have always been told by careful students of our past, having no care for our future, that the rural folk were plunged in wakeless sleep, while the cities were undergoing political nightmares, and that democracy was impossible. I have only one remark to offer. If masses and women fight for a constitution in the manner they are now doing, they will know how to guardian it against possible oligarchies, foreign or indigenous. To this extent Gandhian public life is a vast improvement over the older days in which a few intellectuals supplied all the politics we possessed—the politics of argument as different from community organisation and action.

Dr. Robert-Bridges, the late Poet-Laureate of England, has expatiated in his writings on the divine right, possessed only by rational man, to break existing laws in order to re-organise life at a higher level. The moralist Gandhi would add that such reconstruction should never be attempted by methods of violence. Non-violent struggle for social and political emancipation is a new feature in history. I wonder if it will become a factor.

Law and order are not ends in themselves but means

to progress. As Jesus Christ declared "Law exists for Man, not Man for Law." Those who desire the people's support for law and order should make clear beyond possibility of doubt the nature and extent of the progress to which it is their intention to advance.

Struggle in some shape or other is an inevitable incident of progressive life. It may take one of two forms, Destruction of the Opponent or Conversion of the Opponent. The former has been the usual type in history. The method inaugurated by Jesus Christ is conversion by self-suffering. Materialism triumphs by producing death and demoralisation. Spirituality aims at saving both the parties. It comes to fulfil and not destroy. Its triumphs are permanent. The Gandhian movement is an adventurous application of the spiritual principle for the political and social redemption of mankind. The principle of his method appears to be as old as religion itself or at least Christianity. The novelty consists in the vast scale in which it has been under his inspiration practised. Whether he succeeds or fails, the better mind of humanity will bow in reverence to the man in Yerrawada jail for his sublime demonstration.

I am aware of the biting criticism of George Bernard Shaw that the non-violence of the cow has not converted the tiger to vegetarianism. But are men no better than tigers?

Ideas without organised will and exertion are mirage and moonshine. Organised power bereft of high purpose is brutishness. A nation which has ideas without the requisite capacity for organised action is degenerate. A nation which has strength without a soul is unregenerate.

Women are the guardians of the race. You cannot

help sympathising and encouraging all those who are engaged in fighting for the rights of our people. No true woman will ever admire the diplomat in preference to the soldier. I am therefore not surprised at the support that Indian women are giving to the Gandhian movement.

There is no need to appeal to you at the present time for brave acts of citizenship. Your own sex has furnished ample inspiration, by example more telling than empty precept. Mrs. C. R. Das, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chatopadhyaya, Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, the Tyabji ladies of Baroda and Rangoon, Begum Alam of Lahore, Srimati Anusuya of Ahmedabad, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Mrs. K. M. Munshi, Miss Dickinson and a host of others are there to inspire or shame our people into noble deeds. I wish some enterprising firm would bring out an album containing the pictures of these heroines of modern India with short sketches of their services and sufferings.

SWADESHI & SWARAJ

ADDRESS AT VIZAGAPATAM

Swadeshi is economic patriotism, and patriotism is good business as well as decent sentiment. It is rooted, not merely in racial emotion, but in prudential desire to secure satisfactory and stable conditions of prosperity and progress. Swadeshi is thus as much our universal duty as nationalism. They are a matter of life and death to our country ; life, if properly organised and pursued ; death, if forsaken or bartered away for immediate personal careers or profits.

Lost ground cannot be regained without special effort and all special efforts are for the time being painful, and therefore selfish and cowardly people slink away from the test. Conditions of servitude and dependence whether economic or political cannot be overcome except by a people capable of the requisite amount of courage and combination and proved capacity for self-sacrifice. That is why both aspects of national evolution present an identical moral problem, which is the subordination of temporary personal and sectional advantages to the enduring good of the whole. The pursuit of minor and meaner advantages is a form of parasitism. For, they imply sucking the blood of the parent tree and retarding its development. Of course, when as a result of this process, the parent tree itself dies, the parasites also will finally succumb. The truest prudence itself, let alone moral duty, will thus inspire rational beings to conduce to the general and permanent good of the country.

John Stuart Mill classified peoples according to the amount of prudence they practised. The savage does not look beyond a season or a year. He lives from hand to mouth and hardly accumulates capital. In the struggle for existence, he goes down or becomes the collie of the farseeing races. The more civilised people embark on vast enterprises, which necessitate the sinking of enormous capital though they well know that the fruits thereof cannot be reaped for years, and perhaps for generations to come. They take a long sighted view of their duty and sacrifice the present, so that a better and enduring future may be achieved. Sacrifice is thus as much an ingredient of healthy economic progress as of healthy political development. And if people are not capable of conduct based on

long-sighted requirements, they must decay, and finally perish.

Doubtless, in our present condition, even Swadeshi may entail some sacrifice of profit or comfort. But that is the price we have to pay if we are to emerge from this sorry plight into a more prosperous and self-reliant future.

The parallelism existing between Swadeshi and Nationalism is the root explanation why, historically speaking, the two movements have, to some extent, been inter-related. It was to restore the integrity of dismembered Bengal that Boycott and Swadeshi were first advocated in India about the year 1908. But the movement did not flourish long. The merchants tried to profiteer on the patriotic sentiment of the consumers, and when, added to this, Lord Hardinge wisely undid the partition of Bengal, matters relapsed to their original drift. Further, the Swadeshi of that epoch was too political in its origin, and the politics itself too much concerned with the intellectuals to have the right character about it or command widespread and permanent support.

Mahatma Gandhi altered the nature of our politics and with it of Swadeshi as well. No doubt, even to-day, the politics of the bulk of our Moderates, Liberals, etc., is chiefly of the careeristic order. But there has been a mighty change all the same, and the better side of politics is at present in heroic evidence. Nationalism, the rights of the people, their liberties and the good of the masses, have come to occupy the centre of the field. This change in the nature of our politics is, naturally enough, accompanied by radical changes in its organisation. Politics is no longer a bye-industry of "B A., B. Lism." The intellec-

tuals are, no doubt, doing useful work, but they are alas, hardly the front and centre of the movement. The new agencies which are at work are both the cause and effect of the new era, of which Mahatma Gandhi is in the main and, even allowing for his limitations, the herald and prophet. The organisation of industrial workers, the growing influence of Trade Unions, Peasant movements and above all, the splendid part played by merchants and women, once the very symbols of caution, (and shall I say, timidity?) testify to the reality and strength of the new spirit. And Swadeshi too has undergone concurrent change.

The old Bengal Swadeshi ignored handicrafts and cottage industries. It aimed at creating an Indian industrialism—factories, large capital and machine production—which would be able to counteract British exploitation successfully. The new Swadeshi is deeper, wider in scope. It has thought out Indian problems in terms of Indian conditions, and while acknowledging the place of industrialism, has sought to widen the field of operations, so as to take in the poorer people and peasants, by encouraging khaddar and other home industries. This is mass Swadeshi, as distinguished but not opposed to capitalistic Swadeshi.

That the two Swadeshis are not opposed to each other but act as mutual supplements is best proved by the organised co-operation established between them at Bombay, Ahmedabad and other big industrial centres.

Gandhian Swadeshi is not confined to production and distribution only, but concerns itself also with consumption. It has attacked wasteful and harmful forms of consumption of which liquor is the type and the worst. To save people from the temptation of drink, with which too often goes the devil, has been one of its chief mis-

for Imperialistic domination and prepare the ground for an equitable solution of the political issue. And it follows that boycott for political purposes should be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment.

Neither boycott nor protection aim at ultimate economic isolation. What they purpose to achieve is international trade on a footing of equality of economic strength. Swaraj is no enemy of international exchanges of culture on a basis of equality and mutual self-respect. There is perhaps more trade and more cultural fellowship between independent countries than between Imperialistic countries and their dependencies. The sense of dependence itself, the feeling of inferiority and helplessness it creates, retards the will and spirit to progress and finally results in ever-increasing decay. And decadence makes not merely the country directly affected, but the world itself, the poorer, as it reduces the total number of world factors engaged in cultural and economic creation. Mr. Hyndman used to emphasise the fact that Indian poverty was a greater barrier of trade with England than Indian Nationalism could ever be.

There are some who make rather extravagant claims on behalf of Swadeshi, which, I dare say, is natural to the mood and temper of propaganda. They say Swadeshi is Swaraj, and sometime, more specifically, that Khaddar is Swaraj. Swadeshi and boycott as political weapons are doubtless of the utmost importance, and they are in our unfettered hands. But, even they cannot function at their best and fullest, unless due control is obtained of financial and tariff policy. Transportation rates, railways, shipping, banks and other credit agencies, tariffs, State purchase of stores, currency policies and a host of other factors

determine the scope and nature of Swadeshi available for a country. Without the requisite political power, these cannot be regulated entirely to our advantage.

Northern and Western India seem to have evolved a very effective organisation, both to promote Swadeshi and enforce boycott. Ladies of the highest rank and riches have undertaken at what sacrifice of personal feeling and traditional custom, it is needless to say, the arduous and delicate task of peaceful picketing, with amazing success. Men also, young as well as old, have not been behind-hand. The merchants and industrialists affected, have taken a patriotic and enlightened view of the situation and have shown an admirable measure of sympathy and co-operation. Spinning classes have been opened in a large number of places in Bombay, and these are conducted by ladies of high social standing. Swadeshi goods are being hawked in the streets and from door to door. Swadeshi Exhibitions have been organised and guides to Swadeshi, giving a list of Indian firms producing various lines of commodities, have been published. Nationalistic newspapers have helped in securing the necessary advertisement. Above all, social opinion, from the palatial home of the millionaire to the hovel of the peasant and labourer, has been effectively exercised. I doubt if the morale of the country taken as a whole has in modern times ever been higher than it is to-day.

Swadeshi and nationalism are conduct and character not idle sentiment or cloudy philosophy. The buyers and consumers of goods must make themselves felt, and, if need be, open Swadeshi emporiums, as has been done in the chief cities of progressive India. Swadeshi leagues should circularise merchants and inform them of the Indian goods available. Such information is

scene of the tragedy, wrote some of the most stirring letters which, coupled with the exertions of men of all parties, restored peace in the city.

As a penance for this ghastly tragedy, he pledged himself to fast till complete peace was restored. Strangely enough, the situation was well in hand in a couple of days and on the fourth day in breaking the fast in the midst of a gathering of Co-operators, Non-Co-operators, Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsis and Christians, Mr. Gandhi made a thrilling statement.

Warned by the disasters at Bombay and the Moplah rebellion which was still going on in Malabar, it was expected that Mr. Gandhi would reconsider his position and stop short of the extreme step in Non-Co-operation. But that was not to be. The Congress had by this time become an organ for registering his decrees. And the Committee met frequently to devise methods in pursuance of Non-Co-operation. Thundering resolutions, alternating with hopes and warnings, came in quick succession. Province after Province vied with one another for the exciting novelty of Civil Disobedience.

Though the author of the Civil Disobedience movement in India, Mr. Gandhi was always alive to its dangers. He therefore insisted that his conditions should be fulfilled *in toto* before any taluka could embark on the campaign. And those conditions were very rigorous indeed.

THE CALCUTTA HARTAL

Meanwhile the hartal organised by Non-Co-operators in connection with the Prince's visit was more or less successful in many places. It was alleged that by intimidation and otherwise, the hartal in Calcutta on the day of the Prince's landing in Bombay was phenomenally

easily obtained. The "Advance" published lists of the leading Indian manufactures in Calcutta. The Bombay Swadeshi League is bringing out, I believe, a second edition of its industrial and commercial guide. Take, for instance, cloth, biscuits, soaps, inks, cigarettes, leather goods, various medicines and pharmaceutical and chemical products; all these can be obtained in India. I need only mention, by way of illustration in this connection the Lily Biscuit Co., the Bengal Biscuit Co., Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works etc., of Calcutta, the Elgin leather goods manufacturing firm of Bombay and other leading concerns. It may be that these firms are not sufficiently alert in advertising or opening agencies. But we must spread the information and get merchants to place their indents with Indian producers.

Nor should merchants penalise patriotism by selling at inequitable prices and profiteering. England is a "nation of shop-keepers" and she can be fought successfully only by the shop-keepers of India. The intellectuals should do the propaganda work and spread the message of Swadeshi in every town and village. The people should also renounce consumption where foreign articles are concerned. Most of them are not necessities of life, and one can expect the vacancy thus caused to be filled up sooner or later by Indian enterprise, which is now so alert.

The sufferings and sacrifices of our brothers and sisters cry aloud for active sympathy and support. Let not Madras prove to be the black-leg of India. There is probably no higher moral precept than that enunciated by Kant. Universalise the principle of your action because what you consider right and decent for yourself, you must consider right

and decent also for other people. If you make yourself an exception to the rule of patriotism you must concede to all the right to be equally unpatriotic and what would be the result? Universal patriotism is obviously a workable hypothesis and will lead to success. Will universal backsliding lead to success? Similarly Swadeshi by all is a workable proposition. Can it be said that Swadeshi by none will be either successful or decent conduct? Follow then the inspiring Kantian maxim of acting on that principle which you would like to see adopted by everybody. And resist the loathsome temptation to trade on the courage and sacrifices of other people.

complete. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Anglo-Indian Press took an alarmist view of the situation and expressed grave indignation against the passivity of the Government. With a view to suppress the activity of the Congress in this direction Government resuscitated Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act which was then literally under a sentence of death. When volunteering was declared unlawful, Congress leaders took up the challenge and called on the people to disobey the order and seek imprisonment in their thousands. Men like Messrs. C. R. Das in Calcutta, and Motilal Nehru in Allahabad, openly defied the order and canvassed volunteers in total disregard of legal consequences. They sought imprisonment and called on their countrymen to follow them to prison. The situation was grave. It was then that Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir P. C. Ray and others thought that the time had come when they should step into the breach and try to bring about a reconciliation between Government and Non-Co-operators. With this view, Pundit Madan Mohan and others interviewed leading Non-Co-operators and those in authority. Lord Ronaldshay, in his speech at the Legislative Council, referred to the gravity of the situation and defined the firm attitude of Government.

The Viceroy who had invited the Prince was naturally very indignant at the strange form of "reception" that awaited the innocent scion of the Royal House. Could anything be done at all towards a *rapprochement*.

THE DEPUTATION TO THE VICEROY

A Deputation headed by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya waited on His Excellency the Viceroy at Calcutta on December 21 and requested him to call a Round Table Conference of representatives of people of all shades of

opinion with a view to bring about a settlement. L. Reading replied at some length and defined the attitude of the Government. He regretted that "it is impossible even to consider the convening of a conference if agitation in open and avowed defiance of law is meanwhile to be continued". Mr. Gandhi's refusal to call off the hartal in connection with H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' visit to Calcutta on December 24, apparently stiffened the attitude of the Government. Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mr. Gandhi made the following statement regarding the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation :—

I repeat for the thousandth time that it is not hostile to any nation or any body of men, but it is deliberately aimed at the system under which the Government of India is being to-day conducted, and I promise that no threats and no enforcement of threats by the Viceroy or any body of men will strangle that agitation or send to rest that awakening.

THE AHMEDABAD CONGRESS

Meanwhile the Annual Session of the Congress met at Ahmedabad, the headquarters of Mr. Gandhi. It was virtually a Gandhi Session. The President-elect, Mr. C. R. Das, was in prison and so were many other leaders besides. Hakim Ajmal Khan was elected to take the chair and the proceedings were all in Hindi and Gujarati. Mr. Gandhi was invested with full dictatorial powers by the Congress.

There were yet some in the Congress who went a step further than Mr. Gandhi himself. Moulana Hazrat Mohani stood out for complete independence and it is interesting to note how valiantly Mr. Gandhi fought then against the motion of absolute severance from Britain. Mr. Gandhi opposed all his amendments and pinned the Congress down to his own resolution. Soon after the session, some of the Provincial organisations were busy preparing for a no-tax

campaign. In U. P., Guzarat, the Andhra and in the Punjab, the movement threatened to assume a serious turn. Mr. Gandhi himself, while insisting that his conditions should be fulfilled before any taluka should embark on an offensive campaign, threw the onus of responsibility on the Province itself—Provincial autonomy with a vengeance! But then there were hopes of peace in the air.

THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE

A conference of representatives of various shades of political opinion convened by Pundit Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah and others, assembled at Bombay on the 14th January, 1922, with Sir C. Sankaran Nair in the chair. On the second day, Sir Sankaran withdrew and Sir M. Visweswaraya took his place. Over two hundred leading men from different provinces attended. Mr. Gandhi was present throughout and though he refused to be officially connected—an attitude resented by many—with the resolutions, he took part in the debates and helped the conference in framing the resolutions which were also ratified by the Congress Working Committee.

THE ULTIMATUM

While negotiations were going on between the representatives of the Malaviya Conference and H. E. the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi addressed an open letter to Lord Reading. The letter was in effect an ultimatum holding out the threat of an immediate inauguration of civil disobedience in Bardoli. In that letter Mr. Gandhi charged the Government of many crimes and misdemeanours and frankly and boldly held forth:—

Repression of a virulent type has taken place with the concurrence of the Government of India, in Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Province of Delhi and in a way in Bihar and Orissa and elsewhere. I know that you have objected to the use of the word "repression" for describing the action of the

authorities in these Provinces. In my opinion, when an action is taken which is in excess of the requirements of the situation, it is undoubtedly repression. The looting of property, assaults on innocent people, brutal treatment of the prisoners in jails, including flogging, can in no sense be described as legal, civilized or in any way necessary. This official lawlessness cannot be described by any other term but lawless repression.

Intimidation by Non-Co-operators or their sympathisers to a certain extent in connection with hartals and picketing may be admitted, but in no case can it be held to justify the wholesale suppression of peaceful volunteering or equally peaceful public meetings under a distorted use of an extraordinary law which was passed in order to deal with activities which were manifestly violent both in intention and action, nor is it possible to designate as otherwise than repressive action taken against innocent people under what has appeared to many of us as an illegal use of the ordinary law, nor again can the administrative interference with the liberty of the Press under a law that is under promise of repeal be regarded as anything but repression.

The immediate task before the country, therefore, is to rescue from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of Press.

In the present mood of the Government of India and in the present unprepared state of the country in respect of complete control of the forces of violence, Non-Co-operators were unwilling to have anything to do with the Malaviya Conference whose object was to induce Your Excellency to convene a Round Table Conference. But as I was anxious to avoid all avoidable suffering, I had no hesitation in advising the Working Committee of the Congress to accept the recommendations of that Conference.

Although, in my opinion, the terms were quite in keeping with your own requirements as I understood them through your Calcutta speech and otherwise, you have summarily rejected the proposal.

In the circumstances, there is nothing before the country but to adopt some non-violent method for the enforcement of its demands; including the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free Press. In my humble opinion, the recent events are a clear departure from the civilized policy laid down by Your Excellency at the time of the generous, manly and unconditional apology of the Ali Brothers, *viz.*, that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of Non-Co-operators so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed. Had the Government policy remained neutral and allowed public opinion to ripen and have its full effect, it would have been possible to advise postponement of the adoption of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive type till the Congress had acquired fuller control over the forces of violence in the country and enforced greater discipline

among the millions of its adherents. But the lawless repression (in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country) has made immediate adoption of mass Civil Disobedience, an imperative duty. The Working Committee of the Congress has restricted it only to certain areas to be selected by me from time to time and at present it is confined only to Bardoli. I may under said authority give my consent at once in respect of a group of 100 villages in Guntur in the Madras Presidency, provided they can strictly conform to the conditions of non-violence, unity among different classes, the adoption and manufacture of hand-spun Khaddar and untouchability.

But before the people of Bardoli actually commence mass Civil Disobedience, I would respectfully urge you as the head of the Government of India finally to revise your policy and so free all the Non-Co-operating prisoners who are convicted or under trial for non-violent activities and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities in the country whether they be regarding the redress of the Khilafat or the Punjab wrongs or Swaraj or any other purpose and even though they fall within the repressive sections of the Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code or other repressive laws, subject always to the condition of non-violence. I would further urge you to free the Press from all administrative control and restore all the fines and forfeitures recently imposed. In thus urging I am asking Your Excellency to do what is to-day being done in every country which is deemed to be under civilised Government. If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of publication of this manifesto I shall be prepared to advise postponement of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character till the imprisoned workers have after their discharge reviewed the whole situation and considered the position *de novo*. If the Government make the requested declaration, I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall, therefore, have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding the public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands. Aggressive Civil Disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuse to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India.

The Government of India in a *Communique* published on the 6th February in reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter, repudiated his assertion and urged that the issue before the country was no longer between this or that programme of political advance, but between lawlessness with all its consequence on the one hand, and on the other, the

maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Governments. Mr. Gandhi in a further rejoinder issued on the very next day pointed out that the choice before the people was mass Civil Disobedience with all its undoubted dangers and lawless repression of the lawful activities of the people.

Mr. Gandhi then gave a comprehensive account of Government's lawlessness and barbarities with the following facts:—

(1) Official shooting at Entally in Calcutta and the callous treatment even of a corpse. (2) The admitted brutality of the civil guards. (3) The forcible dispersal of a meeting at Dacca and the dragging of innocent men by their legs although they had given no offence or cause whatsoever. (4) Similar treatment of volunteers in Aligarh. (5) The conclusive (in my opinion) findings of the Committee presided over by Dr. Gokhul Chand about the brutal and uncalled for assaults upon volunteers and the public in Lahore. (6) The wicked and inhuman treatment of volunteers and the public at Jullundur. (7) The shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun and the cruelly forcible dispersal of a public meeting of that place. (8) The looting admitted by the Bihar Government of villages by an officer and his company without any permission whatsoever, from any one, but, as stated by Non-Co-operators at the invitation of a planter, assaults upon volunteers and the burning of Khaddar and papers belonging to the Congress at Sonapur. (9) The midnight searches and arrests in the Congress and Khilafat offices.

I have merely given a sample of the many infallible proofs of official lawlessness and barbarism. I have mentioned not even a tithe of what is happening all over the country. I wish to state, without fear of successful contradiction, that the scale on which this lawlessness had gone on in so many provinces of India puts into shade the inhumanities that were practised in the Punjab, if we accept the crawling order and the massacre at Jallianwallabagh. It is my certain conviction that the massacre at Jallianwallabagh was a clean transaction compared to the unclean transactions described above, and the pity of it is that, because people are not shot or butchered, the tortures through which hundreds of inoffensive men have gone through do not produce a sufficient effect to turn everybody's face against this Government.'

And he wound up with the following challenge :

I venture to claim extreme reasonableness and moderation for the above presentation of the case. The alternative before the people, therefore, is not, as the *communiqué* concludes, between "lawlessness with all its disastrous consequences on the one hand

and on the other the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Governments". Mass Civil Disobedience, it adds, is fraught with such danger to the State that it must be met with "sternness and severity". The choice before the people is mass civil disobedience with all its undoubted dangers and lawless repression of the lawful activities of the people. I hold that it is impossible for anybody of self-respecting men for fear of unknown dangers to sit still and do nothing effective when looting of property and assaulting of innocent men are going on all over the country in the name of law and order.

THE CHAURI CHAURA TRAGEDY

While Mr. Gandhi was about to inaugurate mass Civil Disobedience in Bardoli, there occurred a terrible tragedy at Chauri Chaura on the 14th February, when an infuriated mob, including some volunteers also, attacked the *thana*, burnt down the building and beat to death no less than twenty-two policemen. Some constables and chaukedars were literally burnt to death and the whole place was under mobocracy. Mr. Gandhi took this occurrence as a third warning from God to suspend civil disobedience, and the Bardoli programme was accordingly given up. On the 11th the Working Committee met at Bardoli and resolved to suspend all offensive action including even picketing and processions. The country was to confine itself to the constructive programme of Khaddar manufacture. The Working Committee advised the stoppage of all activities designed to court imprisonment.

The suspension of mass civil disobedience in Bardoli, which was recommended by the Working Committee, at the instance of Mr. Gandhi, was resented by some of his colleagues and followers. In reply to correspondents who attacked him, he wrote as follows in *Young India* of February 23 :

I feel still more confident of the correctness of the decision of the Working Committee, but if it is found that the country repudiates my action I shall not mind it. I can but do my duty.

The All-India Congress Committee met on the 25th at Delhi to consider the Bardoli decisions, and though the latter were endorsed it was not done without some important modifications, to feed the growing demand for aggressive action on the part of the extreme Non-Co-operators. From subsequent events it was fairly certain that the Delhi resolutions confirmed the Government's resolve to prosecute Mr. Gandhi, a resolve which was held in abeyance after the Bardoli programme was made known.

GANDHI'S ARREST

For months past the rumour of Mr. Gandhi's impending arrest was in the air. Expecting the inevitable, Mr. Gandhi had more than once written his final message. But in the first week of March the rumour became more wide-spread and intense. The stiffening of public opinion in England and Mr. Montagu's threatening speech in defence of his Indian policy in the Commons, revealed the fact that the Secretary of State had already sanctioned Mr. Gandhi's prosecution. Chauri Chaura and the Delhi decision were presumably the immediate cause of Government's action on Gandhi. Realising that his arrest would not long be deferred, Gandhi wrote a farewell message in *Young India* calling on his countrymen to continue the work of the Congress undeterred by fear, to prosecute the Khaddar programme, to promote Hindu-Muslim unity and desist from violence at any cost.

Meanwhile he was arrested at the Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad, on Friday, the 10th March. On the 11th noon, Messrs. Gandhi and Sankarlal Banker, the publisher, were placed before Mr. Brown, Assistant Magistrate, the Court being held in the Divisional Commissioner's Office at Sahibah. The Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, the first witness, produced the Bombay Government's authority

to lodge a complaint for four articles published in *Young India*, dated the 15th June, 1921, entitled "Disaffection a Virtue" dated 20th September, "Tampering with Loyalty" dated the 15th December, "The Puzzle and Its Solution" and "Shaking the Manes" dated the 23rd February, 1922. Two formal police witnesses were then produced. The accused declined to cross examine the witnesses. Mr. Gandhi, who described himself as farmer and weaver by profession, residing at Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, said:

I simply wish to state that when the proper time comes I shall plead guilty so far as disaffection towards the Government is concerned. It is quite true that I am the editor of *Young India* and that the articles read in my presence were written by me and the proprietors and publishers had permitted me to control the whole policy of the paper.

The case then having been committed to the Sessions, Mr. Gandhi was taken to the Sabarmati Jail where he was detained till the hearing, which was to come off on March 18. From his prison, Mr. Gandhi wrote a number of inspiring letters to his friends and colleagues urging the continuance of the Congress work.

THE GREAT TRIAL

At last the trial came off on Saturday the 18th March before Mr. C. N. Broomfield, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad. Of the trial itself it is needless to write at length. For it will be long before the present generation could forget the spell of it. It was historic in many ways. Men's minds involuntarily turned to another great trial nineteen hundred years ago when Jesus stood before Pontius Pilate. Mr. Gandhi's statement (both the oral and the written statements) was in its best form, terse and lucid, courageous and uncompromising, with just that touch of greatness which elevates it to the level of a masterpiece. Never before was such a prisoner arraigned before

a British Court of Justice. Never before were the laws of an all-powerful Government so defiantly, yet with such humility, challenged. Men of all shades of political opinion, indeed all who had stood aloof from the movement and had condemned it in no uncertain terms, marvelled at the wisdom and compassion and heroism of the thin spare figure in a loincloth thundering his anathemas against the "Satanic" system. And yet none could be gentler nor more sweet-tempered than the prisoner at the bar with a smile and a nod of thanks and recognition for every one, including his prosecutors. An eye-witness has given an account of the scene and we cannot do better than quote his words:—

Mahatmaji stood up and spoke a few words complimenting the Advocate-General on his fairness and endorsing every statement he made regarding the charges. "I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulders," said Mahatmaji in pathetic earnestness, "and I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay". These words of confession seemed to penetrate every heart throbbing in that hall and make those present there feel miserable over the mad deeds of their thoughtless countrymen. The speech finished, the Mahatmaji sat down to read his immortal statement. * * * * *

* * * This historic production was the master's own. The ennobling confessions, the convincing logic, the masterly diction, the elevated thoughts and the inspiring tone—all produced instantaneous effect on the audience including the Judge and the prosecutor. For a minute everybody wondered who was on trial—whether Mahatma Gandhi before a British Judge or whether the British Government before God and Humanity.

Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment.

GANDHI IN PRISON

In March 1922, Mr. Gandhi was interned in Erravada Jail which for two years was looked upon as a place of pilgrimage. Thither went hundreds of devotees if only to have a vision of the august prisoner. Every three months

or so his wife and sons or some of his friends got admission to approach Gandhi and converse with him—though in the presence of the Superintendent who seemed to have exercised a quite unnecessary vigilance. Such official vigilance was entirely out of court. For Gandhi was an ideal prisoner. He was true to his dictum: "My ideal of jail life, especially that of a civil resister," he wrote to Mr. Andrews, "is to be cut off entirely from all connection with the outside world. To be allowed a visitor is a privilege—a civil resister may neither seek nor receive a visitor." Though political friends met him in jail he was too honourable to be drawn into a talk on current politics, and rarely a word escaped his lips that might in any way be construed as a message from behind the prison bars. One remembers too well Mr. Gandhi's mild surprise as he was told of Mr. Mahomed Ali's picturesque metaphor of a wireless from Erravada!

Meanwhile, the Congress was drifting as it were without a rudder or compass. Distrust of one another and mutual recriminations among the leaders replaced the stern discipline of one man leadership whatever might have been its other defects. Non-Co-operation of the Gandhian order was being diluted with partial Co-operation and leaders were divided among themselves as to aim and methods of work. Already the canker of communalism was slowly breaking in, while the Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee threw in a new apple of discord among the politicals.

But we must go back to Gandhi. In the latter years of his prison life it was understood that he was ailing from some serious disease—never correctly diagnosed. It took a bad turn and developed into appendicitis. Luckily, the medical authorities discovered it in time and Mr. Gandhi

was removed to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, for operation. Mr. Gandhi had a very high regard for Col. Maddock, the surgeon who conducted the operation, and the mutual regard and esteem that the two had for each other developed into an ardent friendship of which both have spoken in feeling terms. Before the operation, Mr. Gandhi very thoughtfully sent for the Rt. Hon. Sastri who was then in Poona, and other friends, and the conversations at this supreme moment were reported by Mr. Sastri in words of inimitable grace, befitting "the calmness, wisdom and magnanimity of the great leader of the Non-Co-operation movement". The operation was successful and Mr. Gandhi was slowly recovering and preparing himself for the public life that was calling him. Mr. Gandhi was a model patient. It is pleasant to recall here what Col. Maddock himself wrote to Mr. G. A. Natesan, the Editor of *The Indian Review*, months after he had left these shores. "Whilst in hospital," wrote the great surgeon. "Gandhi endeared himself to all those who came into contact with him, on account of his unfailing courtesy and patience, his wonderful cheerfulness, thoughtfulness for others, and complete forgetfulness of himself." Well, the same greatness and elevation of character throughout.

THE RELEASE AND AFTER

As he was convalescing, the first public message came in the form of a letter to Mr. Mahomed Ali, the President of the Congress. In this letter (dated 7th February, 1924), Mr. Gandhi after thanking the doctors and nurses for their care and attention, and acknowledging numerous telegrams and messages of greeting, pointed out that release brought him no joy and that he was overwhelmed with the sense of responsibility; he deplored the tension between Hindus and Muslims in his absence and appealed for a union of all

anks in the service of the country. He finally reaffirmed his faith in the principles of Non-Co-operation.

I had during the last two years ample time and solitude for hard thinking. It made me a firmer believer than ever in the efficacy of the Bardoli programme, and therefore in the unity between the races, the Charka, the removal of untouchability and the application of non-violence in thought, word and deed to our methods as indispensable for Swaraj. If we faithfully and fully carry out this programme, we need never resort to Civil Disobedience and I hope that it will never be necessary. But I must state that my thinking prayerfully and in solitude has not weakened my belief in the efficacy and righteousness of Civil Disobedience. I hold it as never before to be a man's or nation's right and duty when its vital being is in jeopardy. I am convinced that it is attended with less danger than war and whilst the former when successful benefits both the resister and the wrong-door, the latter harms both the victor and the vanquished.

Mr. Gandhi did not express any opinion on the question of Council entry until "he had the opportunity of discussing the question with our illustrious countrymen who have felt called upon in the interests of the country to advise the removal of the boycott of legislative bodies".

That opportunity was soon afforded at Juhu where came as to a shrike Congressmen of all shades of opinion. C. R. Das and Pundit Motilal Nehru were there too with their schemes of Non-Co-operation from inside the Council and then the orthodox non-co-operators who swore by the Bardoli programme. It was no light thing for a leader in convalescence to decide. His own faith in the original programme was unabated: but the forcing of his views at once would be futile besides dividing the ranks irrevocably. Neither would he compromise his own position, and so he came to an understanding with his Swarajist friends, giving them freedom of action while he himself held a different opinion. This position, of course, led to further trouble with the no-changers while the Swarajists as the Elections were approaching, demanded a

definite declaration of the Congress in their favour. And so came the agreement of November signed by Gandhi, Das, and Nehru permitting those who cared to enter the Councils while compelling all to swear by Khaddar and the constructive programme. Thus was the Swarajist party given official sanction to work for elections on behalf of the Congress. In successive sessions of the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress, Congressmen were allowed to work in either direction. The Non-Co-operating Congress had a wing in the Swarajya party to practice Non-Co-operation from within the Councils. Indeed the Council programme being in the hands of the more energetic men, became, as it were, the more vital work of the Congress. Its results were more demonstrative and as every movement grows by opposition, the Swarajya party developed into a power as much by opposition in Council as by opposition in Congress. Though Mr. Gandhi could have carried the Congress with him in his orthodox programme, he recognised the strength of the opposition, and though in Congresses and Committees he was able to manage a small numerical majority, he knew that it was mainly due to personal equation and scorned to take advantage of it. On the other hand, he felt "humbled and defeated" as he himself said after one of those stormy meetings of the A.I.C.C. at Delhi in June 1924.

" YOUNG INDIA "

After two years' interruption, Mr. Gandhi resumed editorial charge of his two weeklies *Young India* and *Navajivan* (the Guzarati counterpart of *Young India*) in the first week of April 1924. To his followers his weekly articles were a guide and an inspiration while they were a pure joy to the rest of the world. In his opening article, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* :—

It is not without much hesitation that I resume the editorship of *Young India*. I do not know whether my health can yet sustain the energy required for conducting the paper. But I cannot foresee, I can only dimly understand God's purpose in bringing me out of my retirement in Yeravada. In taking up the editorial control of "Navajivan" and "Young India", I am following His light as far as I see it. Nor have I any new message to deliver to the reader. I had hoped for the release by the act of the Swaraj Parliament and to be able to take my humble share in serving free India. That was not to be. We have yet to attain freedom. I have no new programme. My faith in the oldest is just as bright as ever, if not brighter. Indeed one's faith in one's plans and methods is truly tested when the horizon before one is blackest. Though, therefore so far as my mind can perceive, there will be no new method or policy developed in the pages of *Young India*, I hope they will not be stale. * * * * *

God, I know, is truth, I live for India's freedom and would die for it, because it is part of the truth. Only free India can worship the true God. I work for India's freedom because my Swadeshi teaches me that, being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am the fittest to serve her and she has a prior claim to my service. But my patriotism is not exclusive. It is calculated not only not to hurt another nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

Apart from his comments on current politics which gave direction to multitude of his followers and were generally made with a view to reconciling divergent interests and factions, Mr. Gandhi mainly devoted his pen to the furtherance of the constructive programme. The spinning wheel was still his *kamadhenu*. Hindu-Muslim tension and the curse of untouchability still supplied the theme for hundreds of notes and dissertations. He was and is perhaps the one no-changer still trusted by the Swarajists and he always held the scales even between the two wings of the Congress. *Young India* soon took up its unique place among the Indian weeklies. Gandhi's Jail Diary, so full of intimate touches of character and so fresh with the vivid colouring of his own reminiscences in Jail, became an attractive feature of the journal. More than even the Diary was the Autobiography, published week after week, and

the intimate revelations of a character in the making told in the simple yet telling style of the great master won universal appreciation. Hundreds of newspapers and periodicals in India as elsewhere reproduced Mr. Gandhi's "Experiments with truth" which formed the subject of absorbing interest in Europe and America. The Autobiography has attracted thousands of readers by its simplicity and *naivete*, its almost uncanny realism, and its compelling charm.

THE FAST AND THE DELHI CONFERENCE

But there is no peace to a public man—least of all to one of Gandhi's sensitiveness. The Hindu-Muslim cloud which was no bigger than a man's hand at the time of his release grew to portentous proportions within a few months. Riot followed riot and the blaze spread from city to city. Distrust and mutual recriminations, notwithstanding all efforts at organizing the forces of order and discipline, grew apace. Gandhi was probing the question with the acuteness of a trained surgeon and exhortations from his tongue and pen seemed of no avail. What was he to do?

On the 11th September, all India was shocked to read the brief announcement in the papers that Mahatma Gandhi had undertaken a fast of twenty-one days both as "a penance and a prayer," because "recent events have proved unbearable" to him. The statement announcing this fierce resolve was couched in words so moving that we should quote the passage *in extenso* :

The recent events have proved unbearable for me. My helplessness is still more unbearable. My religion teaches me that whenever one is very distressed by something which one cannot remove one must fast and pray. I have done so in connection with my own dearest one.

Nothing evidently that I say or write can bring the two communities together. I am, therefore, imposing on myself a fast of

...ty-one days, beginning from to-day and ending on Wednesday, October 8. I reserve the liberty to drink water with or without salt.

It is both a penance and prayer. As penance I need not have taken the public into my confidence, but I publish the fast as (let me hope) an effective prayer both to Hindus and Mussalmans who have hitherto worked in unison not to commit suicide.

I respectfully invite the heads of all the communities, including Englishmen, to meet and end this quarrel which is a disgrace to religion and humanity. It seems as if God has been dethroned. Let us reinstate Him in our hearts.

At the time of undertaking the fast Mahatma Gandhi was the guest of Mr. Mahomed Ali in Delhi. Indeed some weeks before he had said that he would "bury" himself in the heart of the Punjab till the question of Hindu-Muslim unity was solved. But the solution seemed as remote as ever. Fresh riots were cropping up day after day. Delhi, Gulburga, Kohat, Lucknow—one after another in quick and unceasing succession, broke the heart of the great and good man who has done more than any other in our time to cement the two communities. As he himself explained in an inspiring article in *Young India*:

I was violently shaken by Amethi, Shamlal, and Gulburga..... I was writhing in deep pain and yet I had no remedy. News of Kohat set the smouldering mass aflame. Something had got to be done. I passed two nights in restlessness and pain. On Wednesday I knew the remedy. I must do penance in Satyagraha Ashrama.

Such an ordeal undertaken so soon after his recovery from illness and without notice to his friends and colleagues naturally threw them into a great consternation. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mr. Mahomed Ali, Dr. Ansari and others tried to argue the Mahatma out of his extraordinary act of self-abnegation but he was inexorable, as was feared.

My fast is a matter between God and myself.....(he said). When man wants to make up with his Maker, he does not consult a third party. He ought not to. If he has any doubt about it, he certainly must. But I had no doubt in my mind.

The announcement was also the signal for a great outburst of good feeling, and messages poured in at the Mahatma's residence imploring him to cease fasting and assuring him of whole-hearted support in his endeavours to secure unity. The Muslim Press of Lahore agreed to observe a week's truce to which the Mahatma answered that what was needed was a permanent heart-unity and not a temporary makeshift. Of the ethics of the fast we are not competent to speak; but nobody could deny that it did have a tremendous influence in drawing public attention to the one question which was uppermost in the minds of all parties. What could be the answer to an appeal so moving as the Mahatma's when he wrote :

My penance is the prayer of a bleeding heart for forgiveness, for sins unwittingly committed. It is a warning to Hindus and Mussalmans who have professed to love me. If they have loved me truly and if I have been deserving of their love, they will do penance with me for the grave sin of denying God in their hearts.

But the immediate result was the calling of a conference of all parties and denominations to meet at Delhi and devise means for bringing about unity. The Conference of 300 representatives which included the Metropolitan of India came off on the 26th and passed resolutions designed to secure that unity. At this distance of time we may say it did not result in all the good things expected of such a gathering, but for the time being it generated a degree of good feeling which paved the way for the second All-Parties' Conference at Bombay in November. As might be expected, Mr. Gandhi's part in such a Conference was decisive and efforts were made to explore possibilities of a united Congress and to find a common denominator on which all parties could take action with regard to the Bengal Ordinance.

PRESIDENT OF THE BELGAUM CONGRESS

It was only to be expected that Mr. Gandhi would be returned unanimously to preside over the Congress in December 1924. In fact the honour would have been his, years ago, if he had not persistently declined it and chosen to work behind the scenes. Whoever was the President, Gandhi had become the guiding, inspiring and leading hand in Congress deliberations: and Karnataka was determined to make the occasion thoroughly historic. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi was to preside over the deliberations added special importance to the session. And then certain events like the Unity Conference at Delhi and the All-Parties' Conference at Bombay paved the way for a fuller understanding of differences among the diverse sections of Congressmen. The two outstanding questions of the hour—Hindu-Muslim Unity and the Gandhi-Das Pact were expected to be settled and ratified in the Congress. The circumstances imparted special interest to the Belgaum session.

In the week preceding the actual session, Gandhiji prepared the ground for the decisions of the Congress in regard to the two or three vital issues before the country. He has always been the mediator and the reconciler between the extreme wings of the Congress and he now played his role with extreme tact. In accordance with previous arrangements, Mr. Gandhi met both the No-Changers and Swarajists in a number of informal Conferences when he tried to persuade them to see each others' points of view. Throughout the conversation he placed the *charka* in the forefront as an answer to critics and sceptics. When they wanted a fighting programme Mr. Gandhi would say, "The fighting programme is there in the boycott of foreign cloth which, if properly carried out, will bring about an atmosphere for something like Civil Dis-

obedience." He then referred to Hindu-Muslim Unity and removal of untouchability as two indispensable items in his constructive programme. But the discussion centred round the spinning franchise in lieu of the present four-anna franchise. Indeed, as the *Mahratta* put it, this was the point which Mr. Gandhi claimed as a set-off against his readiness to suspend the Non-Co-operation movement, and the recognition of the Swarajists as Congressmen who could work in the Councils on behalf of the Congress.

Mr. Gandhi's presidential address having been circulated was taken as read, but in opening the proceedings he made a few general remarks first in Hindi and then in English. He said that the work they undertook in 1920 was still undone and if they wanted Swaraj for the masses, the only way was through the *charka*. If they disbelieved they should not hesitate to reject it.

Mr. Gandhi's views on the leading topics of the day being so well known there could not in the nature of the case be anything new or sensational in the address. For one thing it was remarkable for its brevity: in fact it was the briefest in Congress record as Mr. Mahomed Ali's was possibly the longest. Mr. Gandhi re-affirmed his faith in the spinning-wheel, Hindu-Muslim Unity, the removal of untouchability and such other subjects with characteristic lucidity. He traced the course of the Non-Co-operation movement and pointed out why it was necessary to cry halt at this hour of disunion and weakness. But his own faith in Civil Disobedience still stood.

I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving boycott of foreign cloth.

Then he defined our immediate goal:—

Our goal must be the removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate

must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services must be likewise impartially manned by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

As regards India's political goal, Mr. Gandhi was for *inter-dependence* on the basis of perfect equality. He is for "a federation of friendly inter-dependent states rather than for independence".

In my opinion if the British Government mean what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for Swarajya within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of separation on the British people.

He concluded with an affirmation of his faith:—

As a Congressman wishing to keep the Congress intact, I advise suspension of Non-Co-operation, for I see that the nation is not ready for it. But as an individual, I cannot, and will not, do so as long as the Government remains what it is. It is not merely policy with me, it is an article of faith. Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. It is my *kalpadrum*—*Jam-i-Jam*—the Universal Provider. Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth. Ahimsa or Non-violence is the light that reveals that Truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of that Truth. This Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Khaira, or Champaran and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore, I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded, but not to the extent we had hoped and desired. I do not despair. On the contrary I believe that India will come to her own in the near future, and that only through Satyagraha. The proposed suspension is part of the experiment. Non-Co-operation need never be resumed if the programme sketched by me can be fulfilled. Non-violent Non-Co-operation in some form or other, whether through the Congress or without it, will be resumed if the programme fails. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate Truth. Let us all strive to be

perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest among us. For Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within. It is latent in every one of us. Like Swaraj it is our birthright. Let us know it.

In concluding the proceedings of the Belgaum Congress, Mr. Gandhi, after thanking all concerned, wound up with the following exhortation :

I want you to transfer all this noble affection, all this generosity that you have shown me, to the thing which you and I hold dear, to the thing which alone binds you and me together, and that is Swaraj. If we want Swaraj we must know the conditions of Swaraj. You have endorsed those conditions in the resolution moved by Mr. Das on the Pact. Every one knows the conditions and I want you to fulfil them to the letter and in spirit and insist upon others that they will fulfil those conditions not by force but by love. Exert all the influence and all the pressure that love can exert upon every one concerned. Go throughout your districts and spread the messages of *khaddar*, the message of Hindu-Muslim Unity, the message of untouchability and take up in hand the youngsters of the country and make them real soldiers of Swaraj. But you will not do it if the No-Changers and the Swarajists still bear malice against each other, and if they still have jealousy against one another. It will be possible only if you bury the hatchet, leave all the jealousies, all anger and all that is bad in your heart. Bury it underground, cremate it, do whatever you like, but take away the sacred resolution with you that let heavens fall but the tie that binds to-day or has bound the Swarajists and the No-Changers shall never snap.

“ HONOURABLE COMPROMISE ”

Before taking up the thread of his activities in the cause of social, economic and political reform in India, we must pass in review his activities in connection with the Indian South African problem.

Since his return to India, Mahatma Gandhi had always too many irons on the anvil to devote himself adequately to South African questions. And yet from time to time when there was any trouble in South Africa, his words of counsel always counted and his authority was undisputed. When the Class Areas Reservation Bill was

before the Transvaal Legislature, Gandhi wrote some illuminating criticisms guiding, inspiring and helping our countrymen abroad with practical advice as to how best to deal with the situation. But he did not actively engage himself in South African problems as before, as he always held that it was part of the trouble arising from India's dependence. South Africa had to be fought and won in India, he said, and the success of the Swaraj movement in India would automatically lead to success abroad. On the failure of Non-Co-operation he realised that every step in the South African Settlement was a move in the right direction, and he warmly commended the work of the Habibullah Deputation. Indeed before the publication of the Agreement, Gandhi's advice had been sought for, and the simultaneous publication of his views and the text of the Agreement did not a little to guide public opinion in its favour. Gandhi called it an "Honourable Compromise" in *Young India* of 24th February 1927:

Sir Mahomed Habibullah and his colleagues are to be congratulated upon having secured a settlement that is honourable to both parties. It is not the best that could be conceived, but it is the best that was possible. I doubt if any other deputation could have done more. The Class Areas Bill, which brought about the Conference and round which the battle raged, is dead and gone.....The annexure, containing a summary of 'conclusions reached by the Round Table Conference on the Indian questions in South Africa', is a remarkable document betraying in every paragraph a heroic attempt to reconcile conflicting interests and sentiments.* * * * * If this atmosphere of goodwill and sociability is kept up and encouraged, the settlement can be used as a solid foundation for erecting a beautiful temple of freedom for the Indian settlers in South Africa.

MR. SASTRI AS FIRST AMBASSADOR

It was a great victory for Gandhi and the South African cause when the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri accepted the Government's offer to be the first Agent-General in South Africa. Mr. Sastri, it would appear, had with

characteristic modesty declined the offer at first, but Mr. Gandhi's persuasive appeal to Mr. Sastri not to miss this great opportunity of service to the Indian cause in South Africa, had done its work. On the publication of the announcement, Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of April 28, 1927 :

Very considerable relief will be felt by the Indian settlers in South Africa over the announcement that the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has consented to become India's First Agent-General in that sub-continent, if the post is finally offered to him by the Government of India. It is a great sacrifice that Sastri and the Servants of India Society have made. It is an open secret that left to himself he was not inclined to undertake the responsibility and to leave his work in India. But he has yielded to the pressure of friends, especially when it was urged upon him that he alone could successfully inaugurate the working of the Agreement in bringing about which he played not an inconsiderable part. We know from the cables that were sent from time to time from South Africa that the Europeans were anxious that he should accept the honour. Sjt. Srinivasa Sastri had by his eloquence, transparent sincerity, sweet reasonableness, and extreme earnestness won the esteem and respect of the Union Government and the Europeans in South Africa during the short time that he was there as a member of the Habibullah Deputation. I know how nervously anxious our countrymen in South Africa were that he should become the first Agent. It was impossible for Sjt. Srinivasa Sastri whom God has endowed with a generous nature not to respond to such a unanimous call from South Africa.

How well Mr. Sastri fulfilled his mission and how fully he justified Mahatmaji's (in fact, the whole country's) expectations are matters of recent history of which it is needless to enter into any detail. Suffice it to say that Mr. Sastri fully justified his reputation for statesmanship and had indeed set a high ideal for his successor to follow. Need it be said that throughout the negotiations as after it Mr. Gandhi's wise counsel and his great knowledge of South African problems were ungrudgingly placed at the disposal of Mr. Sastri for the benefit of our colonial brethren.

VAIKAM SATYAGRAHA

Soon after the Belgaum Congress, Mr. Gandhi made a tour all over the country calling upon the people to carry out the Congress mandate in regard to Khaddar, and untouchability and other features of social and political reconstruction. Early in March he was in Vaikam exhorting the Satyagrahis to carry on their campaign until success was attained. It was at this time too that he was invited by the Maharanee of Travancore to be Her Highness's guest at Varhala. Gandhi's presence in Malabar eased the situation and a sort of reconciliation was effected between the orthodox Brahmins and the advocates of reform.

A GREAT MODERATING INFLUENCE

During the next four years Gandhi confirmed himself primarily to his pet programme of Khaddar and untouchability and prohibition, and rarely if ever took part in aggressive politics. But all the same his influence in Congress circles was supreme. Whoever might be the president it was Gandhi's will that was the deciding factor. And that will was invariably exercised in moderating the temper of the ultra-extremists and independence-wallahs who had by this time increased in numbers and threatened to swamp the Congress. Time and again Mr. Gandhi was on the side of moderation. He would not jeopardise the efforts of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Motilal Nehru to bring about an All Parties' Convention, and he fully shared the desire of these two Pandits for a united stand or even a minimum demand. But the forces of extremism had gained their ascendancy and under the influence of Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar and Jawaharlal Nehru, the Madras Congress of 1927 declared "that the goal of the Indian people is complete independence". Not all Mr. Gandhi's rebuke could wean the Congress from the extreme position it had

taken up ; and it is surprising at this time of day to read Mr. Gandhi's rebuke of the independence-wallahs, in the light of his later activities. Commenting on the Independence Resolution, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* :

I could not fail to perceive that irresponsible talk and work were the order of the day, and that indiscipline was not a rare feature. Resolutions involving great consequences were sprung upon the Subjects Committee, and readily accepted by the august body, without much thought or discussion. The Independence Resolution that was rejected last year, was passed almost without opposition. I know that its wording was harmless but in my opinion it was hastily conceived, and thoughtlessly passed. The resolution, regarding the boycott of British goods was passed with an equally light heart. The Congress stultifies itself by repeating year after year resolutions of this character when it knows that it is not capable of carrying them into effect. By passing such resolutions, we make an exhibition of our impotence, become a laughing-stock of critics, and invite the contempt of the adversary.

And this from Mr. Gandhi who but a couple of years hence was leading an army of Salt Satyagrahis with a view to wrest independence from the British Government.

But the spirit of extremism once let loose was not to be curbed by the reasoning even of a man of Mahatmaji's influence and persuasiveness. The ranks of independence-wallahs swelled in the Congress and by the time the Congress met in Calcutta in December 1928, had become well-nigh irresistible. As part author of the All-Parties' Report, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President of the Session, pleaded for Dominion Status. But his son Jawaharlal with the support of Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar and Subash Chander Bose and others carried the day, and the stormy meeting of the Session ended with an emphatic declaration in favour of independence. The resolution, in view of Mr. Gandhi's later ultimatum, should be quoted :

The Congress, having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties' Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the vital unanimity

of its recommendations, and whilst adhering to the resolutions relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress, approve of the constitution drawn by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among important parties in the country.

Subject to the exigencies of political situation, this Congress will adopt the constitution, if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before 31st December 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with carrying on in the name of the Congress propaganda for complete independence.

This resolution was moved by Mahatma Gandhi himself as a sort of compromise and that explains Mahatmaji's later activities to fulfil the Calcutta programme.

A BONFIRE DEMONSTRATION

It was not long before Mahatmaji began as usual a whirlwind tour of the country in favour of the Calcutta resolutions. For it is a rule with him, whatever he undertakes to do he must do thoroughly. No half-hearted acquiescence with him! Early in March 1929, we find him presiding over a bonfire demonstration at Calcutta where he declared at the outset that Khadi was the only effective weapon if they were to wake up on January 1st as Independence-wallahs if need be. But he said :

I do not want to precipitate that time and I do not also want to anticipate it and if Government will play the game, if the police will play the game, if the public will play the game, I promise that we shall be able to settle our business with the Government without the public having to resort to civil disobedience or having even to resort to no-tax campaign which is also a part of civil disobedience. Believe me I shall strain every nerve to avoid and precipitate that issue.

Speaking with a full sense of responsibility on my shoulders I know the tremendous consequences of civil disobedience and no-tax campaign in a vast country like India, but a man who is made after freedom has got to take tremendous risk and stake everything that he has in order to gain that precious freedom.

MAHATMA GANDHI

There was trouble with the police, and Mr. Gandhi was hauled up before the Magistrate when he made the following statement :

I venture to submit, that by taking the law into their hands the police put themselves in the wrong and should change places with me. They should be the accused and I should be the complainant.

* * * I affirm that the crowd was absolutely peaceful and extremely well-behaved.

* * * The site chosen for burning was well-protected and isolated. It was therefore the duty of the police to refrain from interference, with the peaceful and orderly demonstration. Their interference, in my opinion, was rudely premature, extremely high-handed and uncalled for.

Concluding his long statement, Mahatmaji declared :

If you believe the statement of facts given by me, I ask that I and my colleagues be discharged and you may take such notice of the conduct of the police as may be open to you. This is irrespective of the interpretation that the Court may put on Section 96 of the Police Act.

Nominal fines were imposed on the accused which, it was said, was immediately paid by some one without Gandhi's knowledge. Gandhi declared that he could not believe that the fine was paid by some one on behalf of the Bengal Congress Committee. He could call nothing his own in this world from which he could pay the fine, and this apart from his views on the payment of the fine. He said, " Mr. Sen Gupta knew this thing and, therefore, whoever had paid the fine could not be a friend."

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTIONS

While the agitation was going on in India, the General Elections in England in May 1929 resulted in the overthrow of Mr. Baldwin's Ministry, and Labour came into power with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as Premier. The general feeling in India was one of thankfulness and relief as people were getting tired of, and irritated by, the Birkenhead tone. The avowed sympathy of Labour with

nationalist aspirations in India and Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald's friendship with leading Indian politicians and his well-known sympathy with their aspirations seemed for a time to evoke a generous response. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, and Dr. Drummond Shields, the then Under-Secretary, were politicians with Liberal proclivities; and it was not long before they were able to establish themselves in the generous appreciation of the Indian public. Not even the most recalcitrant non-co-operator could have objected to a Cabinet of acknowledged socialists anxious to pacify an Empire seething with sullen resentment against the arrogant imperialism of the "Little Englanders" whose tone had provoked the ire of ardent nationalists in India. Indian Liberals expected much from the Labour Government, while Congressmen were content that the worst was over with the fall of the Unionists, and things could never be so bad under an avowedly socialist Cabinet.

LABOUR'S ACHIEVEMENTS

The new Labour Government entered on its task with great zest and independence of judgment. It soon won notable successes in international policy which enhanced its prestige, strengthened its hold upon the electorate and created a wide-spread impression that the affairs of Great Britain were in the hands of men who brought a new and broad spirit to their management. Its courageous and statesmanlike policy, particularly with regard to Egypt, which resulted in the making of a new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in consonance with Egyptian public opinion, won almost universal appreciation; and the feeling began gradually to dawn upon the Indian mind, that if the same new spirit could be shown in dealing with India, the settlement of her constitutional problem would not be attended

with much difficulty. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, evidently brought a new and open mind to bear upon the consideration of the Indian political situation, and took particular care to avoid saying anything which might offend Indian sentiment and widen the gulf of misunderstanding, ill-feeling and discontent that yawned between Great Britain and India.

Lord Irwin who was then in England had tried his level best to reconcile Indian opinion to the Simon Commission. Finding it absolutely impossible His Excellency was in consultation with the Cabinet and had hit upon a Round Table Conference to solve the puzzling Indian problem. Now the Round Table Conference was one of the demands of the Congress for some years past and it was a happy solution of a very knotty problem.

THE VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

His Excellency Lord Irwin returned to India on 25th October 1929, and on Dewali day, that is, on 31st October, issued with the approval of His Majesty's Government an important statement which was a declaration of the goal of British policy in India. His Excellency declared :

The goal of British policy was stated in the Declaration of August 1917 to be that of providing for "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of British Empire". As I recently pointed out, my own instrument of instruction from the King-Emperor expressly states that it is His Majesty's will and pleasure that the plans laid by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain its due place among his Dominions. Ministers of the Crown, moreover, have, more than once, publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should, in the fullness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Dominions. But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government, in enacting the Statute of 1919,

am authorised, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to state clearly that, in their judgment, it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as here contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

His Excellency concluded as follows :

It is not necessary for me to say how greatly I trust that the action of His Majesty's Government may evoke response from, and enlist the concurrence of all sections of opinion in India; and I believe that all who wish India well, wherever and whoever they are, desire to break through the cobwebs of mistrust that have lately clogged the relations between India and Great Britain.

I am firmly assured that the course of action now proposed is at once the outcome of a real desire to bring to the body politic of India the touch that carries with it healing and health, and is the method by which we may best hope to handle those high matters in the way of constructive statesmanship.

THE LEADERS' STATEMENT

The immediate effect of this statement was almost electric. Except a handful of "Complete Independents" who considered that it was a move designed to undermine the growing movement of independence, all other sections of Indian opinion generally welcomed and appreciated the statement. A Conference of leaders of all parties met at Delhi to confer on the announcement and Mr. Gandhi himself drafted the resolution which was discussed and adopted with Dr. Sapru's amendments at the Conference. The Leaders' statement was as follows :—

We appreciate the sincerity underlying the declarations as also the desire of British Government to placate Indian opinion. We hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion constitution suitable for India's needs, but we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and certain points should be declared so as to inspire trust and ensure the co-operation of principal political organisations in the country.

We consider it vital for the success of the proposed conference that (a) a policy of general conciliation should be definitely adopted to induce a calmer atmosphere; (b) political prisoners should be granted a general amnesty; (c) the representation of progressive political organisations should be effectively secured and that the Indian National Congress, as the largest among them, should have predominant representation.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraph in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand however that the conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of H. E. the Viceroy.

Until the new constitution comes into existence, we think it necessary that a more liberal spirit should be infused in the Government of the country, that relations of the executive and legislature should be brought more in harmony with the object of the proposed conference, and that greater regard should be paid to constitutional methods and practices.

We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced from to-day and that the new constitution is to be but a register to that fact. Lastly, we deem it as an essential factor for the success of the Conference that it should be convened as expeditiously as possible.

It was thus thought that there would be an end of all trouble and a right solution of the vexed Indian question was near at hand. At any rate it was thought that the Round Table Conference was a move in the right direction and a move the genuineness of which was beyond question. And both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy made it plain that they meant to handle the situation in no pettifogging spirit. And the Viceroy straightway invited the leaders to confer with him on the personnel and other matters connected with the forthcoming Conference. And what was the surprise of the country when it became known that the Viceroy's conference with the leaders had failed. His Excellency met the leaders on the 23rd December 1929 at the Viceregal House, Delhi. But the conference broke down after three hours' discussion. The official *communique* stated :—

The Viceroy met Gandhiji, Pandit Motilal, Mr. Patel, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. A. Jinnah at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, this afternoon. Discussion was limited to the function of the proposed Conference in London. It was pointed out that any

member of the Conference would be free to advocate any proposals and that any measure of unanimity at the Conference would necessarily carry weight with British opinion. On behalf of the Congress Party the view was expressed that unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the Conference was to draft a scheme for Dominion Status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about Congress participation. His Excellency made it plain that the Conference was designed to elicit the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals, which it would be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament and that it was impossible for him or for His Majesty's Government in any way to prejudge the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament. Conversation then concluded.

This is but a diplomatic way of saying that Gandhi and the Viceroy could not agree and the Conference broke off!

LAHORE CONGRESS: INDEPENDENCE MOVE

No wonder when the Congress met at Lahore in December 1929, the atmosphere was charged with excitement.

Pandit Jawaharlal's Presidential address was, if anything, more decided in its demand for independence. Gandhi, as usual, had no light task in moderating the extreme wing of the Congress, and it was left to him to move the following resolution in the open session after a strenuous fight in the Subjects Committee. One can imagine what the unadulterated text would be like!

The Congress, whilst endorsing the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by the party leaders, including Congressmen, in connection with the Viceregal Pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciating the efforts of H. E. the Viceroy towards a peaceful settlement of the national movement for Swaraj, and having considered the result of the meeting between the Viceroy and Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference;

And in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress last year, this Congress now declares that Swaraj in the Congress creed shall mean complete Independence, and therefore further declares the Nehru scheme of Dominion Status to have

lapsed, and hopes all parties in the Congress will devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence, and hopes also that those whom the tentative solution of the communal problem suggested in the Nehru constitution has prevented from joining the Congress or actuated them to abstain from it, will now join or rejoin the Congress and zealously prosecute the common goal;

And as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for independence and in order to make the Congress policy consistent with the change of creed, this Congress declares a boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and calls upon Congressmen to abstain from participating, directly or indirectly, in the Legislatures in future, and the present members of the Legislatures to tender their resignation;

And the Congress calls upon the nation to concentrate its attention upon the constructive programme of the Congress and authorises the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch a programme of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.

Introducing the Independence resolution as adopted by the Subjects Committee, Gandhi characterised it as the *root of the future Congress work*. Thus the resolution declared complete Independence as the meaning of Swaraj for the purposes of the Congress creed and resolved on the complete boycott of the legislatures as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence.

Since the passing of the Independence Resolution, the cleavage between the Congress and the Government on the one hand and the Congress and Moderate opinion on the other became more and more pronounced. Liberals throughout the country regretted that owing to Mr. Gandhi's recalcitrant attitude, the possibility of the Round Table Conference was being jeopardised and a solution of the vexed problem still further deferred. And the Viceroy's speech in opening the Assembly on January 25 was not calculated to reassure the fading faith in Congress circles. Liberals felt that the good offices of the Viceroy and the well-intentioned Cabinet were being nullified by the

impossible attitude that Gandhi had taken. But Gandhi commenting on the Viceroy's speech in the Assembly wrote in *Young India* :

His Excellency the Viceroy deserves thanks from every Congressman for having cleared the atmosphere and let us know exactly where he and we stand.

The Viceroy would not mind waiting for the grant of Dominion Status till every millionaire was reduced to the level of a wage-earner getting seven pice per day. The Congress will to-day, if it had power, raise every starving peasant to the state in which he at least will get a living, even equal to the millionaires, and when the peasant is fully awakened to a sense of his plight and knows that it is not the *kismet* that has brought him to the helpless state but the existing rule. Unaided, he will in his impatience abolish all distinctions between the constitutional and unconstitutional, even the violent and non-violent means. The Congress expects to guide the peasants in the right direction.

Proceeding, Gandhi made the following offer to Lord Irwin :

- (1) Total prohibition.
- (2) Reduction of rates to 1s. 4d.
- (3) Reduction of land revenue at least by 50 per cent. and making it subject to legislative control.
- (4) Abolition of the salt tax.
- (5) Reduction of Military expenditure at least by 50 per cent. begin with.
- (6) Reduction of salaries of the highest grade services by half less, so as to suit the reduced revenue.
- (7) Protective tariff on foreign cloth.
- (8) Passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill.
- (9) Discharge of all political prisoners, save those condemned for murder or attempt to murder, or trial by ordinary judicial tribunals, withdrawal of all political prosecutions, abrogation of Section 124-A and Regulation III of 1818, and giving permission to all Indian exiles to return.
- (10) Abolition of the C.I.D. or its popular control.
- (11) To issue licences to use fire-arms for self-defence, subject to popular control.

In fact these were the terms which Mr. Gandhi communicated to Mr. Bomanji who undertook to negotiate with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, as early as January 1930.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the pressing needs, wrote Mahatma Gandhi, "but let the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of civil disobedience; and the Congress will heartily participate in any conference where there is a perfect freedom of expression and demand". That is to say non-compliance with these simple and vital demands would mean civil disobedience.

That was the beginning of another struggle, perhaps the most momentous in recent history. For we find soon after Mr. Gandhi addressing the Vidyapith words which in the light of his great march to the salt pans of the Arabian Sea, show that already he was on the war-path (of course the Non-violent war-path of the Satyagrahi.)

* * * * Other nations, said Mr. Gandhi, might have different and other means for getting their country's freedom, but for India there is no way but non-violent Non-Co-operation. May you be the exponents of this *mantra* of Swaraj and may God give you strength and courage enough to give all that you have in India's fight for Independence, a fight which is drawing very near.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

And so Gandhi and his co-workers set to work for independence, and a vigorous propaganda was abroad under the auspices of the Congress. The Working Committee met at Ahmedabad on the 15th February and after considerable deliberations decided on prosecuting Gandhi's scheme of civil disobedience. It accordingly invested Mahatmaji with dictatorial powers giving him full authority to prosecute his programme and prepare the country for civil disobedience. The resolution declared:

In the opinion of the Working Committee, Civil Disobedience should be initiated by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving Purna Swarajya as an article of faith, and as the Congress contains in its organisation not merely such men and women, but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Com-

nittee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorises him and those working with him, who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated, to start Civil Disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide.

The Working Committee trusts that in the event of leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them will carry on Congress organisation and guide the movement to the best of their ability.

GANDHI'S LETTER TO THE VICEROY

The next step was the famous letter addressed by Gandhi to H. E. Lord Irwin. Whatever might be said of Mr. Gandhi's programme there is a certain consistency in his method. Just as he began Non-Co-operation after giving due warning to Lord Reading, so now, before embarking on his campaign of civil disobedience, Gandhi wrote what is now called his "ultimatum" to the Viceroy. The letter, as we read it, was in no sense an ultimatum. It was a declaration of facts as Gandhi conceived them and he boldly and frankly enunciated his immediate programme in case the Viceroy should not heed his warnings. The letter was personally delivered to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy by one Reginald Reynold, an English youth who was an inmate of the Ashram for some months past. Mr. Gandhi chose an Englishman for this task probably as an indication of the fact that he still held Englishmen in respect and had no prejudices against them personally. The letter which reached the Viceroy on the 4th March was a strongly worded indictment of British rule:

And why do I regard the British rule as a curse?

It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture. And, by the policy of disarmament, it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking inward strength, we have been reduced, by all but universal disarmament, to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.

And then he passed on to say that in common with many of his countrymen, he had hugged the fond hope that the proposed Round Table Conference might furnish a solution. But the Delhi interview having miscarried, there was no option for Pandit Motilal Nehru and him "but to take steps to carry out the solemn resolution of the Congress arrived at in Calcutta at its session of 1928".

If India is to live as a nation, if the slow death by starvation of her people is to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief. The proposed Conference is certainly not the remedy. It is not a matter of carrying conviction by argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces. Conviction or no conviction, Great Britain would defend her Indian commerce and interests by all the forces at her command. India must consequently evolve force enough to free herself from that embrace of death.

That force is not in violence. Gandhi knew there was in the country a party of violence slowly gaining ground. But he was convinced that it could not bring the desired relief to the dumb millions.

And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organised violence of the British Government. Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organised violent force of the British rule as the unorganised violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned. Having unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer. This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience, for the moment confined to the inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement with its obvious limitations.

Nor was he unconscious of the risks he was running. He was certainly aware of the consequences of embarking on a campaign of civil disobedience. It was a mad risk to be sure, as he confessed.

But the victories of truth have never been won without risks often of the gravest character. Conversion of a nation that has e on-

sciously or unconsciously preyed upon another, far more numerous, far more ancient and no less cultured than itself is worth any amount of risk.

Gandhi declared that his idea was never to injure a single Englishman. If anything, he explained, his plan if successful would lead to natural friendship with Englishmen by doing away with the evils that now beset the British connection with India. And he went on to declare definitely :

But if you can not see your way to deal with these evils, and my letter makes no appeal to your heart on the 11th day of this month (March 1930), I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take to disregard the provisions of Salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's stand-point. As the Independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is that we have submitted to the cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope there will be tens of thousands ready in a disciplined manner to take up the work after me, and in the act of disobeying the Salt Act lay themselves open to the penalties of a law that should never have disfigured the Statute book.

The Viceroy's reply, as might be expected, was curt and brief expressing His Excellency's regret that Mr. Gandhi was contemplating "a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace".

Commenting on this, Gandhi wrote in *Young India* :—

On bended knees I asked for bread and received stone instead. The English nation responds only to force and I am not surprised by the Viceregal reply. The only public peace the nation knows is the peace of the public prison. India is a vast prison house. I repudiate this (British) law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent.

And so Gandhi prepared himself for immediate Satyagraha. To begin with there were the inmates of the Ashram including the students of the Vidyapith who offered themselves to be enrolled as volunteers. Gandhi held out

no alluring prospects before them. They were to be full alive to the difficulties of the task that lay ahead.

HIS "LAST MESSAGE AND TESTAMENT"

Our case is strong, our means purest, and God is with us. There is no defeat for the Satyagrahis till they give up the truth. I pray for the success of the battle which begins to-morrow.

In these words Mahatma Gandhi concluded what he termed his last message and testament on the banks of the Sabarmati where thousands had collected to hear him on the 11th March 1930 (the day previous to the great march). He exhorted the people of Gujarat to continue the plan of marching to Jalalpur in order to offer Civil Disobedience through the manufacture of salt, even if he and his party were arrested before reaching the destination. From what he had heard in the last fifteen days, he was confident that there would be enough volunteers forthcoming in Gujarat. The people of India, he urged, should preserve peace and carry out the instructions of the Working Committee. He laid down only one condition for the people to join what he called the "War of Independence"—and that was "absolute non-violence as an article of faith". They could carry out his programme in more ways than one. He once again outlined his programme of triple boycott and urged that those, who had courage, could refuse to pay taxes. Alluding to Civil Disobedience through breaking of salt monopoly, Mahatma Gandhi suggested three means to achieve the end. First, by the manufacture of salt wherever it could be done. Secondly, to remove salt without paying duty thereupon and thirdly to distribute salt. Referring to the question of leadership in the country he asked people to follow Pandit Jawaharlal. But where no Congress organisation existed, he asked every one to be his own leader. "Where could be the

question of leadership when the riddle of bravery could only be solved by freedom or death?"

THE GREAT MARCH

True to his declaration, just a little while before day-break on the morning of the 12th, Mahatma Gandhi with his 79 Volunteers, all students of the Vidyapith, left the Ashram on a campaign of civil disobedience. Their destination was the village of Dandi on the sea-coast near Jalalpur where Gandhi was to break the law regarding the manufacture of salt. Streams of Khaddar-clad men and women had flowed to the Ashram all night through to have a *darshan* of Mahatmaji and witness the great march. Among those were journalists and camera-men from far and near and correspondents of some British papers as well.

"The scenes that preceded, accompanied and followed this great national event," wrote the *Bombay Chronicle*, "were so enthusiastic, magnificent and soul-stirring that indeed they beggar description. Never was the wave of patriotism so powerful in the hearts of mankind, as it was on this great occasion which is bound to go down to the chapters of the history of India's national freedom as a great beginning of a Great Movement." In fact the *Chronicle* went so far as to say that Gujarat was to realize the great hopes of another patriot and reformer, who no less than half a century ago, had predicted its leadership in the coming campaign. For Malabari, it declared, had given poetical expression to the glory that was awaiting Gujarat. That was about the tone in which the nationalist press viewed the situation. And there was no doubt the march had appealed to the imagination of multitudes of people who were emotionally swayed by the dramatic turn of events.

Mahatmaji began at the head of the procession to march with quick steps and unfaltering. The pace was a trifle too fast for his health and age, wrote the correspondent.

He was carrying a long stick in his hand obviously for support. The whole army was marching in a perfectly disciplined manner. The agile general in the front was indeed a source of inspiration to all. The army passed all along the distance of ten miles up to Aslali between the densely packing rows of people who were standing in their places for hours together, eager for the "darshan" of India's great General. Ahmedabad had had on the occasion one of its hugest processions during living memory. With the possible exceptions of children and decrepits every resident of the city must have watched the great procession which was at least two miles in length. Those who could not find a standing place in the streets through which the army marched had made use of house-tops and galleries, open walls and trees and every conceivable place they could get hold of. The whole city seemed to be *enfete* on this historic occasion. The cries of "Gandhi-ki-Jai" were rending the skies all along the march.

"Like the historic march of Ramachandra to Lanka," said Pandit Motilal Nehru, "the march of Gandhi would be memorable and the places he passes through would be sacred."

And so for miles and miles the roads were watered and bestrewn with green leaves and the halting stations were decorated with flags and festoons, and all through there was a general appearance of a festival.

Mahatmaji spoke at all the halting stations, urging the people to take to khaddar, to stop drinking, to give up co-operation with Government and join the ranks of the Satyagrahis. At Aslali he told his followers that he would either die on the way or else keep away from the Ashram until Swaraj had been won. This was an expression of despair, said his critics; while his own followers were moved to their depths. "I have no intention of returning to the Ashram until I succeed in getting the salt tax

revealed," said Mr. Gandhi. He exhorted villagers to take to the spinning wheel, to look to the sanitation of the village and to treat the untouchables with brotherly love. He urged them to join his movement to break the salt monopoly of Government, as this would be a step forward on the way to Swaraj. Volunteers were enrolling themselves in their hundreds in the cause of civil disobedience and the headmen of several villages were resigning their jobs and joining the campaign. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi was supposed to be imminent and Mahatmaji, as might be expected, was well prepared for it and he gave instruction that his place should be taken up by Abbas Tyabjee, the aged friend, who has stood by Gandhi through all the years of Non-Co-operation. The fight threatened to be well-nigh grim: and as Sir P. C. Ray said, "Mahatma Gandhi's historic march was like the exodus of Israelites under Moses. Until the Seer seized the promised land, he won't turn his back."

SPEECH AT BORSAD

After ten days' march, Gandhi and his party of Satyagrahis reached Gujerat where they camped for the night. Speaking at Borsad, Gandhi made a full confession of his faith and the ideals for which he stands. In the course of his appeal to the gathering assembled at Borsad, he said :

The British rule in India has brought about moral, material and cultural and spiritual ruination of this great country. I regard this rule as a curse. I am out to destroy this system of Government.

I have sung the tune of "God Save the King" and have taught others to sing it. I was a believer in the politics of petitions, deputations and friendly negotiations. But all these have gone to dogs. I know that these are not the ways to bring this Government round.

Continuing, Gandhiji said, "sedition has become my religion. Ours is a non-violent battle. We are not out to

kill anybody but it is our *dharma* to see that the curse of this Government is blotted out."

And yet, as all the world knows, Gandhi is singularly free from malice or ill-will. He strenuously opposed social boycott of people for political or other reasons. Speaking at a place called Jambusar, Gandhi denounced the enforcement of social boycott against sub-inspectors of police. It was not religion to starve Government officials, said M. Gandhi, and he would suck the poison out of a dying enemy of his if he was bitten by a snake, in order to save his life.

The A.I.C.C. meeting which met at Ahmedabad on Friday the 21st March (1930) decided to start Civil Disobedience on the arrest of Mahatmaji or if he so directed, before his arrest by April 6.

SPEECH AT SURAT

"Suck the poison out of a dying enemy"—that was the key-note of Gandhi's Satyagraha, not a passion for revenge or an ambition to overthrow the enemy. In fact in Gandhi's theology there could be no such thing as an enemy unless it be an abstract one. Throughout the march which lasted four and twenty days, Gandhi went on preaching his cult of truth and non-violence to the multitudes that gathered from far and near, and he did not hesitate to impose the strictest discipline on the Satyagrahis that flocked to his banner. To him as to his band it was a religious pilgrimage and he would therefore eschew every attempt at making his journey a thing of comfort. At each place he halted, he spoke twice a day and his injunctions to his followers were rigorous in the extreme. He would not countenance any attempt to please the palate of the volunteers with delicacies brought from distant

places. He would not bear the sight of a common cooly carrying the heavy burner all through the dark and dusty paths of the countryside. Now and again Gandhi has the habit of "turning the searchlight inward" and the result is always salutary. He remembered that he had written strongly to the Viceroy on the subject of his enormous salary. In one of his exhortations at Surat on the 29th March, Gandhi referred to this particular passage in his open letter and went on to observe :

Only this morning at the prayer time I was telling my companions that as we had entered the district in which we were to offer civil disobedience, we should insist on greater purification and intenser dedication and warned them that as the district was more organised and contained many intimate co-workers, there was every likelihood of our being pampered. I warned them against succumbing to their pampering. We are not Angels. We are very weak, easily tempted. There are many lapses to our debit. Even to-day some were discovered. One defaulter confessed his lapse himself whilst I was brooding over the lapse of the pilgrims. I discovered that my warning was given none too soon. The local workers had ordered milk from Surat to be brought in a motor lorry and they had incurred other expenses which they could not justify. I therefore spoke strongly about them. But that did not allay my grief. On the contrary it increased with the contemplation of the wrong done.

"FEASTING WHEN OTHERS ARE HUNGRY"

In the light of these discoveries, what right had I to write to the Viceroy the letter in which I have severely criticised his salary which is more than 5,000 times our average income? How could he possibly do justice to that salary? And how can we tolerate his getting a salary out of all proportion to our income? But he is individually not to be blamed for it. He has no need for it. God has made him a wealthy man. I have suggested in my letter that probably the whole of his salary is spent in charity. I have since learnt that my guess is largely likely to be true. Even so, of course, I should resist the giving of such a large salary. I could not vote Rs. 21,000 per month, not perhaps even Rs. 2,100 per month. But when could I offer such resistance? Certainly not if I was myself taking from the people an unconscionable toll. I could resist only if my living bore some correspondence with the average income of the people. We are marching in the name of God. We profess to act on behalf of the hungry, the naked and the unemployed. I have no right to criticise the Viceregal salary, if we are costing the country, say fifty times seven pice, the average daily income of our

people. I have asked the workers to furnish me with an account of the expenses and the way things are going. I should not be surprised if each of us is costing something near fifty times seven pice. What else can be the result if they will fetch for me from whatever source possible, the choicest oranges and grapes, if they will bring 120 when I should want 12 oranges, if when I need one pound of milk, they will produce three? What also can be the result if we would take all the dainties you may place before us under the excuse that we would hurt your feeling, if we did not take them. You give us guavas and grapes and we eat them because they are free gift from a princely farmer. And then imagine me with an easy conscience writing the Viceregal letter on costly glazed paper with a fountain pen, a free gift from some accommodating friend. Will this behove you and me? Can a letter so written produce the slightest effect?

TRUSTEES OF THE DUMB MILLIONS

To live thus would be to illustrate the immortal verse of Akhobhagat who says 'stolen food is like eating unprocessed mercury' and to live above the means befitting a poor country is to live on stolen food. This battle can never be won by living on stolen food. Nor did I bargain to set out on this march for living above our means. We expect thousands of volunteers to respond to the call. It will be impossible to keep them on extravagant terms. My life has become so busy that I got little time to come in close touch even with the eighty companions so as to be able to identify them individually. There was therefore no course open to me but to unburden my soul in public. I expect you to understand the central point of my message. If you have not there is no hope of Swaraj through the present effort. We must become real trustees of the dumb millions.

Needless to say the speech produced a tremendous impression on the audience.

ADVICE TO PARSIS AT NAVSARI

The whole countryside was awake to the call of the Mahatma. Over two hundred patels had resigned and there was a general stir all round. Gandhi's own speeches were generally impassioned and always brave and there was a tone of pathos which had gone home to the hearts of the listeners. Addressing the Parsis at Navsari, Gandhi made a pathetic and fervent appeal to them to give up drink and the liquor trade. "If they are successful in doing away with the salt tax and the liquor traffic from India,"

added Gandhiji, "there is the victory for ahimsa. And what power on earth is there, then, that would prevent Indians from getting Swaraj? If there be any such power, I shall like to see it."

"Either I shall return with what I want, or else my dead body will float in the Ocean," concluded Gandhi—a sentence which was as much the expression of determination as of despair.

Thus it would appear, whether the masses understood all the implications of the Mahatma's political programme or not there was a wholesome cleansing of their souls. The tour must have caused a great social upheaval, for there could be little doubt as to Gandhi's powerful appeal as a social and temperance reformer. This is borne out by the impressions of Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* who is by no means a Satyagrahi but who is wholly in favour of the Mahatma's social gospel.

The general impression we brought away with us is more important perhaps than a detailed account of our experience. The Satyagraha against the salt laws is the last thing which the people at Chhaprabatha were thinking of when he was among them. They hailed his presence as that of an auspicious guest and during his stay with them they were absorbed in the pride of having him in their midst. He diffuses sweetness and light wherever he goes, and if I were Viceroy I would give him a commission to visit as many villages as possible every year. The *Satyagraha* was so clean out of our minds, even Mahatmaji's for the time being, that when my daughter took leave of him, he affectionately said, "Do come to the Ashram." Then correcting himself: "'Go' I should have said, as I will not be there. No, I shall not go back."

GANDHI'S STATEMENT AT DANDI

Gandhi and his party reached Dandi on the morning of the 5th April. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had also gone there to see the Mahatma. Interviewed by the Associated Press immediately after his arrival at Dandi, Gandhiji said:

God be thanked for what may be termed the happy ending the first stage in this, for me at least, the final struggle for freedom. I cannot withhold my compliments from the Government for the policy of complete non-interference adopted by them throughout the march. After the graceless and childish performance in the matter of Mr. Vallabhai's arrest and imprisonment and equally unprovoked arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sen Gupta, I was wholly unprepared for this exemplary non-interference. I am not so foolish as to imagine that the Government has suddenly lost their proved capacity for provoking popular resentment and then punishing with frightfulness. I wish I could believe this non-interference was due to any real change of heart or policy. The wanton disregard shown by them to popular feeling in the Legislative Assembly and their high-handed action leave no room for doubt that the policy of heartless exploitation of India is to be persisted in at any cost, and so the only interpretation I can put upon this non-interference is that the British Government, powerful though it is, is sensitive to world opinion which will not tolerate repression of extreme political agitation which civil disobedience undoubtedly is, so long as disobedience remains civil and therefore necessarily non-violent.

APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY

It remains to be seen whether the Government will tolerate as they have tolerated the march, the actual breach of the salt laws by countless people from to-morrow. I expect extensive popular response to the resolution of the Working Committee. I have seen nothing to warrant the cancellation of the notice I have already issued that all Committees and organisations throughout the length and breadth of the land are free, if they are prepared to commence from to-morrow Civil Disobedience in respect of the salt laws. God willing, I expect with my companions (volunteers) to commence actual Civil Disobedience at 6-30 to-morrow morning. 6th April had been to us since its culmination in Jalianwalla massacre day for penance and purification. We therefore commence it with prayer and fasting. I hope the whole of India will observe the National Work commencing from to-morrow in the spirit in which it was conceived. I am positive that the greater the dedication to the country's cause and the greater the purification, the speedier will be the glorious end for which the millions of India consciously or unconsciously are striving.

THE "LAW-BREAKER"

Gandhi's prayer on the morning of the 6th was more than usually solemn. In the course of his speech he observed that if he was arrested, they should take orders from Mr. Abbas Tyabjee and if he too was removed, from

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. He paid a tribute to both these leaders and asked the volunteers implicitly to obey them.

Gandhiji concluded his address by asking the visitors not to offer Satyagraha that day, but to do so the next day. He considered his offer of Civil Disobedience as a great *Yagna* and he evidently did not want demonstrations, proceeding out of motives other than spiritual, to be associated with his great movement.

Soon after prayers, Mr. Gandhi with his 84 volunteers of the Gujarat Vidyapith and Saheth Punjabhai of Ahmedabad, proceeded exactly at 6 in the morning for a bath in the sea. A large crowd accompanied the party. Gandhi was walking at a slow pace in grave solemnity and entered the water of the sea amidst loud cries of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai".

Gandhi was leaning on Miss Abbas 'Tyabji's shoulder, and was accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Then Gandhi and his volunteers proceeded to break the salt law by picking up the salt lying on the sea-shore. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu hailed the Mahatma by calling him 'law-breaker'.

No policemen appeared on the scene when Gandhi and his volunteers broke the salt law.

GANDHI'S STATEMENT

Immediately after breaking the salt law, Mr. Gandhi issued the following press statement :—

Now that the technical or ceremonial breach of the salt law has been committed, it is now open to any one who would take the risk of prosecution under the salt law to manufacture salt wherever he wishes and wherever it is convenient. My advice is that workers should everywhere manufacture salt, and where they know how to prepare clean salt, make use of it and instruct the villagers likewise, telling the villagers at the same time that he runs the risk of being prosecuted. In other words, the villagers should be fully instructed as to the incidence of the salt tax, and the manner of breaking the laws and regulations connected with it so as to have the salt tax repealed.

It should be made absolutely clear to the villagers that the breach is open, and in no way stealthy. This condition being known, they may manufacture salt or help themselves to the salt manufactured by Nature in creeks and pits near the sea-shore, use it for themselves and their cattle, and sell it to those who will buy it, it being well understood that all such people are committing a breach of the salt law and running the risk of a prosecution, or even without a prosecution, are to be subjected by so-called salt officers to harassment.

This war against the salt tax should be continued during the National Week, that is, up to the 13th April. Those who are engaged in this sacred work should themselves do vigorous propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth and the use of khadda. They should also endeavour to manufacture as much khadda as possible. As to this and the prohibition of liquor, I am preparing a message for the women of India who, I am becoming more and more convinced, can make a larger contribution than men towards the attainment of Independence. I feel that they will be worse interpreters of non-violence than men, not because they are weaker than men, in their arrogance, believe them to be, but because they have greater courage of the right type, and immeasurably greater spirit of self-sacrifice.

Being asked what he would do during the national week, Mr. Gandhi said, "I have a lot of work to do." He however laughingly added, "I shall encourage illicit manufacture of salt."

THE ARRESTS

Gandhi's law-breaking was only a signal for a series of acts of civil disobedience in hundreds of places in different parts of the country. Groups of Satyagrahis at different points in Bombay and Calcutta were making striking demonstrations of civil disobedience. The sequel was the arrest of the Mahatma's lieutenants. First came the arrest of Sardar Vallabhai Patel; then Mr. Manilal Kothari who was leading a batch of salt Satyagrahis. He was followed by Messrs. Nariman and Jammaal Bajaj; then Ramdas Gandhi and Devadas (sons of the Mahatma). Messrs. Deshpande and Durbar Gopaldas came next. Mr. Sen Gupta, on his release from Burma, sought arrest again by

defying the law of sedition in Calcutta. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, was arrested on the 13th. These arrests led to the usual trials followed by varying sentences, and by the end of the "national week," some 200 had courted imprisonment. Gandhi felt gratified at the result :

From information available up to now, I gather that the striking manifestation of mass Civil Disobedience in Gujarat has had its effect on the Government, who have lost no time in arresting the chief men. But I know that similar attention must have been bestowed by the Government on the workers in the other Provinces. This is a matter for congratulation.

It would have been surprising if the Government had allowed civil resisters to have their own way. It would have been barbarous if they had violated the persons and property of civil resisters without judicial process.

No exception can be taken to orderly prosecutions and penalties thereunder. After all, this is the logical outcome of civil resistance. Imprisonment and the like is the test through which the civil resister has to pass. He gains his end when he himself is found not to flinch and those whom he represents do not betray any nervousness where the leader is put away. Now is the time for every one to be both chief and follower.

It would pain me if even after these imprisonments, students who are in Government or Government-controlled schools and colleges do not respond by giving up their schools and colleges.

In another message issued to Gujarat, Mr. Gandhi pointed out that "Gujarat has fulfilled the hope expressed by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Jambusar".

The first day of the National Week has begun auspiciously. I congratulate all those brave warriors who are arrested. They have enhanced the glory of Gujarat and India. But what will the remaining workers in greater Gujarat do. I hope that uninvited, they will come down from all places and take the places of those arrested. Now is the time of test for students, pleaders and Government servants.

PROGRESS OF THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN

Indeed after the arrest of the Congress President, the movement flourished with renewed rigour. It was naturally impossible for Government to ignore the growing tendency to disregard the law. So the executive began to disperse

Satyagrahis. Early in the second week of April when the Satyagrahis at Aat attempted to carry contraband salt, the police tried to wrest it by force from their hands. Gandhi said, "they had no right to do that if they were representing a civilised government." When one of the volunteers was slightly injured on the wrist, Gandhi wrote :

This laying hand on the people for the purpose of seizing the salt they were carrying was morally wrong, and even wrong, I fancy, according to the English common law. But I do not know what powers are given by the statute.

Concluding, Mahatmaji said :

The legal procedure may be a cumbersome business for the Government, but since they have begun well, let them not end ill. If they resort to terrorism, they will find the people prepared. Let the people defend the salt in their possession till they break in the attempt, but they should do so without malice, without anger and without an angry word. The police have the easiest way open to them for taking possession of the salt. Let them arrest the civil resisters and they can take possession of the salt, because they have possession of their persons; but it can become forfeit only after conviction, not before.

The result of the campaign and of the numerous arrests and imprisonments of prominent workers in the various Provinces was to give an enormous stimulus to the movement. Huge public meetings were held in centres like Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Lucknow. An energetic campaign for the violation of the Salt Law was being conducted every day in Bombay, 500 volunteers dividing themselves into 5 batches of 100 each. The meeting held on the sands at Chowpathy (a spot hallowed by the cremation of Lokamanya Tilak's dead body) was reported to have been attended by no less than 500,000 people. Equally large meetings were held at Cawnpore with an audience of 53,000, and at Nagpur with 15,000. At Cawnpore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed the meeting and took a pledge from all present that they would

boycott British cloth at least for a period of twelve months. Over a thousand women were present at the meeting and made an enthusiastic response to the appeal.

The Maharashtra which threw in its full weight with Gandhiji, put up a brave (non-violent) fight. By the third week of May all the leaders found themselves in prison. Mr. K. M. Munshi, the member for University, resigned his seat on the Bombay Legislative Council and proceeded to Dandi to take an active part in the campaign. He was arrested and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200 on April 22. Then were arrested in turn Dr. Manubhai, Dr. Choit Ram, Mr. Jannadas Mehta, Mr. Mahadev Desai, Messrs. Banker, Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale, Swami Anand, Jannadas Dwarkadas and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

In Bengal, Dr. Ganesh Chandra Banerjee was sentenced to 2½ years' rigorous imprisonment, and Dr. Prafulla Ghose and Mr. Premnath Banerjea to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment. Messrs. W. N. Neogy, P. N. Dhar, and Prof. B. K. Bhattacharya were also arrested and convicted.

In Madras Mr. K. Nageswara Rao, Editor of the *Andhra Patrika*, and Mr. T. Prakasam, Editor of the *Swarajya* were both sentenced to varying terms and their place was taken up by Miss Dhurgabhai who was subsequently arrested at Vellore.

In the Tamil Nadu Mr. C. Rajagopalachari marched with a band of hundred volunteers to Vedaranyam where he was arrested and sentenced to six months. Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmi pathy was also convicted a fortnight later.

The movement was as active as ever in Andhra Desa, particularly all along the coast line. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya and Konda Venkatappaya were arrested and sentenced soon after. In U. P. it was not long before the prison

claimed Mr. Mohanlal Saksena, Babu Sri Prakasa, Moulvi Ahmed Zamankhan, Sardar Narbad Prasad Singh and others.

WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT

One remarkable feature of the situation was that women more than ever participated in it. Groups of women were enlisted as volunteers for organizing the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops in Bombay and Ahmedabad. In the latter city, Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai, the wife of a leading mill-owner, organized a deputation to Gandhiji, her programme being the Swadeshi vow and organization of the country for the boycott of British goods.

Gandhiji himself, addressing a meeting of women in a village near Navsari, requested them not to take part in the violation of the Salt Law. He observed :

Women ought not to take part alongside of men in defence of salt pans. I still give credit to the Government that it will not make war upon our women. It will be wrong on our part to provoke them into so doing. This is men's fight so long as the Government will confine their attention to men. There will be time enough for women to court assaults when the Government has crossed the limit. Let it not be said of us that men sought shelter behind women, well knowing they will be safe if they took women with them in what may be called, for want of a better name, aggressive non-violence. Women have, in the programme I ventured to place before them, enough work and to spare and the adventure and risk they may be capable of undertaking.

VIOLENCE

Gandhi had always insisted on carrying on the "warfare" in quite a gentlemanly fashion. But all warfare is ugly. Mass civil disobedience went on for a time without a hitch. But law-breaking led to arrests, and arrests to demonstrations and hartals, to be followed in turn by further arrests and consequent disturbances. The whole thing, as feared by many, worked in a vicious circle. The Satyagrah

grahis were by all accounts non-violent and observed their great leader's commands with praiseworthy discipline. But a mass movement gathers all and sundry, who without inhibiting the spirit of the movement and of its great leader are easily led astray by the excitement of conflict. And then the magnitude of the concourse and the general unrest are just the occasion for the eruption of sporadic outbursts of violence by the rowdies. It was just the atmosphere of confusion in which the vagabonds plied their trade with comparative ease. And these disturbances had to be quelled by the police or the military, and invariably the innocent suffered and the complaint became loud that the authorities had used more force than was necessary or justifiable. Whatever it was the happenings at Karachi, Patna, Poona, Calcutta, Peshawar, Sholapur and Madras threw a lurid light on the situation. "By their indiscriminate beating and assaults," said Babu Rajendra Prasad addressing a public meeting on the day following the incident in Patna, "the authorities had perhaps done more of propaganda and infused more spirit among the people than he could ever do by means of his speeches. Therefore, in this matter at least he admitted his defeat at the hands of the Government."

So much for Patna. Mr. Gandhi referring to the Karachi tragedy wrote :

Brave young Dattatreya who is said to have known nothing of Satyagraha and being an athlete had merely gone to assist in keeping order, received a fatal bullet wound. Meghrej Revachand, 18 years' old, has also succumbed to a bullet wound. Thus did seven men, including Jairamdas, receive bullet wounds.

It was a gruesome tragedy in Peshawar where many persons were killed as a result of military firing following a disturbance in which two armoured cars were set fire to.

In Madras, police assault on the peaceful Satyagrahis on the morning of the 25th April was an equally gruesome spectacle. Then began the dispersal of a public meeting by armed sowars and police firing.

Above all there was a most unexpected outburst of violence at Chitagong, where a number of young men armed with revolvers made an attack upon the police, killing six and wounding a few more. It was evident that this had nothing to do with the Satyagraha movement, but it was most unfortunate it should have occurred at all.

THE BENGAL ORDINANCE

The Government of India considered the situation at an emergency meeting of the Executive Council, and the Viceroy immediately issued an Ordinance renewing the Bengal Ordinance, which normally lapsed on April 23rd, in view of the grave happenings in Chittagong. Gandhiji, interviewed on the subject, said that the Chittagong news made sad reading, and "shows that there is a large or a small body of men in Bengal, who do not believe in non-violence as a policy or a creed". "If it is an indication, and not an isolated act," Gandhiji said, "it is a serious affair. But however serious the situation becomes, there can be no suspension of the fight. There can be no retracing." Civil resisters, in his opinion, "must therefore fight an unequal struggle with the violence of the Government and the violence of those who have no faith in non-violence."

Mahatmaji himself writing under the caption *Black Regime* reviewed the outstanding events and observed that "if Government neither arrest nor declare salt free, they will find people marching to be shot rather than be tortured."

THE PRESS ORDINANCE

While events were taking this untoward turn, H. E. the Viceroy promulgated on the 27th April another Ordinance reviving the powers of the Press Act of 1910, with certain amendments. His Excellency pointed out that many writings in the Press incited openly to violent and revolutionary action, others by consistent laudation of the civil disobedience movement, had encouraged a spirit of lawlessness throughout the country.

The ordinance was enforced with the utmost promptness in Delhi, the Government demanding securities from the principal papers. This was extended to papers in all the provinces with almost indecent haste. Some of these papers ceased publication, while others in deference to the decision of the Journalists' Conference paid the securities for the first time and continued. It was a difficult and almost impossible situation for nationalist papers and no wonder some newspapers including Mr. Gandhi's *Young India*, began to be issued in cyclostyle. Mr. Gandhi in a press statement declared :

Revival in the form of an Ordinance of the Press Act, that was supposed to be dead was only to be expected and that, in its new form, the Act contains additional provisions making the whole piece deadlier than before.

Whether we realise it or not, for some days past, we have been living under a veiled form of martial law. After all, what is martial law, if it is not the will of the commanding officer? For the time being the Viceroy is that officer and wherever he considers it desirable, he supersedes the whole of the law, both common and statute, and imposes ordinances on a people too submissive to resent or resist them. I hope, however, the time for tame submission to dictation from the British rulers is gone for ever.

I hope that the people will not be frightened by this ordinance. Pressmen if they are worthy representatives of public opinion will not be frightened by the ordinance. Let us realise the wise dictum of Thoreau that it is difficult, under tyrannical rule, for honest men to be wealthy, and if we have decided to hand over our bodies without murmur to the authorities, let us also be equally ready to hand over our property to them and not sell our souls.

I would therefore urge Pressmen and publishers to refuse to furnish security, and if they are called upon to do so, either to cease publication or challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like. When freedom is actually knocking at our doors, and, when for the sake of wooing it, thousands have suffered tortures, let it not be said of Press representatives that they were weighed and found wanting. They may confiscate the type and machinery. They will not confiscate the pen and still less the speech, but I recognise they can succeed in confiscating even these last two, but what they will never succeed in stifling what is after all the thing that matters, the thought of the nation.

He subsequently directed the manager of his *Navajivan* press to allow it to be forfeited rather than deposit security if security was demanded by the Government under the Press Ordinance. And, of course, in due course, *Navajivan* fell and with it the journals issued by that press.

MR. PATEL'S RESIGNATION

It was about this time too that President Patel resigned his office of speakership of the Assembly as well as his membership. In his letter to His Excellency Lord Irwin, he declared that he would serve the country better outside the Assembly by joining his countrymen in the "movement for freedom". He also outlined the difficulties and obstacles he had to contend with. "The Chair," he declared, "had been a bed of thorns for me all throughout." His movements, he alleged, had been constantly watched and he had been shadowed. During the last five years his health had been seriously impaired by strenuous work. "A man with weaker nerves," he declared, "would have resigned long ago or become subservient to the bureaucracy." He found that he had laid down precedents and conventions which, in his opinion, "might be a credit to any Assembly in the world".

I would ask you to lay aside in the larger interests of the respective countries all considerations of prestige and invite Mr. Gandhi for a settlement.

Thus wrote Mr. Patel in the course of his second letter to the Viceroy, tendering his resignation. Mr. Patel in this letter reviewed the political situation in the country and recounted the advice that he constantly gave to the Viceroy, dwelling on the importance of the Congress in Indian politics. In concluding, he paid a warm tribute to Lord Irwin. "You sincerely wish to solve India's problem," he said,

your influence with all the parties in England is great..... If, therefore, you take courage and rise to the occasion, you will serve both India and England as no man has served in the past. If you fail, it must be India's good-bye to England.

The Viceroy accepting the resignation refused to reply to all the allegations against the officers of his Government as "these charges bear on their face their own refutation". He referred to Mr. Patel's misunderstandings of events as evident in his letter of resignation and he hoped that Mr. Patel "and his friends would realize the great harm they were doing to India by refusing the way of peace" for the solution of the country's political problems.

GANDHI'S ACTIVITIES

Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi's own activities continued unabated. He travelled through the villages preaching incessantly now against untouchability, now against drink, now urging the people to go on with Khadi work and the manufacture of illicit salt, and calling upon the women to take the place of men in national service. At one place he asked the people to cut off all the palm trees in the village—himself inaugurating the ceremony of destruction by cutting at the root of one—and he called upon the village officers to resign and join the national work. Addressing a meeting of women in Surat on May 4, Gandhiji said that they should not attend his meetings in future without

their *taklis*. They could spin the finest counts on the *taklis*. Women of Surat had to atone for the admission of foreign cloth through the port of Surat. At the same place he called upon the caste panchayats to observe their pledge to abstain from drink. At Navsari however he warned the people against the social boycott of Government officials. "Kaira District appears to have become the theatre of war in Gujarat," wrote Gandhiji in an article in *Navajivan*.

People have preserved peace but there are anger and malice and therefore violence in their intensive social boycott. They censure and harrass Government officers in small matters. They will not succeed in this manner. We should expose the evils of the offices of Mamlatdars, Fozdars, etc., but we should not harbour anger towards Mamlatdars and Fozdars. There should be sweetness and respect in our intense boycott. Otherwise there will be riots some day. Mamlatdar and Fozdar etc. will cross the limit. Fozdar is already said to have crossed the limit. What wonder if the people crossed the limit? Similarly if some abuse, how can they blame those who resort to blows?

People of Kaira District should take a warning and enforce boycott within limits. I have indicated for instance boycott of village officers should be with regard to their office only. Their order should not be obeyed but their food supplies should not be stopped. They should not be ejected from their houses. If we are not capable of doing this we should give up the boycott.

Gandhiji was then drafting his second letter to the Viceroy and had also announced his intention of raiding the salt works of Dharsana and Chharwada.

THE ARREST

It was obvious that Gandhi's arrest was only a question of time. The Government of India had made up its mind to put a stop to his activities, a view in which the Home Government had no hesitation in concurring. But the whole affair was kept confidential and not until Mr. Gandhi was actually removed to Yerravada on the morning of the 5th, was it known that the arrest had taken place.

For at midnight on the 4th May, Gandhiji was arrested in his camp at Karadi. Describing the arrest, Mira Bai (Miss Slade) used the language of the Bible.

At dead of night, like thieves they came to steal him away. For, 'when they sought to lay hold on him, they feared the multitudes, because they took him for a prophet.'

It would appear that the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police with the Deputy Superintendent of Police and about 20 armed policemen proceeded from Jalalpur to Karadi and reached there at 12-45. They proceeded straight with the help of a flashlight torch to the cot where Mr. Gandhi was fast asleep. They directed the flashlight on Mr. Gandhi, who woke up. Policemen surrounded Mr. Gandhi's cot. Mr. Gandhi asked if they wanted him. The District Magistrate replied in the affirmative and said: "We have orders to place you under arrest."

Mr. Gandhi inquired if they minded his cleaning his teeth. The District Police Superintendent replied that he had no objection. While Mr. Gandhi was thus engaged in applying salt to his teeth with a brush, his "volunteers" assembled. Mr. Gandhi asked the District Magistrate if he would let him know the charge under which he was arrested. The District Magistrate then read out the warrant.

As Government views with alarm the activities of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, they direct that he should be placed under restraint under Regulation 25 of 1827 and suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government and be immediately removed to Yerravada Central Jail.

Mr. Gandhi thanked the District Magistrate and went about his morning routine. It was by this time nearing 1 A.M., and the District Magistrate requested Mr. Gandhi to speed up. Mr. Gandhi was soon ready to go. He handed over a letter which he had written to H. H. D. A. M. S. S.

and some other letters to one of his "volunteers" and he took his two bags, and a *takli*. Before Mr. Gandhi departed, his "volunteers" bade him farewell. By this time it was ten minutes past one and Mr. Gandhi was placed in a motor lorry, accompanied by policemen.

He was then taken to Borivli near Bombay by train and thence by motor car to Yerravada prison. By special favour of the authorities two newspaper correspondents, the late Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, representing the London *Telegraph*, and Mr. Negley Farson the correspondent of an American paper, were present at a level crossing when Mahatmaji was taken down from the train. Describing the same with true historic perception, Ashmead-Bartlett wrote :

There was something intensely dramatic in the atmosphere while we were waiting for the train, for we all felt we were eye-witnesses of a scene which may become historical—this arrest of a prophet, false or true. For, false or true, Gandhi is now regarded as a holy man and saint by millions of Indians. Who knows whether, one hundred years from now, he may be worshipped as a supreme being by 300,000,000 people. We could not shake off these thoughts and it seemed incongruous to be at a level crossing at dawn to take the prophet into custody

HIS MESSAGE

Before the arrest, however, Gandhiji had dictated Dandi what may be called his last message in which he expressed his satisfaction at the way Gujarat had responded to his call.

If such an auspicious beginning is carried to its full conclusion, complete Swaraj is a certainty and India will have set to the whole world an example worthy of her. Swaraj obtained without sacrifice, never endures. People may have, therefore, to make endless sacrifices. In real sacrifice there is only one-sided suffering, that is without killing others one has to die. May India accomplish this ideal! At present, the self-respect and everything of India are concealed in a handful of salt. The first may be broken, but it should never be opened.

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After I am arrested, neither the people nor my colleagues should be daunted. The conductor of this fight is God and not I. He dwells in the heart of all. If we have faith in us, God will certainly lead us. Our path is fixed. Whole villages should come forward to pick or manufacture salt. Women should picket liquor and opium shops and foreign cloth shops. In every house young and old should begin spinning on *takli* and heaps of yarn should be daily woven. There should be bonfires of foreign cloth. Hindus should regard none as untouchables. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians all should heartily embrace one another. The major communities should be satisfied with what remains after satisfaction of minor communities. Students should leave Government schools, and Government servants should resign and be employed in the service of the people like brave patels and talatis who have resigned. Thus shall we easily complete Swaraj.

MRS. GANDHI ON THE ARREST

Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mrs. Gandhi said :

Bapu has been removed, but his removal will in no way hamper the great task of winning India's freedom undertaken by him. If the nation sincerely followed Bapu, they should carry on the work with double vigour. Lawyers should now leave the courts, and women should justify the faith reposed in them by Bapuji, and should leave no stone unturned in the boycott of foreign cloth and abolition of the drink evil. I fervently hope that India will show her mettle, and give a fitting reply to the Government's unwarranted action.

MRS. NAIDU ON GANDHI'S ARREST

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in a statement to the Press on Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, said :

A powerful Government could have paid no more splendid tribute to the far-reaching power of Mahatma Gandhi than by the manner of his arrest and incarceration without trial under the most arbitrary law on their statute book. It is really immaterial that the fragile and ailing body of the Mahatma is imprisoned behind stone walls and steel bars. It is the least essential part of it. The man and his message are identical and his message is the living heritage of the nation to-day and will continue to influence the thought and action of the world unfettered and unchallenged by the mandate of the most autocratic Government of the earth.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE ARREST

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi naturally created considerable excitement, not only in India but all over the

world. It was followed by spontaneous demonstrations of sympathy from one end of the country to the other. It was the signal for a voluntary and complete hartal in Bombay, Calcutta and several other places. The day after the arrest, the hartal was even more wide-spread. In Bombay, a huge procession was taken out, and a public meeting in the evening had to be addressed from seven different platforms. About 40 out of the 80 mills had to be inactive, because over 50,000 men had come out in protest. The workmen of the G.I.P. and the B.B. and C.I. Workshops also came out and joined the hartal. The cloth merchants decided on a six days' hartal to indicate their disapproval of the arrest. In Poona, where Gandhiji was interned, the hartal was complete. Resignations from honorary offices and from the services were announced at frequent intervals. Troubles were brewing at one or two places, though on the whole the country had imbibed Mahatmaji's teachings rather astonishingly. The disturbances in Sholapur resulting in the burning of six Police Chawkies led to police firing in which 25 were killed and about a hundred wounded. In Calcutta, though the hartal was peaceful in the City, there were disturbances at Howrah where the police opened fire; at Panchannantala, a crowd which tried to hold up a train was fired upon by the police and fifteen were injured. Section 144 was at once promulgated at Howrah, and numerous arrests were made. There was firing also in Delhi, following the refusal of a crowd to disperse. Under Section 144, all assemblies of more than five were prohibited.

PROTESTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

But Gandhiji's arrest had a world-wide interest, Indians engaged in business in Panama called a 24-hour-sympathetic 'hartal'. A similar step was taken by Indians

on the east coast of Sumatra, who wired to the Viceroy and the Congress regretting Mr. Gandhi's arrest. French papers were full of Gandhi and his doings. The boycott movement had a repercussion in Germany also where textile exporters were advised by their agents in India to suspend exports. Reuter reported that Saxon manufacturers of cheap printed cotton goods were particularly hard hit. The Indian community of Nairobi declared a 'hartal' in consequence of the arrest.

AMERICAN SYMPATHY

Meanwhile, an influentially signed message was cabled to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald by 102 American clergymen of various denominations urging him to seek an amicable settlement with Mr. Gandhi and the Indian people. Signatures were collected by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, New York, and the message appealed to the Prime Minister in the interests of Britain, India, and the world to avoid the tragedy of a conflict which would mean catastrophe for all mankind.

The signatories refused to believe that Mr. MacDonald, representing principles of freedom, democracy and brotherhood, could find it impossible to negotiate with Mr. Gandhi and make peace with the spiritual ideals he so sublimely embodies.

THE LIBERAL MOVE

The Government of India was no doubt keenly alive to the seriousness of the situation. H. E. the Viceroy interviewed the Liberal leaders, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad at great length. The Council of the Liberal Federation met at Bombay to consider the political situation and leading Liberals gave expression to the urgent need for another announcement from the Viceroy fixing the early date of the Round Table Confer-

ence. But the day before the meeting of the All-Parties' Conference and the Council of the Liberal Federation, H. E. made another important announcement and released for publication his correspondence with the Prime Minister. The Council of the Federation also issued a statement on the situation. The Council, while unequivocally condemning the civil disobedience movement, urged the Viceroy to speed up the preparations for the Round Table Conference for the discussion of Dominion Status. It stressed the importance of the Government

indicating the terms of reference and the scope of the Round Table Conference in order that even at this stage those who keep aloof may join hands with the Liberals and other Parties who are proceeding to the Conference.

It further laid stress

on the simultaneous cessation of civil disobedience and the initiation of active conciliation on the part of the Government to be manifested by the release of those whose freedom has been restrained for political reasons, and the taking of all political Parties into Government's full confidence.

LORD IRWIN'S ANNOUNCEMENT

In the course of a statement announcing the date of the Round Table Conference, His Excellency the Viceroy reviewed the course of political events since his announcement of November 1, reiterated his desire to continue his work for India despite the many lamentable happenings, and concluded with the remark :

Our purpose remains unchanged. Neither my Government nor His Majesty's Government will be deflected by these unhappy events from our firm determination to abide by the policy I was privileged to announce on November last.

After reviewing the developments in this country since October 1929 and pointing out how his warning to Mr. Gandhi against the consequences of a campaign of civil disobedience had been proved by recent riots, Lord Irwin declared that steps were being taken to arrange for the

assembling in London of the representatives at the Round Table Conference. His Excellency added, "I have learnt to love India too well to relax my efforts to assist what I hold to be the natural and true development of her political life," and emphasised that no settlement can be considered satisfactory which did not carry the consent of, and give a sense of security to, the important communities who will have to live under the new constitution.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION

But, in the meanwhile, the Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad and expressed its abiding faith in civil disobedience. It chalked out the lines to follow in the coming weeks and recommended in its resolutions :

- (1) Civil Disobedience Campaign to continue ;
- (2) Complete boycott of foreign cloth ;
- (3) Inauguration of a no-tax campaign ;
- (4) Weekly breaches of the Salt Law ;
- (5) Boycott of British Banking, Insurance, Shipping and other institutions ;
- (6) Picketing of liquor shops ;
- (7) Delegation of full powers to Pundit Motilal Nehru.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Abbas Tyabji who took up Mahatmaji's place as leader of the Salt Satyagrahis was arrested on the 12th April.

Mrs. Naidu who had proceeded to Allahabad to attend the Working Committee meeting, on hearing of Mr. Tyabji's arrest, hurried to Dharsana, in fulfilment of her promise to Mr. Gandhi and continued to direct the raid. She and her batch of volunteers, who had pursued a policy of "wait and see" for over 24 hours, were formally arrested on 16th morning, taken out of the police cordon and then released.

After the first batch had left the prohibited area a few volunteers, taking advantage of the fact that the majority of the police party had moved out to the lunch camp leaving only a handful to keep watch, rushed towards the salt

mounds. They were chased out, and in the scuffle, a few volunteers were injured. The same evening over 220 volunteers were arrested by the police on a charge of being members of an unlawful assembly and were detained in the segregation camp at Dharsana.

According to the decision of the Bombay Congress Committee, a large number of volunteers converged on the Wadala salt works on the 18th morning. The 'raid' was frustrated by the prompt action of the police, who, armed with revolvers, arrested over 400 of the Satyagrahis. There was an exciting chase after a batch of the arrested persons, who had broken loose from the police cordon and dashed out for Wadala, but were also soon rounded up.

THE EFFECT OF THE MOVEMENT

The repercussions of the movement in the country were plain enough. To take a single instance, largely owing to the civil disobedience campaign, the Bombay Government was faced with a Budget deficit of Rs. 1½ crores, whereas they had estimated a surplus of Rs. 1 lakh.

There was also a fall in excise revenue of Rs. lakhs and a decrease of Rs. 16 lakhs from forests; Rs. lakhs of land revenue remained uncollected.

But its effect on the London market and in the manufacturing centres in England was even more pronounced. The Free Press Correspondent, writing of the effect of the boycott movement, observed :

Since the attack seems to be concentrated on the textile goods, it is here that the effectiveness of the movement is most visibly felt. But what worries manufacturers is not so much the feeling that they would ultimately lose the Indian market as the fear that the existing contracts would either not be fulfilled or would be cancelled. The tendency to cancel the present orders seems to be on the increase, and the Manchester Correspondent of *The Daily Mail* says, "The latest news from India is likely to bring Lancashire's Indian trade to a complete standstill. Already spinning mills

and weaving sheds are closing down indefinitely and thousands of operatives are joining the ranks of the unemployed."

Thus nobody, least of all the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, could believe that the trouble was all over with the arrest. It would appear that they were forced to it rather painfully. It is easy enough for the ignorant or the reactionary Press in England, as in India, to goad the Government on to acts of repression. But they forgot that the Mahatma himself, when free, is a great force working for peace. Mr. Benn and Lord Irwin knew that there could be no peace in the country until the whole problem of the Indian constitution was discussed *de novo* and a settlement in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the people arrived at. Hence it was that, in reply to questions in the House of Commons on the morrow of the arrest, Mr. Wedgwood Benn emphasised "that the invitations to Indian leaders for the Round Table Conference still stood despite anything that has happened".

THE SALT RAIDS

Meanwhile successive meetings of the Working Committee decided to continue the programme and the raid was to go on. A mass raid at Dharsana took place on the 21st of May, when 2,500 volunteers from all parts of Gujerat took part in it. They were led by Imam Saheb, the 62-years old colleague of Gandhiji in South Africa. The volunteers commenced the raid early in the morning, and as they attacked the salt heaps at different places, the police charged them with lathis (bamboo sticks) and beat them back. Thousands witnessed the spectacle. After this had gone on for two hours, the leaders, Messrs. Imam Saheb, Pyarilal and Manilal Gandhi were arrested and later Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also. The total number of injured volunteers on that day was 290. One injured volunteer, Mr.

Bhailalbhai Dajabhai, died from the effects of the injuries. The police, with the help of the military, then practically isolated Dharsana and Untadi by blocking the main road leading to these places and preventing any car or pedestrian from going along it. All the volunteers who were camping at Untadi were taken to some unknown destination and later released.

Two batches of volunteers numbering about 200 were led on the 3rd June from Untadi camp to raid the Dharsana salt depots. Both were held up by the police who, when the crowd entered the prohibited area, charged them with lathis. The injured men were taken to the camp hospital.

WADALA RAIDS

A succession of raids were also made on the Wadala Salt depot. On the 22nd, 118 volunteers were arrested and taken to Worli. On the 25th, 100 volunteers were accompanied by a huge crowd of 2,000 spectators. The police charged them with lathis, injuring 17, and later arrested 115 of them. The raid lasted two hours. It was continued in the afternoon when 18 more were injured by police lathis. On the 25th, about a dozen were injured, and among them the airman Kabali. On the 26th, 65 volunteers were afield and 43 of them were arrested. The rest with the crowd got off with the salt. An official Press Note stated that the disturbances that had so far taken place, had been caused largely by the sight seers who were, unlike the volunteers, not disciplined. The Note warned the public to keep away from Wadala while the raids were in progress.

But the most demonstrative raid was to come off on the 1st June for which the War Council was diligently preparing. On the morning of the 1st, nearly 15,000

volunteers and non-volunteers participated in the great mass action at Wadala.

Successive batches marched up to the Port Trust level crossing and the swelled crowd were held up there by the police cordon. Soon the raiders among whom were women and children broke through the cordon, splashed through slime and mud, and ran over the paas. Congress raiders numbering about 150 were slightly injured. The raiders were repulsed by the police who were acting under the immediate supervision of the Home Member.

Serious trouble ending in two police charges and the calling out of the military to cope with the situation occurred at the Worli Detention Camp on the 3rd June when, about a thousand under-trial Wadala "Raiders" were involved in a brush with the police resulting in about ninety casualties, twenty-five of them being serious.

ORDINANCES GALORE

Meanwhile the Viceroy issued two more Ordinances in order to check the inauguration of no-tax campaign, the picketing of foreign cloths and liquor shops and the social boycott of Government servants. These were called the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance and the Prevention of Intimidation Ordinance. Each of them was accompanied by a personal statement by the Viceroy, who set out his reasons for such extraordinary legislation. The new Ordinances were at once applied, by notification, to the Provinces of Bombay, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa and the North-west Frontier; the Instigation Ordinance alone was extended to the Punjab.

EYE-WITNESSES' STATEMENT

But the way in which the raiders were dealt with by the police caused considerable public indignation and protests. On-lookers were aghast at the gruesome

spectacle. Mr. Hussain, ex-Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay, Mr. K. Natarajan and Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President, Servants of India Society, who personally watched the Dharsana raid, issued a statement in which they said that :

They saw with their own eyes that after Satyagrahis were driven out of the Salt boundary, mounted European Sowars rode at full gallop with lathis in their hands beating people between the spot where Satyagrahis had reached for raid and the village itself. They actually galloped full speed through the streets of the village scattering men, women and children. Villagers ran into bye-lanes and closed themselves in houses. But if, by accident, they were unable to escape, they were beaten with lathis.

Mr. Webb Miller, writing to the *New Freeman* expressed abhorrence of the sights at Dharsana.

In eighteen years of reporting in twenty-two countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharsana. Sometimes the scenes were so painful that I had to turn away momentarily. One surprising feature was the discipline of the volunteers. It seemed they were thoroughly imbued with Gandhi's non-violence creed.

MR. SLOCOMBE'S IMPRESSIONS

Mr. George Slocombe, the representative of the *Daily Herald*, London, was also an eye-witness to some of the Salt raids.

I watched the events from an observation-post on one of the rocky hills which ring in Wadala.

It was humiliating for an Englishman to stand among the ardent, friendly, but deeply moved crowd of volunteers and sympathizers and watch the representatives of the country's administration engaged in this ludicrous, embarrassing business.

The scenes that he witnessed burnt themselves into his mind, and like a true evangel he was groping for a way out of the impasse. It was now that he achieved a journalistic coup more impressive and certainly more fruitful than Mr. Bartlett's interview at the Railway level crossing. On May 20, Mr. Slocombe saw Mr. Gandhi in Yerravada Jail

and wrote a masterly despatch to his paper—a despatch which disturbed the slumbers of the House of the Commons and threw the Tory press into a paroxysm of chagrin and fury. It was in that despatch that Mr. Slocombe announced that

even at this critical hour, a settlement is possible and Mr. Gandhi is prepared to recommend to the Congress a suspension of the civil disobedience movement and co-operation with the Round Table Conference on the following terms :

(1) The terms of reference of the Round Table Conference to include the framing of a constitution giving India the substance of independence.

(2) Satisfaction to be granted to Mr. Gandhi's demands for the repeal of the salt tax, prohibition of liquor and the ban on foreign cloth.

(3) An amnesty for prisoners convicted of political offences, to coincide with the end of the civil disobedience campaign.

(4) The remaining seven points raised in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy to be left for future discussion.

And Mr. Slocombe pertinently asked :

Is the Government prepared to make honourable peace with him? Negotiation is still possible and after my two meetings with Mr. Gandhi in prison, I am convinced that conciliation will be met with conciliation but that violence on either side will compel surrender of the other. Incalculable disaster may yet be avoided by the frank recognition that the imprisoned Mahatma now incarnates the very soul of India.

A WEEK'S WAR NEWS

But the authorities were then in no mood to listen to this counsel. Government was bent on breaking the back of the Civil Disobedience movement—and its method was simplicity itself. It was to clap all the leading men of the Congress in prison and literally to beat down the ranks. As we have seen Abbas Tyabji followed Gandhi to prison. Mrs. Sarojini who took his place was arrested on the 23rd June, and Pandit Motilal Nehru on the 30th. Vallabhai Patel and Pandit Malaviya found themselves in prison on the 3rd August following a sensational trial. Abdul Kalam Asad, the next president, was clapped on the 21st, and

Mr. V. J. Patel and Dr. Ansari on the 25th; and indeed, the whole Working Committee was declared illegal on the 26th.

What with ordinances galore and lathi charges the atmosphere was one of utter gloom and desolation. All the vocabulary of the war was in full use. The press reported of "news from the front" and "war councils" were carrying on in every province. A specimen diary of a "week's war news" for August 1930 will give some idea of the situation in the country. Here is the depressing record:

Working Committee declared unlawful in Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, C. P., Delhi and Madras. On the arrest and conviction of the members of the Working Committee which met at Delhi, a fresh Committee has been formed in which there are six Muslims and six Hindus with Choudhry Khalig-Uz-Zaman as President.

AJMER:—Security demanded of 'Jair Sudharak' Press. Conviction: Shri Shantidevi.

BENGAL:—Security demanded of 'India To-Morrow'. Firing at Shyam Sundarpur. Convictions: 5 women and 282 men.

BIHAR:—Lathi charge at Pakaur. Ramalakhan Sinha and K. Sinha of Gaya Jail have passed away. Convictions: 109 men.

BOMBAY:—War Council arrested. Peshawar Patel Committee Report proscribed. Security demanded of 'Be Ghadi' Movement. Convictions: 105 men.

C. P.:—Lathi charge at Anjanipur. Firing in Shahpur. Convictions: 47.

DELHI:—Security demanded of 'Aala'. Convictions: 10 women and 79 men.

GUJARAT:—Security demanded of 'Rajasthan'. Lathi charges at Barwala and Nadiad. Firing at Ode, one killed. Hunter lashes to political prisoners at Nadiad. Convictions: 42 men.

KARNATAK:—Convictions: 141 men.

MADRAS:—Lathi charge at Udamalpet, Kodur and Tinnevely, and on political prisoners of Rajmandri Jail. Convictions: 36 men.

U. P.:—Congress organisations declared unlawful. Lathi charge at Santjer and Bulandskew. Convictions: Maulana A. K. Azad and 70 others.

THE SAPRU-JAYAKAR NEGOTIATIONS

It was at this time and under such circumstances that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar undertook

the very delicate and difficult task of negotiating a settlement of outstanding differences between the Congress and Government. Sir Tej Bahadur rightly thought that such a settlement would facilitate Congress representation at the ensuing Round Table Conference, and he set about the business (as he said subsequently) at the instance of some leading Congressmen. The documents and correspondence relating to the Peace Negotiations were released on the 5th September, and we must here be content with a brief precis of them.

The basis of the negotiations was two statements by Pandit Motilal Nehru :

I. The Pandit's interview with Mr. George Slocombe on June 20.

II. Mr. Slocombe's statement submitted to Pandit Motilal and approved by him.

On the basis of these documents Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar requested the Viceroy in their letter of July 13 to afford them facilities to see Mr. Gandbi, Pandit Motilal and Pandit Jawaharlal in gaol, without any gaol officer being present. Lord Irwin's reply, giving them the desired permission, reiterated the statement that he had embodied in his speech to the Central Legislature, indicating his attitude to the constitutional issue.

MR. GANDHI'S NOTES TO THE NEHRUS

The two peace intermediaries had long conversations with Mr. Gandhi in Yerravada gaol on July 23 and 24. The outcome of the talks was that he gave a note and a letter to be handed over to the Nehrus in Naini gaol at Allahabad. The Note, among other things, urged :

I. That the Conference be restricted to a discussion of the safeguards that may be necessary in connection with full self-government during the period of transition.

H. Simultaneous calling off of civil disobedience and the withdrawal of the Ordinances and release of Satyagraha and political prisoners.

Further, Mr. Gandhi stated that he would reserve to himself

the liberty of testing every Swaraj scheme by its ability to satisfy the object underlying the 11 points mentioned in my letter to the Viceroy.

The letter to Pandit Motilal stated that "Pandit Jawaharlal's must be the final voice," and that he (Mr. Gandhi) "should have no hesitation in supporting any stronger position (than that adopted in the note) up to the letter of the Lahore resolution."

But the Nehrus pitched their demands a trifle too high and in their note to Gandhiji expressed their doubts as to the wisdom of lowering their standard.

They also felt that "we are unlikely to achieve anything (at the R. T. C.) unless an agreement on all vital matters is previously arrived at". And then Gandhi wrote his revised terms which he gave to Mr. Jayakar in the first week of August, declaring :

(1) No constitutional scheme would be acceptable to Mr. Gandhi which did not contain a clause allowing India the right to secede from the Empire at her desire and another clause which gave the right and power to India to deal satisfactorily with his eleven points.

(2) The Viceroy should be made aware of this position. Mr. Gandhi would also insist at the Conference on a clause giving India the right to have examined by an independent tribunal all the British claims and concessions given to Britishers in the past.

CONGRESS LEADERS' NOTE

The next event was the joint interview in Yerravada gaol on the 14th and 15th August, between Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru on the one side, and Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Daulatram, the Nehrus and Dr. Syed Mahmud, on the other. The result was a letter signed by the Congress

leaders in the course of which they said among other things :

The following is the utmost response it is possible for us to make to your friendly endeavour :

The language used by the Viceroy in the reply given to your letter about the Conference is too vague to enable us to assess its value nor are we in a position to say anything authoritative without reference to a properly constituted meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and if necessary the A.I.C.C. ; but for us individually no solution will be satisfactory unless (a) it recognizes, in as many words, the right of India to secede at will from the British Empire ; (b) it gives to India complete National Government responsible to her people, including control of the Defence forces and economic control, and covers all the eleven points raised in Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy, and (c) it gives to India the right to refer, if necessary, to independent tribunal such British claims, concessions and the like, including the so-called public debt of India, as may seem to the National Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India.

Note :—Such adjustments as may be necessitated in the interests of India during the transference of power to be determined by India's chosen representatives.

The negotiators then interviewed the Viceroy between the 25th and 27th August. His Excellency, while appreciating the spirit in which they had undertaken the work, declared :

I do not think any useful purpose would be served by my attempting to deal in detail with the suggestions they made, and I must frankly say I regard the discussion on the basis of the proposals contained in the letter as impossible.

Thus ended the Sapru-Jayakar negotiations to which the country was looking forward with hopes for a settlement.

THE FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS

The failure of the negotiations came as a rude shock and disappointment to the country at large. While Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, in conformity with the recognised etiquette on such occasions, kept a dignified silence, Liberal leaders felt sorely aggrieved by the prospect of the indefinite continuance of impasse and the strain on the

country consequent on the rigorous application of ordinances resulting in the meek and helpless sufferings of the people. Even some of the advanced nationalists did not quite approve of the intransigence of the Congressmen.

Thus the *Mahratta*, the leading organ of the Tilak School of Nationalists, while holding that the major portion of the responsibility for the failure of the peace negotiations rested on the Government, severely criticised the Congress leaders for shifting the basis of negotiations. It pointed out that in the first letter Mahatma Gandhi did not refer to the right of secession or to the question of the public debt of India. 'It was an after-thought and inserted in his second note.' It wrote :

In brief, the Congress leaders, by their unpractical extravagance, and probably by their lack of the exact perception of the political situation, have, to our mind, lost a golden opportunity of compromise. We do not believe that the country would have suffered by the compromise. On the contrary, it is our conviction that the nation would have been better braced up for any other political movement, if necessity for the same arose later. The movement of the Congress was indeed pre-eminently successful. The conduct of the Government had even certified that success. But the fact, as it seems to us and as it would be found to be correct in course of time, is that though the victory was won on the battlefield, it has now at least been lost on the peace-table.

Undeterred by the failure of these efforts, Mr. Horace G. Alexander, Professor of International Relations at Selly Oak College, took upon himself the seemingly impossible task of bringing about a *rapprochement* by further efforts at negotiation and sought interviews with the Viceroy in Simla and Mr. Gandhi in jail. Recording his impressions of his interview with the angust prisoner and the possibility of a common factor in the tangle of dissensions, he pointed out subsequently in an article in the *Spectator* that :

Phrases like 'Dominion Status' and 'Federation' mean little to him. He wants to know what the functions and powers of a

Dominion are to be, and who is to have effective control of the essential services in any federation. Unlike many of his fellow-countrymen, it is not the prestige of a higher status that he craves, but the power to wrestle with the problem of Indian poverty. There is surely nothing negative or destructive in such an aim, as so many of his British critics maintain, even though his method of securing it may seem strange.

It was in fact clear that though he had to implement the existing laws with about a dozen ordinances, all obnoxious to the people, Lord Irwin was by no means oblivious to the spirit underlying the disobedience movement in the country. Addressing the Calcutta European Association at a dinner Lord Irwin declared :

However emphatically we may condemn the Civil Disobedience Movement, we should, I am satisfied, make a profound mistake if we underestimated the genuine and powerful meaning of nationalism that is to-day animating much of Indian thought and for this no complete or permanent cure has ever been or ever will be found in strong action by Government.

But the Imperial Government had decided to go on with the Round Table Conference, irrespective of Congress participation, though they would welcome such participation at any stage. H. E. Lord Irwin, speaking at a farewell Banquet at Simla on September 29th, made reference to the peace efforts and the Round Table Conference and observed :

In little more than a month from now representatives from all parts of India will meet His Majesty's Government in a Conference, which, I trust, may long be remembered as one of the landmarks of progress in the history of this country.

That the Conference will include no representative of one important political party in India, and, I confess, that the refusal of that party to endeavour to make their contribution to discussions of such far-reaching consequence, seems to me to betray a tragic lack of foresight and a bankruptcy of statesmanship.

But, while deploring that wiser counsels have not prevailed, I do not think there can be much doubt on whose shoulders must rest the blame for the present position of affairs.

Thus, arrangements were in rapid progress to make the London Conference a great and impressive success.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Accordingly the opening of the Round Table Conference in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, on Wednesday the 12th November 1930, was attended with stately splendour. For the first time in the history of British connection with India, the King of England presided over the Conference and gave his Royal blessings to a historic gathering called upon to deal with the momentous problem of India's future constitution. There were 86 delegates in all: 16 from the Indian States, 57 representing British India, and 13 from the British political parties. The central figure in the scene was the King himself. The Premier, Princes and their Ministers sat to the right of the throne. Mr. Benn and other British delegates to the left, and the British Indian delegation to the front. Among the keenly interested visitors were the Prime Ministers of the Dominions. The speeches delivered on the occasion were altogether impressive.

The plenary session recommenced at St. James' Palace on the 17th and continued for 5 days till the 21st, during which time a number of speeches were made by representatives of the various delegations, and the consensus of opinion was a strong and irresistible plea for Dominion Status for India.

Opening the general discussion on the future form of Constitution for India, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru delivered a magnificent speech which made a great impression on the House. "India is determined to achieve a status of equality with the other three members of the Commonwealth, which will give her a Government, not merely responsible, but responsive, to the popular voice," said

Dr. Sapru, and concluded amidst cheers: "We are here to add, if we can, a bright chapter to the history of the relations of England and India."

A striking feature of these deliberations was the part taken by the Ruling Chiefs and Princes who participated in the discussion. The Maharajahs of Patiala and Bikaner and Alwar, and the Nawab of Bhopal and the representatives of the States, were unanimous in their plea for broadening the basis of the Indian Constitution and joining an Indian Federation. The Rt. Hon. Sastri made an impassioned appeal to the Premier pointing out the strength and unanimity that lay behind the movement for freedom in India. Mr. MacDonald replied with much force and earnestness.

Especially notable also was the declaration that the attitude of the Princes had revolutionised the situation, and he went on to say:

Your problem and my problem is to sit down together and supply practical answers to those questions which can be embodied in an Act of Parliament. (*Applause.*) This Constitution, this Federation or whatever it may be, must meet two fundamental requirements:

Firstly, it must work. There is no good producing a constitution which won't work. That won't get you out of your difficulties and won't get us out of ours. The other point is this. The constitution must evolve. You are not in a position here to produce a static constitution that your grandsons, great-grandsons and great great-grandsons will worship as though it is one of your sacred inheritances.

Therefore, the constitution must work, the constitution must evolve. It must be a continuing thing, and in the evolving, Indian opinion and Indian experience must be the more important inflating power.

Thus ended the plenary session which appointed various Committees to deliberate upon and advise the Conference on the outstanding issues before it.

THE SUB-COMMITTEES AND THEIR REPORTS

For nearly ten weeks the Committees sat at frequent intervals and deliberated upon the various aspects of the problem, notably under the immediate guidance of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor Lord Sankey. First, there was the Federal Structure Committee presided by Lord Sankey. There were then the Defence Committee under Mr. Thomas, the Frontier Committee under Mr. Henderson, the Franchise Committee under Sir W. M. Jowitt. There were besides the Minorities Committee under the immediate guidance of the Prime Minister, the Burma Committee, the Provincial Committee, and the Committee on Public Services.

At the meeting of the Federal Structure Committee on the 2nd January, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru outlined his proposals in a speech of remarkable force and lucidity which elicited approval from Lord Reading and admiration from all sides for the eloquence and cogency of his arguments. His proposals may be briefly put :

Powers of the Secretary of State to be restricted to Crown subjects and the Council of India to disappear.

The Governor-General in future to be the head of the Executive Government in the same way as the Governor-General in the Dominions, subject to certain changes necessitated by the period of transition.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru recalled that the object of the Conference was not to draft a Constitution which must be left to constitutional draftsmen later. He thought he was entitled to ask the Chairman to say that the real object had been attained and to hold that the maximum amount of agreement regarding responsibility at the centre and the status of India had been arrived at. * * Lord Sankey, after considering all the reports at a special meeting of the Committee at St.

James', on January 12, read the Draft Report which suggested

that Executive power and authority should be vested in the Crown or the Governor-General, and there should be a Council of Ministers appointed by the Governor-General to hold office at his pleasure to aid and advise him.

The Governor-General should invite a Minister to form Government, who will retain office only as long as they retain the confidence of the Legislature.

The Sub-Committee generally agreed that the assumption by India of all powers and responsibility which have hitherto rested with Parliament cannot be made at one step, and

during the period of transition the Governor-General should be responsible for Defence and External Relations, including Relations with Indian States, outside the Federal sphere and in certain specified situations which may arise outside the sphere of those subjects.

The Governor-General must be free to act on his own responsibility and should be given the powers necessary to implement his decisions in the event of a breakdown of the Constitution. Adequate powers should be vested in the Governor-General for the purpose of enabling King's Government to be carried on. * * *

The Conference sitting on the 19th January at the Plenary Session adopted the following resolution :

These Reports, provisional though they are, together with the recorded notes attached to them, afford in the opinion of the Conference material of the highest value for use in the framing of a Constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground-plan and many helpful indications of the points of detail to be further pursued. And the Conference feels that arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work upon which it has been engaged, including the provision in the Constitution of adequate safeguards for the Mussalmans, Depressed Classes, Sikhs and all other important minorities.

The Conference concluded with the speech of the Prime Minister recounting the achievements of the Session.

The Prime Minister, in reviewing the work of the various Committees, observed :

His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a federation of All-India embracing both Indian States and British India in

a bi-Cameral Legislature. The precise form and structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and representatives of British India. The range of subjects to be committed to it will also require further discussion, because the Federal Government will have authority only in such matters concerning the States as will be ceded by their Rulers in the agreement made by them on entering into Federation.

The connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation, their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy.

With the Legislature constituted on Federal basis, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature.

Under the existing conditions, the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General, and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects.

Moreover, as the Governor-General must, as the last resort, be able in emergency to maintain the tranquillity of the State and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of Minorities, he must be granted the necessary power for those purposes.

As regards Finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as will ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance, unimpaired, of the financial stability and credit of India.

The Report of the Federal Structure Committee indicates some ways of dealing with this subject, including a Reserve Bank, the service of loans and exchange policy which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for somehow in the new Constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in India to accept these provisions to maintain financial confidence.

Subject to these provisions, the Indian Government would have full Financial responsibility for methods of raising revenue and for control of expenditure on non-Reserved services. This will mean that under the existing conditions the Central Legislature and Executive will have some features of Dualism which will have to be fitted into the Constitutional structure.

Provision of Reserved powers is necessary in the circumstances, and some such reservation has indeed been incidental to the development of most free constitutions. But every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which will necessitate their use.

THE PROVINCES

The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on the basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature, and will be jointly responsible to it. The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them the greatest possible measure of self-Government. The authority of the Federal Government will be limited to the provisions required to secure its administration of the Federal subjects and to discharge its responsibility for the subjects defined in the Constitution as of All-India concern.

There will be reserved to the Governor only that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in exceptional circumstances, the preservation of tranquillity and guarantee of maintenance of the rights provided by statute for the public services and minorities.

Finally, His Majesty's Government considers that the institution of the provinces of Responsible Government requires that both the Legislatures should be enlarged and that they should be based on a more liberal franchise. In framing the Constitution, His Majesty's Government considers that it will be its duty to insert the provisions guaranteeing to the various Minorities, in addition to political representation, that the differences of religion, race, sect or caste shall not in themselves constitute civic disabilities.

THE PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald then announced the policy and intentions of His Majesty's Government in regard to the future Constitution of India :

The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures Central and Provincial, with such provision as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances and also with such guarantees as are required by the minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.

But the work of the Conference had by no means ended ; and " His Majesty's Government, in view of the character of the Conference, and of the limited time at its disposal in London, has deemed it advisable to

suspend its work at this point, so that Indian opinion may be consulted upon the work done and expedients considered for overcoming the difficulties which have been raised". Mr. MacDonald stated that the Government as well as representatives of other Parliamentary parties in England would soon confer with Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, as to the details of the plan by which this may be done, so that "the results of our completed work may be seen in a new Indian Constitution". "If in the meantime," added the Premier, "there is response to the Viceroy's appeal from those engaged at present in civil disobedience, and there is a wish to co-operate on the general lines of this declaration, steps will be taken to enlist their services."

At a Farewell Banquet in London in honour of the British Indian Delegation, Mr. MacDonald summed up the achievements of the Conference in his postprandial oration in which he said :

I believe that we are going to hammer out a constitution under which India will not only be happy but will enjoy a sense of self-respect. (*Cheers.*) Then it may be that when our constitution breaks down, when we here in London are faced with great problems of a constitutional character, you having enjoyed the blessing of an Indian constitution, will offer your timely service (*laughter*) to come here and enable us to redraft our constitution (*laughter*) and enjoy the great felicities of peace which, I believe, you are going to enjoy when you make it possible for the new constitution of India to be promulgated.

In a subsequent banquet given by the Maharajah of Alwar, the Prime Minister declared that the

British Government, and I believe that the British Parliament, is fully aware of what India wants, determined to give to India everything that India can use well, every power, every responsibility which will make the Indian feel that his destiny is in his own hands, which will enable India to look forward to the time when walking in its own light, enlightened and illuminated by its own inner personality, it will go on carving a name and reputation in future which will be as honourable to it as some of those glorious chapters that have already been written in Indian History. You can talk and write your formulas and you can make your demands,

unless the forms of government correspond to the genius and needs of the people they will never sit comfortably on their shoulders.

R. T. C. DELEGATES' MANIFESTO

The Indian delegates returned to India on February 6 and twenty-six of them, including the Maharajas of Bikaner and Alwar, Mr. Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, issued a statement under their joint signatures that "the attainment by India of Dominion Status is no longer in dispute".

They emphasised that English opinion has undergone a remarkable change in India's favour. "It has been explicitly recognised that the task of governing India should in future be entrusted to an Indian executive responsible to the Indian legislature."

On the question of safeguards, the manifesto said that they would not affect the substance of the scheme which sought to transfer political power into Indian hands. They were only intended for the period of transition and were subject to further examination.

As regards law and order, the manifesto declared that the Governor-General will not have power to interfere with day-to-day administration and will step in only to secure peace and security, when it is seriously imperilled or when the interests of the minorities are seriously endangered.

THE RELEASE OF THE POLITICALS

In harmony with the Prime Minister's declaration at the concluding session of the Round Table Conference "that steps would be taken to enlist the services of Congressmen if they wished to co-operate on the lines of the declaration," H. E. Lord Irwin issued a statement on January 25, 1931, releasing Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee unconditionally.

The legal bar against their meeting and the notifications declaring the Committee unlawful were all withdrawn at once, and His Excellency added :

My Government will impose no conditions on these releases, because we feel that the best hope of restoration of peaceful conditions lies in discussions being conducted by those concerned under terms of unconditional liberty.

Our action has been taken in pursuance of a sincere desire to assist the creation of such peaceable conditions as would enable the Government to implement the undertaking given by the Prime Minister that if civil quiet were proclaimed and assured, the Government would not be backward in response.

I am content to trust those who will be affected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires it, and I am confident that they will recognise the importance of securing for those great issues calm and dispassionate examination.

Much to his own surprise, Mr. Gandhi was released on the morrow of this declaration. Interviewed on his release, Mr. Gandhi gave the following message to the Indian people :

I have come out of jail with an absolutely open mind, unfettered by enmity, unbiassed in argument and prepared to study the whole situation from every point of view and discuss the Premier's statement with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other delegates on their return. I make this statement in deference to the urgent wish expressed in a cable sent to me from London by some of the delegates.

Speaking to a group of journalists at Bombay, Mr. Gandhi further defined his position with regard to the proposal that an amnesty should be announced. He reiterated his well-known eleven points which, he declared, must be met before a satisfactory settlement was possible. Referring to the amnesty proposal, he observed :

I personally feel that the mere release of members of the Congress Working Committee makes a difficult situation, infinitely more difficult, and makes any action on the part of the members almost, if not altogether, impossible. The authorities evidently have not perceived that the movement has so much affected the mass mind that leaders, however prominent, will be utterly unable to dictate to them a particular course of action.

He then went on to insist on the right of picketing and the manufacture of salt :

What I am anxious to clear is that even if after consultation with friends who are coming from the Round Table Conference, it is found that the Premier's statement affords sufficient ground for the Congress to tender co-operation, the right of picketing cannot be given up nor the right of the starving millions to manufacture salt.

If these elementary rights are recognised, most of the Ordinances will naturally have to be withdrawn. It is therefore highly necessary for the public, also the Government, to understand the fundamental Congress position. The manufacture of salt and the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor are not intended to register the resistance of the nation to the existing misrule, but intended to achieve these ends for all time.

No amount of goodwill, especially between Great Britain and India, so far as I can see, will reconcile the public to the drink evil, foreign cloth evil or prohibition of the manufacture of salt.

Speaking for myself, I am hankering after peace if it can be had with honour, but even if I stood alone I can be no party to any peace which does not satisfactorily solve the three questions I have mentioned. I should therefore judge the Round Table Conference tree by its fruit.

I have given three tests that are in operation, but as the public know, there are eight more points I want. Substance of Independence not shadow and even as the doctor names the disease after proper diagnosis, so also I will name the tree of the Round Table Conference after I have examined the fruit in the light of the eleven points which are conceived in the terms of the man in the street.

Mr. Gandhi then left for Allahabad where Pandit Motilal Nehru was lying ill. The Working Committee met soon after, and the decisions were suspended publication pending the arrival of Dr. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, and the Rt. Hon. Sastri. Meanwhile the civil disobedience movement was to continue unless and until the Working Committee should decide otherwise.

FACE TO FACE WITH REALITIES

Now by this time Mr. Gandhi was thoroughly apprised of the situation in the country and the tragic sequel to the various phases of civil resistance. So in response to a request from the *News Chronicle*, Mr. Gandhi cabled back

to say that he was unable to pronounce a final opinion on the Round Table Conference.

But what worries me is the look of things here. If the Conference really offered freedom to India, the reaction should have been felt here. On the contrary I find that black repression continues unabated. Unprovoked assaults on innocent citizens still continue. Respectable people are being summarily and without apparent reason deprived of their immovable and movable property by mere executive action. A procession of women was forcibly dispersed. They were seized by the hair and kicked with boots. The continuance of such repressions would make the Congress co-operation impossible even if other difficulties were got over.

"I am a man of peace, but circumstances have made my life one of struggle. I shall, however, leave no stone unturned to attain peace. It is no joy to me to submit thousands who have a child-like faith in me to suffering," declared Gandhiji in the course of a conversation with the special representative of the *Pioneer*.

THE PASSING OF PANDIT MOTILAL

It was at this time that Pandit Motilal Nehru passed away after a hard struggle. All his colleagues and members of the Congress were gathered at Ananda Bhavan, and Jawaharlal and Mahatmaji were at his side. "Decide India's fate in the Swaraj Bhavan" the good Pandit is said to have told Dr. Satyapal.

Decide it in my presence and let me be a party to the final honourable settlement of the fate of my motherland. Let me die, if die I must, in the lap of a Free India. Let me sleep my last sleep not in a subject country but in a free one.

Oh that he had lived to witness the Irwin-Gandhi settlement! The death at such a time was a rude shock to the country but it was particularly poignant to Mr. Gandhi who said in a message to *Liberty* :

My position is worse than a widow's. By a faithful life she can appropriate the merits of her husband. I can appropriate nothing. What I have lost through Motilalji's death is a loss for ever. Rock of Ages cleft for me, let me hide myself in thee.

Pundit Jawaharlal gave fitting expression to the solace and inspiration of Mahatmaji's companionship when he exclaimed :

And to him, our beloved friend and leader, what words of mine can convey our feelings. Carrying the burden of a nation's suffering and longing for freedom, but still ever ready to share and lighten the burdens of others, he has been to us a solace and inspiration, and has given us strength and courage when the blow came and darkened our horizon.

LETTER TO LORD IRWIN

It was at this time too that Mr. Gandhi sent a letter to the Viceroy through Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed Kidwai, ex-M.L.A., seeking an interview with H. E. at Delhi to discuss the political situation. It would appear that Mr. Gandhi sought the interview with a view to have a peace talk with Lord Irwin the man, rather than H. E. the Viceroy. Now Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy was a fairly lengthy one. Addressing Lord Irwin as "My dear friend," Gandhiji urged His Excellency to appoint an enquiry committee to go into the alleged police excesses. In such instances, Gandhiji included the Borsad affair, the Calcutta incident on the Independence Day, the beating of Mr. Bhashyam and others in Madras while picketing foreign cloth shops, and the Bihar shooting incident. Gandhiji's object in writing to the Viceroy was to find out whether there was really a change of heart on the part of the Government.

Lord Irwin having agreed to the interview, Mr. Gandhi left for Delhi on the 16th February. In the meanwhile the Viceroy was in frequent consultation with the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar who were as it were the intermediaries who arranged for the interview.

While the Viceroy was in constant touch with his Council and the Governors of Bombay and Madras,

Mr. Gandhi had also summoned all the members of the Working Committee and some of his friends to Dr. Ansari's place in Delhi where they were in constant session. The Working Committee had given Mr. Gandhi a clear mandate and invested him with full authority to negotiate in the name of the Congress.

Mr. Gandhi's six points, which were the absolute minimum for peace negotiations to begin, were : (1) general amnesty ; (2) immediate cessation of repression ; (3) restitution of all confiscated property ; (4) reinstatement of all Government servants punished on political grounds ; (5) liberty to manufacture salt and picket liquor and foreign cloth shops ; and (6) enquiry into police excesses.

GANDHI-IRWIN TALKS

Mr. Gandhi motored to the Viceregal House on the afternoon of February 17, 1931. The talks began at 2-30 P.M. and continued till 6-10. They were resumed the next day and continued the day after.

The conversations were then suspended for a week. Apparently the Viceroy had cabled to Whitehall and was awaiting instructions from the authorities at Home. The following *communique* was issued from the Viceroy's House on the subject on the 19th :

His Excellency the Viceroy granted a further interview to Mr. Gandhi to-day. It is understood that various matters emerging from the discussions are now under examination, and it is possible that some days may elapse before a further stage of discussions is reached.

SPEECH AT THE QUEEN'S GARDENS

While the Gandhi-Irwin talks were suspended for a few days pending instructions from Whitehall, Mr. Gandhi addressed a mammoth gathering of over a lakh of people in the Queen's Gardens on February 20. After referring to

the death of Moulana Mahomed Ali and Pandit Motilal Nehru, he said :—

I may say this much that these talks have been conducted in a most friendly manner and with much sweetness. What will be the result I cannot say. The result is in the hands of God. It is His Will that will prevail.

GANDHI AND THE MUSLIM COUNCIL

On the morning of the 22nd, Gandhiji addressed also the meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League. Sir Mahomed Shafi, on behalf of the League, thanked Gandhiji for accepting their invitation and invited him to address the House. Moulvi Mahomed Yakub said that the coming of Gandhiji meant the coming of 21 crores of Indians, and he held it a happy augury for India, because it might lead to the solution of the Hindu-Moslem tangle. Gandhiji said in the course of his reply :

Moulvi Mahomed Yakub had remarked that my coming meant the coming of 21 crores of Indians Brethren, I am a Bania, and there is no limit to my greed. It has always been my dream and heart's desire to speak not only for 21 crores but for the 30 crores of India. To-day you may not accept that position of mine. But I may assure you that my early upbringing and training in my childhood and youth have been to strive for Hindu-Muslim Unity, and none to-day may dismiss it merely as a craze of my old age. My heart is, however, confident that God will grant me that position when I may speak for the whole of India, and if I may have to die striving for that ideal, I shall achieve the peace of my heart.

GANDHI-IRWIN TALKS RESUMED

Mr. Gandhi was called again on the 27th and 28th and the talks at one time threatened to break up. The Congress Working Committee having rejected the Viceroy's counter-proposals, Congress circles were very pessimistic about the outcome. The country at this time was swayed alternately between hopes and fears when Gandhi saw the Viceroy again on the 1st March. The prolonged interview was due to the examination of a fresh alternative submitted by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress Working

Committee in answer to the official note sent to Mr. Gandhi the previous day. Difficulties of negotiation were very obvious in spite of best intentions on the part of the leaders on either side. Apart from intransigents in the Departments and Services, irresponsible men like Mr. Churchill at Home added considerably to the complexity of the situation by their ignorance and bluster. To Mr. Churchill, for instance, it was "alarming and nauseating" to see Mr. Gandhi, an "Inner Temple lawyer, now a seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal Palace to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor."

The Working Committee was strong and unanimous, and though listening with respect to the authority of Gandhi, was in no mood to water down the conditions of the truce. It was at this time that the services of Dr. Sapru and Mr. Sastri became invaluable. Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar had earlier impressed on Lord Irwin the imperative need of the Government agreeing to the principle of the Congress demand for an independent and impartial tribunal to go into police excesses. On the other side, Mr. Sastri had passionately pleaded before Gandhiji and other members of the Congress Working Committee not to be too exacting over the details if the principle of an impartial tribunal was conceded by the Government. Mr. Sastri pleaded his case in which he laid stress on the importance of a Second Round Table Conference with so much warmth that he was at one stage overpowered with emotion and slightly fainted.

The sincerity of Mr. Sastri's pleas had its effect, so that the Congress Working Committee altered their draft formulae in certain respects without affecting the principle of their terms for truce.

Mr. Gandhi saw the Viceroy again at midnight on the 2nd March for further exchange of notes on the points raised by the Working Committee. And the situation that appeared so gloomy had slightly improved, and the conversations became more frequent. Mr. Gandhi also saw Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member, on the 3rd March, with whom a general agreement was arrived at by which people on the sea coast could pick, manufacture and sell salt thereby using nature's gift. The Gandhi-Schuster Agreement on the principle thus overcame another important obstacle and cleared the path for the settlement of Congress participation in the Round Table Conference.

THE GANDHI-IRWIN AGREEMENT

Gandhiji and Lord Irwin worked together at a settlement practically the whole of the day and a truce was agreed on late in the night according to which

the people on the sea coast have been conceded the right of picking up, manufacturing and selling salt. The punitive police posted in Bihar and other places will be withdrawn, and punitive tax so far unpaid will be remitted. All political prisoners not guilty of violence will be released forthwith. Peaceful picketing of foreign cloth shops and liquor shops will be allowed, and lastly confiscated and auctioned property will be returned.

In view of the fact that charges and counter-charges in an open enquiry into police conduct will not be conducive to a dispassionate discussion on constitutional questions, Gandhiji has agreed not to press it further.

By far the most important part of the agreement was that which laid down that the scope of future discussions shall be further consideration of the Round Table Conference conclusions, namely, federation, central responsibility and safeguards.

The conversations were resumed in the night and ended at 1-30 on the morning of the 5th when complete agreement was reached. At 12 noon the agreement was

signed by Lord Irwin and Gandhiji at "Viceroy's House" similar to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of sixteen years ago.

The agreement was the result of fifteen days' negotiations in which Gandhiji is said to have visited the "Viceroy's House" eight times, and spent altogether twenty-four hours, besides undergoing the strain of discussing the terms of the negotiations with the Congress Executive from time to time for longer hours than he spent with the Viceroy. A correspondent rightly pointed out that Gandhiji has, by general agreement, broken all the world's endurance records and that when his own health was none too good.

News of the agreement spread like wild fire in the city at dawn. Sir Tej Bahadur exclaimed: "I rejoice at it. I give my heartfelt congratulations to Lord Irwin, Gandhiji and the country." *The Statesman* (New Delhi) gave a lead in a strikingly refreshing article welcoming the agreement as one of the greatest happenings in the second quarter of the 20th century, possibly as decisive for the world as November 11, 1918. The paper said:

The debt is great both to the Viceroy and Gandhiji who, unperturbed by outside criticism, have conducted negotiations in a serene spirit which is beyond all praise.

It paid a tribute to Lord Irwin for having banked on a miracle and now given a lead to Europe and Asia. "As for Gandhiji," it said, "that he plays no double game."

If he decides to come in, he comes in, and he may be counted on to bring his great influence to bear on the activities of the Second Round Table Conference, which would open another era of construction and lead to the gradual obliteration of the memories of the struggle.

Immediately on the publication of the Agreement, the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution:

The Working Committee, having considered the terms of the provisional settlement arrived at between the Government of India and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, endorses them and directs all Congress Committees to take immediate action in accordance with them.

The Committee hopes that the country will carry out the terms agreed to in so far as they relate to various Congress activities and is of opinion that on a strict fulfilment of the obligations undertaken on behalf of the Congress, will depend the advance of India towards *Purna Swaraj*.

Telegrams were accordingly despatched to all Provincial Congress Committees, while Gandhi in a speech to the Journalists appealed to the country to implement the provisional settlement and thereby give irresistible prestige to the Congress. He urged the anarchists to suspend their movement and give him a chance to attain the goal non-violently and promised thereafter the release of all politicals, including even those condemned to the gallows but warned them against false hopes.

This happy consummation was hailed all over the country with a sigh of relief, though the Churchills and Wintertons and Odwyers waxed eloquent against the "Irwin surrenders". Doubtless there were those who thought that Mr. Gandhi had scored while others held that it was the Viceroy who had won in essentials. But after the twelve months' protracted struggle and a fortnight's negotiations which threatened to break up at any moment, peace was welcome like the dawn. And it was peace with honour on either side—the triumph of goodwill and mutual understanding which have to play such a decisive part in the constructive programme that lies ahead. The Irwin-Gandhi pact was in a word the triumph of true statesmanship, or the triumph of truth and non-violence, as Mahatma Gandhi would have it and marks a new era in the history of British relations with India.

In a masterly speech delivered soon after the signing of the Agreement, Mr. Gandhi himself paid a well-deserved tribute to the Viceroy when he said that :

This settlement, such as it is, would have been impossible without the Viceroy's inexhaustible patience and equally inexhaustible industry and unflinching courtesy. I am aware that I must have, though quite unconsciously, given him cause for irritation. I must have also tried his patience, but I cannot recall any occasion when he allowed himself to be betrayed into irritation or impatience. I must add that he was frank throughout these very delicate negotiations, and I believe he was determined on it, if it was at all possible, to have a settlement.

As for himself

I have pledged my word to Lord Irwin that in making good the terms of settlement, in so far as they bind Congress, I shall devote myself heart and soul to the task. I ask for a settlement in order to break it to pieces at the very first opportunity, but in order to strain every nerve to make absolutely final what to-day is provisional, and to make it a precursor of the goal to attain which Congress exists.

Explaining the purport of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement to a group of journalists, Gandhiji said :

It is open to both parties to work along their own lines. The Congress seeks to make federation, responsibility, safeguards and reservations such as would promote the real growth of the country along political, social, economic and moral lines. If the Congress succeeds in making this position acceptable to the Conference, then I claim that the fruit of that effort will be complete independence. The Congress can either use a new opportunity to make the scheme worth looking at or by lack of self-confidence and want of courage fritter away the opportunity. But I know that Congressmen will require the aid of other parties, the great Princes and Englishmen. *The Congress has now launched on a period of co-operation.*

It only remained for the Government on the one side and for the Congress on the other, to see that the terms of the truce were duly implemented by the respective parties. How strenuously Mr. Gandhi endeavoured to fulfil his part of the truce is now matter of common knowledge.

IMPLEMENTING THE PACT

It is not to be supposed that a settlement, however perfect, could satisfy all interests and all parties equally.

There were of course left-wingers in India, as in England, who felt bound to repudiate it. But they were in a minority and by no means represented the considered judgment of either people. But still they were vociferous as they always are. Mahatma Gandhi's reply to them was straight and unequivocal.

I will ask the Karachi Congress to ratify the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, and if it was not acceptable to the country, they could move a vote of no-confidence in the Working Committee and elect another Committee and carry on the work of the Congress

said Mahatma Gandhi at a mass meeting in the Queen's Garden, Delhi, on the 7th March. The occasion was the distribution of a large number of Red leaflets in which *Young India* (their organ) had announced that the peace ushered in by the Agreement was no peace, as the Martial Law and other prisoners convicted of violence were still in jails. Mr. Gandhi added that, if they faithfully carried out both in letter and spirit the terms of the compromise, not only prisoners convicted of violence but even Garwalis could be set free. Personally he was for the release of even dacoits and thieves, for he was against corporal punishment.

And then there was the communal trouble—nothing seemed to improve the Hindu-Muslim question. It always threatened to crop up and mar any settlement of outstanding national concern. The Mahatma's own solution was simplicity itself. He said he would give them the same advice to-day as he gave in 1921, that if only one of the two communities would be brave enough to tell the other, "Take whatever you want. We shall be content with the rest," the whole communal tangle would be solved. But the Hindus, being the majority community, should take the lead. It was only a question of being brave. He advised the Hindus to give up the spirit of bargaining and

follow the course of bravery. The Mahatma continued that in the last twelve months they had disobeyed all laws and ordinances and still no power on earth could destroy their entity or snatch away their rights. He contended that even if the Mussalmans and all other minorities took away all seats in the Legislature, the Hindus would not lose much.

We want to be humble servants of India and to seek no office. Let us compete as much as we like in the sphere of national service. If this proposition was not acceptable to Hindus, let them have done with me, but if they want to establish communal concord they must say that they do not want anything. If they do this you will save India and establish *Purna Swaraj*.

That briefly put was the Mahatma's position. But difficulties were also brooding abroad. More than once during the months following the agreement, the House of Commons was the scene of angry debates in which the die-hards were bent on breaking the back of the supporters of the Indian cause. It was revealed that some Conservatives were even prepared to back out of their commitments at the Round Table Conference, and though Mr. Baldwin in his famous speech of March 12 completely dispelled any such fear, echoes of dissentient voices were heard now and again in the precincts of Westminster. At a later date one such Conservative even went the length of threatening the House with a censure motion on the new Viceroy, because Lord Willingdon expressed a wish that India might soon obtain a Dominion Constitution. But the official leader of the Conservatives, Mr. Baldwin, made it plain that further work of the Conference was the business of the party in power, and the Conservatives would join when the picture had been filled in. He paid a tribute to the Viceroy for bringing about the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, and added :

that he was in complete accord with the policy proposed in India. If he were in power he would carry it out in no niggardly spirit. If his policy was not acceptable to a majority of his followers, he asked them to choose another leader.

Mr. Benn said that Mr. Baldwin's words would be read with relief and delight by all sections in India. None would be more encouraged than the Viceroy.

The Prime Minister, in winding up the debate, announced that he had already cabled to the Viceroy to invite Mr. Gandhi to participate in the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee to meet in London.

But Gandhi himself had made his position equally clear. Commenting on the alleged Conservative repudiation of the Round Table Conference decisions, Mr. Gandhi declared :

The Congress is out to win *Purna Swaraj* at the earliest possible moment. It will therefore look with grave suspicion upon any dilatory tactics. The Conservative fears about the so-called safeguards are justified: the Congress would accept no safeguard which is not clearly proved to be in the interests of India, and those that were discussed in London were certainly not in India's interest.

RECEPTION AT AHMEDABAD

Meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi saw the Viceroy again and left for Ahmedabad where arrangements were made to accord him a magnificent reception, as it was the Mahatma's first entry into his city after the historic march to Dandi twelve months ago. A lakh and a half people waited for hours on the river sands in the scorching sun when the citizens' address and purse were presented to Gandhiji. When Mahatma Gandhi came, the rush of people was so great that several were trampled down by the on-rush of the surging crowd. With the greatest difficulty Gandhiji took his seat on the raised and decorated rostrum. Lady Chinubhai read the welcome address which narrated the various phases of the struggle under his leadership. The address

referred to the success of the non-violent struggle and the people's sacrifice. "May Gandhiji live long to lead the country to its goal!" concluded the address.

Replying to the address, Gandhiji justified the Agreement and asked the people to respect it in letter and spirit. Proceeding, Gandhiji said:

that the settlement that had been arrived at was so simple that even a child could understand it and even a child should try to understand it. From the standpoint of the speaker and the Congress Working Committee, they had gone as far as they could in arriving at a settlement. Swaraj was not won thereby but the second door to Swaraj was opened. They were trying to win Swaraj by the willing weapon of Civil Disobedience. Meanwhile, they as Satyagrahis should try to open the door through negotiation and settlement and they should enter if the door was opened. They should fulfil the conditions of the Agreement. If they wanted to increase their power manifold, they should effect communal unity, eradicate the drink evil, banish foreign cloth and produce khadda. Then they would secure *Purna Swaraj*.

A purse of Rs. 70,000 and a gold takli were presented to Gandhiji by Lady Chinubhai on behalf of the citizens.

Gandhiji then started on a tour of the Gujarat District especially Bardoli and the taluks that had played a decisive part in the no-tax campaign. He was anxious personally to bring the balm of peace and healing to the areas most affected by the Civil Disobedience movement. Everywhere he went, he enjoined the people to pay up the taxes and respect the Pact. In the course of a long statement to the people of Gujerat, he observed:

It would be culpable of us to refuse to attend the Round Table Conference.

Referring at first to the need of suspending all fighting activities and undertaking constructive work seriously, Mr. Gandhi said that:

even as a farmer, after tilling the land, devotes his entire attention to the growing of crops, so should the Congress workers, after a year of destructive work in the form of civil disobedience, take seriously to the constructive side of the Congress programme.

"YOUNG INDIA" AGAIN

This was also the burden of his writings in *Young India* and *Navjivan*. *Young India* which for some time past had been appearing in cyclostyled form following the confiscation of the *Navjivan* Press under the Ordinance, appeared again in printed form on the 12th March. In the course of his first signed article therein, under the title "How to do it", Mr. Gandhi explained the implications of the Delhi Agreement and the Congress obligations thereunder. He emphasised that, while the truce lasted, it was obligatory on them meticulously to respect laws and orders, even if these appeared capricious. He proceeded :

We need not expect a change of heart in the official world all at a sudden.

If we are conscious of our strength and our ability to resume civil disobedience whenever it becomes necessary, we should find no difficulty in obeying even irksome orders.

That was the spirit in which he worked to fulfil the conditions of the truce—a spirit which was fully recognized by H. E. Lord Irwin who, in a speech at the Jaipur Banquet, observed :

Throughout my conversations with Mr. Gandhi, I felt complete assurance that I could implicitly trust his word and I am confident that he will do everything in his power to give effect to those undertakings which are recorded in the published statement.

GANDHI AND THE RED-FLAGGERS

In the third week of March, Gandhiji was in Bombay conferring with his colleagues—and he was given a reception the like of which even Bombay had seldom witnessed. And yet there was a rumble of discontent among the more extreme wing who expressed themselves in continual interruptions. Even Gandhi was accused of betraying the labourers, while the demand for the release of Meerut prisoners and the Bengal detenues was voiced by Subash

Chandra Bose and others. In the midst of interruptions by labour "Red-flaggers," Gandhi declared that he had never betrayed the workers in his life, and that the Congress would stand by the Independence Resolution passed at Lahore, which would be reiterated at Karachi, and a clear mandate given to the Congress delegates to the next Round Table Conference that they should not accept any scheme of *Swaraj* which did not satisfy the country in the light of his eleven points or did not contain the substance of Independence.

LORD IRWIN AND THE MAHATMA

Mr. Gandhi also employed his time in Bombay in calling a Conference of mill-owners and arranging for the relief of sufferers from the foreign cloth boycott. He then left for Delhi and had a further interview with H. E. Lord Irwin on the 19th when he discussed the question of the release of political prisoners in accordance with the Agreement. He had also a long interview with Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary.

The rest of his stay in Delhi was occupied in conferring with the Princes and representatives of the Muslims and Sikhs. At the Princes' Banquet to the Viceroy on the 20th, His Excellency paid an eloquent tribute to the honesty, sincerity and patriotism of Gandhiji with whom "it had been a pleasure and a privilege to work". His Excellency said now that he would be relieved of his official duties, he would be in a position to go back to England and explain to his people and to his political friends the implications of the truce and the state of affairs in India.

Lord Irwin declared that Mahatma Gandhi on his side was doing everything possible to convince his fellow-countrymen and to bring about an atmosphere congenial for

peace. Lord Irwin, on his part, hoped to do everything to make it possible for England and India to arrive at a peaceful settlement.

THE EXECUTION OF BHAGAT SINGH

While Mr. Gandhi was doing everything to fulfil the terms of the truce both in letter and spirit, there was no end of obstacles. Foremost of these was the hanging of Bhagat Singh and his comrades of the Lahore Conspiracy Case, which, though it was no part of the settlement, was felt by Gandhi as an undue strain on the patience of the public which could not countenance the execution under the orders of a tribunal created by the Ordinance which expired with the truce. The unwisdom of carrying out the execution in the teeth of universal outcry against normal procedure seemed to be in conflict with the heralding of the new era of friendliness and co-operation which was expected to take the place of suspicion and revenge. The Government lost an excellent opportunity for a gesture of magnanimity and goodwill which would have won over even the recalcitrants to the side of reason. Gandhi felt that the sudden execution under such circumstances was cutting the ground underneath the feet however technically unconcerned it might be with the terms of the truce. The nation's duty, he said, was clear.

The Congress must not swerve from the path chalked for it. In my opinion notwithstanding the gravest provocation, the Congress should endorse the settlement and test its capacity to yield the result hoped for. We must not put ourselves in the wrong by being angry. Let us recognise that commutation of the sentences was no part of the truce. We may accuse the Government of goondaism; but we may not accuse them of a breach of the settlement.

In my deliberate opinion, the grave blunder committed by the Government has increased our power for winning the freedom for which Bhagat Singh and his comrades have died. Let us not tritter away the opportunity by being betrayed into any angry action. Universal hartal is a foregone conclusion. No better mark

of respect can be paid to the memory of the deceased patriots than by having absolutely silent and respectful processions. Let the event be one of self-purification and greater dedication to the service of the country.

THE KARACHI CONGRESS

Gandhiji and Sjt. Vallabhai Patel, President-elect of the Congress, and other leaders arrived in Karachi on the 25th March. A band of "red shirts" greeted them with black flags, and the leader of the Party went the length of presenting Mr. Gandhi with a black flower in token of their sorrow and disapproval of Mr. Gandhi's doings. There were throughout the day hostile demonstrations against the Congress, and it was even feared that they would make it impossible for the Congress to go on. They displayed throughout a menacing attitude to the Congress leaders and volunteers and practically held them up more than once. It was left for Mr. Gandhi to bring them over to the side of reason and non-violence (at any rate for the moment) by his wise counsel and courageous stand. Gandhiji later addressing a public meeting of about 50,000 referred to the Red Shirts' demonstration and said the action of the young men did not anger him, but on the other hand he was pleased with the dignified way they had behaved towards him. They might have done worse. They might have killed him for which none required a premeditated plan.

But none can harm me as long as God wills that I should serve India. But the moment my day comes, none not even the cleverest doctors could save me.

Proceeding, Gandhiji said their struggle was based on truth and righteousness and they must advance on that basis alone. In short, this was Gandhism which the young men were shouting down. Gandhiji continued that the death of him or of all those who believed in Gandhism

did not kill Gandhism which was the cult of non-violence and love. On the other hand it was through non-violence in India could show the fight of last year's which attract thousands of men, women and children to the fray.

This would be impossible under violence, and he appealed to young men to come out and embrace his creed. Proceeding, he observed :

If the young men try to make the work at the Congress session impossible, they could not bring back Bhagat Singh. On the other hand they would retard the progress of the country. I aspire for *Swaraj—Raj* or Government of peace and love—which alone could be achieved through non-violence. This is my only dream. I live, I eat, I walk, I speak, and I move for that dream alone, but the day my inner voice tells me that the country has no longer need for me and I am convinced that the people have refused to respond to my call, I will starve myself to death.

Prior to the actual meeting of the Congress, Gandhi had a talk with Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, the leader of the Indian National Congress, and was able to persuade him to fall in line with the Congress view. Thereupon Mr. Subash made a statement declaring that the Red Shirts would do nothing to impair the authority of Gandhi and the Congress—a declaration which set at rest all fears regarding the peaceful conduct of the sessions. The Congress Subjects Committee met on the 28th and adopted by an overwhelming majority the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, ratifying the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement and choosing Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the Congress Delegation to the Round Table Conference with a mandate to demand *Purna Swaraj* with such adjustments as might be necessary in the interest of India.

Mahatmaji assured the Subjects Committee that the terms of the Truce did not in any way bring down the prestige of the Congress. On the other hand it had added considerable strength to the Congress. In the open

Congress it was left to him to support the resolution which was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal. The Congress unanimously stood by him and gave him full authority to negotiate with the Government in the name of the people.

No promise has ever been made, and no promise is being made now, that if the Congress deputation goes to the Round Table Conference either here or in England and enters upon further negotiations, the deputation is going to bring *Purna Swaraj*. *Purna Swaraj* will come when the full authority of the Congress has been manifested and not a minute before. All that I promise faithfully on my own behalf and that of the deputation, which you may wish to send, is that we shall not be disloyal to the Congress in any shape or form.

With these striking words, Mahatma Gandhi wound up the debate on the resolution on Congress participating in the Round Table Conference.

The resolution was supported by many leaders of note. A few, including Mr. Jammadas Mehta of Bombay, opposed it. Eventually the resolution was put to the House and carried practically unanimously amidst deafening shouts of "Vandemataram" and "Gandi-ki-jai."

Another resolution to which some objection was taken by a few Congressmen was what is known as the Declaration of Fundamental Rights, embodying Mr. Gandhi's famous eleven points and a few more which Mr. Jawaharlal had introduced into it. But Gandhi sponsored the resolution and, as might be expected, he had his way. There was no doubt that everyone was anxious that Mr. Gandhi should have a free hand and should be unfettered in the exercise of his powers. Congress had gained greatly in prestige under his authority, and every section of the house was prepared in the interest of Congress discipline to abide by his counsels. Mr. Gandhi's hold on the Congress and the country was thus supreme at the time, and the Karachi Congress gave him an unrestricted mandate

and invested him with full authority to speak and act in the name of the country.

THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE

Fresh from his triumphs at Karachi, Gandhiji turned his attention to the solution of the communal question. Accordingly he proceeded to Delhi, where the All-India Muslim Conference was sitting, and tried to get into touch with the leaders of the League with a view to reach a settlement. But in this he was disappointed. After an interview with the leaders, he issued a statement in which he pointed out that his view on the Hindu-Muslim question was that of full surrender to any unanimously expressed wish of the Mussalmans and Sikhs. Before he cultivated Hindu opinion, he wanted to have that formula but it had not been forthcoming. He added that he was unable to identify himself with any solution based on communalism.

OPENING THE FEDERATION OF CHAMBERS

On April 7, Mr. Gandhi opened the session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce before a distinguished assemblage, including Sir George Schuster. He said that *Swraj* meant the rule of justice, therefore the Englishmen's rights must be protected. The problem was like the one he faced in South Africa during his talks with General Smuts. Mr. Gandhi was told that the real problem was that the South African settlers wished to safeguard their civilisation against Eastern influences and domination. Mr. Gandhi conceded that the view-point of General Smuts could similarly be applied to India. She wished to preserve her civilisation against inroads by other civilisations. If Englishmen and foreigners respected the Indian civilisation and lived as true servants of India, they had a most honourable place in the country.

Urging the Federation leaders to capture the Congress. Mr. Gandhi said that the entire Congress strength was derived through adult franchise. Indian nationalism was such that they neither wished to exploit others nor allow others to exploit them. The Federation leaders could capture Congress not by means of the purse but by greater sacrifice for the masses.

Gandhiji then attended the Sikh League at Amritsar and returning to Ahmedabad, presided over the convocation of the Gujerat Vidyapith where he exhorted the graduates in the following words :

You must be experiencing the atmosphere is at present surcharged with violence. I do not want to go into the causes it does not gather much force, but I remind the graduates that you are and ought to be the embodiment of non-violence and truth. They have properly imbibed the spirit of truth and non-violence then alone they will be able to dispel and clarify the dark atmosphere of violence to a great extent.

GANDHIJI IN BOMBAY

But Gandhi arranged to be in Bombay to bid farewell to Lord Irwin and had his last talk with His Excellency on the 18th April. He also interviewed the Governor of Bombay in connection with the carrying out of the truce terms, particularly with reference to the restoration of confiscated lands in Guzerat. The conversations were, in the nature of the case, private ; but it was understood that the retiring Viceroy earnestly pressed Mr. Gandhi to attend the Second Round Table Conference in London. On the same day the Corporation of Bombay presented an address to Mr. Gandhi—an address which paid a glowing tribute to the services and achievements of the Mahatma to the country.

While Gandhiji was straining every nerve to implement the Pact and prove the nation's solidarity behind the Agreement, troubles were brewing out of the Govern-

ment's attempts to collect the revenues in Guzerat. It was understood that no coercive measures would be adopted beyond the ordinary law in collecting the taxes: and the Agreement definitely stipulated that only the ordinary processes of land revenue administration would be put in force against defaulters. Both the Viceroy and Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary, had distinctly promised a considerate and even generous attitude to the peasants. And the Government of Bombay also would appear to have promised as much. But now and again serious allegations against local authorities came to the notice of the Working Committee, and Mr. Gandhi was flooded with complaints against the alleged extortions of the tax gatherers. Lord Willingdon succeeded to the Viceroyalty on April 17, and Mr. Gandhi interviewed him in May. Gandhiji took the opportunity to acquaint the new Viceroy with the case of the Kisans and doubtless His Excellency promised that nothing would be wanting on his part to see justice done by them. Meanwhile the Working Committee which met on June 10, decided that Gandhiji should attend the Second Round Table Conference, and he was appointed sole delegate of the Congress. Gandhiji himself announced that "if he should succeed in attending the Round Table Conference he would fully participate in the discussions". The "if" was ominous. In fact in every communication to the press on the subject of the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji took care to add the mystifying "if". Speculation was rife as to what he would ultimately do. Meanwhile the personnel of the Round Table Conference was announced which included Gandhiji's name. Still Gandhiji added "if" to every one of his statements. He had decided to stay in an East End home kept by Miss Muriel Lester *if* he decided to go at all. On July 11, Gandhiji wired to

Lord Willingdon regarding the non-observance of the truce terms by local Governments and received His Excellency's assurances. On the 18th, Gandhiji interviewed the Viceroy and things seemed to move pretty satisfactorily. Later, however, he had to wire to His Excellency protesting against the action of the Collector of Surat, and the Viceroy replied asking Gandhiji "not to precipitate a crisis".

THE ATTEMPT ON SIR E. HOTSON

Meanwhile an unfortunate incident occurred in Poona where while the Acting Governor H. E. Sir Ernest Hotson was visiting the Fergusson College, he was shot at by a student: not long after came the news of the shooting of Mr. Garlick in Dacca. Gandhiji was naturally horrified that such things should happen at a time when he was so untiringly busy peace-making. Gandhiji immediately telegraphed to His Excellency congratulating him on his escape and condemning the outrage. He also took occasion to write and speak freely on the subject. The Working Committee which met at Bombay in the first week of August, lost no time in passing a strong resolution on the subject. It was endorsed by the A. I. C. C. in which Mr. Gandhi himself spoke on the resolution.

Though Mr. Gandhi was himself responsible for the drafting of the resolution, he gladly seized the opportunity for a speech that made his own standpoint abundantly clear.

By this resolution we are informing the world that we do not wish to fool the British, that we wish to obtain freedom through peace and non-violence alone. We believe, and wish to make the world believe, that we want to follow the policy of peace in thought, word and deed.

It would not be honest, Mr. Gandhi continued, to take shelter under the plea that Congress has nothing to do with the acts of violence of other people.

"Can Mr. Gandhi say more," asked the *Times of India*. "It would be sheer obstinacy to pretend that this statement is not completely satisfactory." Proceeding Mr. Gandhi said that by non-violence we have gained and not lost anything. By this creed millions of our countrymen have become brave. We must therefore have the courage to speak out our minds and express a definite opinion on the creed of non-violence.

I praised the courage of Bhagat Singh and his comrades and I was a party to the Karachi resolution; but I confess that the resolution has been misunderstood and has been wrongly followed by youths. The youths have been misled. I admit the mistake if it is a mistake.

"To me non-violence is a *dharma*," he continued "but to some of you it may be a policy."

THE RUPTURE

While he expressed himself thus freely and firmly on the subject of violence, he was also confronted with the allegations against the extortions of the local officials in Gujarat. It would appear that Mr. Gandhi, on the occasion of his visit to the Acting Governor soon after the unfortunate incident, found His Excellency was very amiable and expressed his readiness to investigate every one of the specific cases of coercion and breach of the contract cited by Mr. Gandhi and to remedy them. Further it was reported that Mr. Gandhi also obtained an assurance that coercive measures would not be resorted to if Mr. Gandhi would use his influence with the peasants who are unable to pay revenue dues to do so without any equivocation, and in accordance with this, it was claimed in Congress circles, Mr. Gandhi was mainly instrumental in the Government realising nineteen lakhs of rupees in revenue in Gujarat. Despite this it was alleged the Government, contrary to the undertaking, resorted to coercive measures.

which led Mr. Gandhi to visit Poona to interview Sir Ernest Hotson. Mr. Gandhi laid before the Governor a number of specific cases wherein he alleged the terms of the Pact had been broken by revenue officials in Gujerat, not only in the matter of collection of revenue but also in the matter of reinstatement of village officials who had resigned during the civil disobedience movement.

Some Sholapur prisoners and several other prisoners who, the Congress claimed, were covered by the Settlement still remained undischarged; (2) several such prosecutions still continued; (3) civil resisters coming under the Foreigners Act had not yet been removed from the ban; (4) Vatan and Inam cases against civil resisters were not yet withdrawn; (5) officials such as patels, who resigned during the civil disobedience movement still remained unreinstated; (6) confiscated moveable and immoveable properties had not yet, under some pretext or other, been returned; (7) liquor vendors still continued unlicensed business in spite of the knowledge of the authorities.

Mr. Gandhi referred also to two further heads in this connexion touching on forfeited lands and grants to the Ahmedabad Municipality.

Apart from these specific cases, Mr. Gandhi also held that to repudiate the Congress as an intermediary between the people and the Government means the repudiation of the Settlement.

The Working Committee, in meeting held in Bombay, asked the Governor's intervention in the matter in dispute.

The Governor's reply to Mr. Gandhi which caused considerable dissatisfaction among the members of the Working Committee, contended that the grievances put forward by Mr. Gandhi had been investigated by the Local Government and it was found that there had been no coercion as such in the collection of land revenue from the peasants of Bardoli, Borsad, etc., nor any

breaches of the terms of the Truce but that only the ordinary legal procedure was being followed.

On the information before him, he is satisfied that no breach of Settlement is involved in the steps taken to collect land revenue in Bardoli. It was clearly contemplated by the Settlement that current demands and arrears would be paid promptly by all who could pay. The Collector did however show special forbearance in regard to employment of coercive processes, and it was only after some months' delay and then only in carefully selected cases that he resorted to them. The prompt response of revenue-payers and the negligible extent to which attachment became necessary showed then, that there were many persons able to pay who had not done so and established the fact that action had become necessary only in consequence of their failure to observe the Settlement.

While reserving the right to decide each case on its merits, neither the Government nor the Collector has ever accepted the position that the collection of land revenue should be dependent on the advice of the Congress, and His Excellency has no doubt you will yourself realise that the decision as to whether a particular person can or cannot pay must rest with the Collector. Holding, therefore, as he does, that there has been neither a breach of faith nor a breach of Settlement in any action which has been taken, His Excellency the Governor-in-Council is unable to approve of refund of any sums already collected.

The Governor's curt reply which doubtless precipitated the crisis, was discussed by the Working Committee for over three hours and when the Committee adjourned at noon on the 11th August, Mr. Gandhi sent an express telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy which was in the nature of an S. O. S.

Exceedingly regret to inform you that the letter from the Bombay Government just received renders impossible my departure for London. The letter raises issues of first magnitude, as well of facts as of law and contends that the Government must be the final judges on both. In naked terms this means that Government should be both the prosecutor and judge with reference to matters arising out of a contract to which they and the complainants are parties. This is an impossible position for the Congress to accept. When I read the Bombay Government's letter together with Sir Malcolm Hailey's telegram received in answer to my inquiry and reports of continuing harassment in the United Provinces, the Frontier Province and other Provinces, they seem to me a complete indication that I must not sail.

Lord Willingdon telegraphically replied to Gandhiji, explaining the Government's position in respect of land revenue collection in Gujerat. The Viceroy in a courteous but decisive note substantially supported Sir E. Hotson's reply to Gandhiji.

I should regret extremely, if for the reasons you have given, the Congress should be unwilling to carry out the arrangement which provided for their representation at the Conference. I am unable to accept these reasons as valid and I cannot but feel that your misgivings arise from a misunderstanding of the policy of the Government and the grounds on which it rests.

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I would remind you of my personal letter to you of July 31st in which I gave you the fullest assurances of my personal interest in everything to do with the Settlement and could therefore have hoped that you would not allow disputes over the present details to prevent your serving India by participating in the momentous discussion of the future Constitution which may determine the destiny of the country beyond your time or mine. It, however, your telegram represents the final word, I will at once inform the Prime Minister of your inability to attend the Conference.

Gandhiji replied that he could only read His Excellency's assurances in the light of present happenings and if you can see in them nothing inconsistent with the settlement it shows fundamental difference in our respective outlooks upon settlement. In circumstances I regret to say there is no way left open to me but to confirm decision already conveyed. I can only add that I tried my utmost best to go to London but failed. Please inform the Prime Minister accordingly.

It did not take long for the public to know the result of these anxious negotiations. And the Working Committee which met at once to consider the situation, issued the following statement :

The Committee carefully considered the correspondence exchanged between the Central and various Provincial Governments on the one hand, and Gandhiji on the other, upon matters arising out of the Delhi Settlement and also considered the statement made by Gandhiji describing the events that led to the correspondence. The Congress Working Committee notes with regret that there have been in its opinion repeated and in some cases serious breaches by provincial Governments of conditions of the Delhi Settlement and a stage was reached when falling satisfaction, Gandhiji had asked with the approval of

the Working Committee for the appointment of an impartial tribunal to investigate the allegations of breaches and interpret the terms of the Settlement. Such a request has now been refused even in matters affecting the vital interests of the peasantry. The Committee has therefore been obliged reluctantly to come to the conclusion that consistently with the terms of the Settlement and national interests, the Congress cannot and should not be represented at the Round Table Conference.

Thus unfortunately, after about six months of anxious and vigilant nurturing from the first week of March to the third week of August, the tender plant of the Truce, on which such great hopes had been reared, snapped at a moment. It was deplorable that the long and patient endeavour of months of goodwill and co-operation on either side should have taken such a sudden and unexpected turn. The situation was grave enough in all conscience, and Lord Irwin overwhelmed by the gravity of the crisis declined to say anything. The Rt. Hon. Sastri was plunged in gloom as he heard the news of the Congress decision and Mr. Gandhi's withdrawal from the Round Table Conference. Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar and other Round Tablers who were in Bombay to sail for England on the 15th by the *Mooltan*, saw Mr. Gandhi at "Mani Bhawan" and expressed their profound disappointment at the turn of events. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who had arranged to sail by the *Mooltan*, cancelled their passages. Gandhiji himself in an interview with press correspondents declared :

I need hardly say that it has been a great blow to me that I am not to go to London. I know what it will mean to Lord Irwin and I know also what severe disappointment it will be to the numerous English friends I have in England. But a decision not to go became inevitable. I had hoped against hope that justice will be done even at the eleventh hour. My request was in my opinion incredibly simple. If there was a contract between the Government and the Congress, and if there was a dispute as to the interpretation of the contract, or if there was a breach on either side, surely the rules governing all contracts must be applicable to this contract, and this in my opinion was the more so, because

it is a contract between a great Government and a great organisation claiming to represent the whole nation. That the contract is not legally enforceable imposes a double obligation upon the Government to submit to an impartial tribunal questions in dispute between the contracting parties if they cannot agree. The Government in their wisdom have rejected a very simple and very natural suggestion of the Congress, that such matters in dispute should be referred to an impartial tribunal.

In the circumstances it would have been highly improper if the Congress had allowed itself to be represented at the Round Table Conference. More than this I must not say at the present moment.

By arrangement the entire correspondence and documents relating to the issue under controversy were published on the 15th. Nothing could be gained by blaming one side or the other, but there was general and widespread regret that differences in trivial details should have obscured the larger end in view. It was yet hoped that something would be done to retrieve the situation—a hope inspired by Gandhiji's message to the *News Chronicle* in which he declared that the position was any day retrievable if the local authorities implement the Settlement and that he "will dash to London the moment the way is clear".

For once let the British public believe that every effort humanly possible was made by me to proceed to London. But the belief is growing on me that the great Civilians here do not want me to attend the Conference, or if they do, they do so under circumstances which a National Organisation like the Congress can never tolerate. If there is to be lasting partnership between two Nations, these Civilians will probably remain as true servants of India.

I have therefore no desire to attend the Conference if I cannot do so with their whole-hearted goodwill and blessings. When the full facts are published, I will be able to produce a catalogue of breaches by Provincial Governments which will show how patient the Congress has been and hoping against hope.

DEMAND FOR TRIBUNAL

The demand for an impartial tribunal before whom the Congress can prove these breaches I hold to be perfectly natural and simple. I claim for the Delhi Settlement at least as much sanctity and protection as is claimable for any ordinary contract. But if for this solemn Settlement one contracting party can be both prosecutor and judge, it is not worth the paper on which it is written; and if London cannot guarantee protection to that party to the contract which has

no arms to back it, London is not likely to produce a scheme that will give India what she has long desired and to which she is entitled by right of sufferings, if nothing more.

The position is any day retrievable by local authorities, implementing terms of the Settlement. I claim for the Congress that it has done its part to the best of its ability. It has always been ready to set right everything brought against it, and it has been always ready to court public inquiry into every one of its doings.

MAHATMA'S CONCERN FOR IRWIN

Personally I would give my all for the sake of Lord Irwin who will feel deeply cut up to see the Settlement to which he gave many anxious days and nights failing at the last moment. I claim to feel this no less keenly than he. You may therefore depend upon it that I would make a dash for London the moment the way is cleared for me by those who are in a position to do so.

"What is going to happen now will be known within a few days," declared Gandhiji addressing a small crowd assembled at the time of prayer.

We believe the truce still continues, but if the Government declares the truce has come to an end, we are ready for it. If however the Government declares the truce still continues, both we and the Government have to carry it out.

LETTER TO LORD WILLINGDON

Before his departure from Bombay for Ahmedabad, Mr. Gandhi addressed a personal letter to H. E. Lord Willingdon, in which he affirmed that the Congress had no desire to embarrass the Government, that it was far from his intention to set up a parallel government, that he had never insisted upon a Board of Arbitration though he claimed it as a matter of right and that all that he wanted was simple justice. He declared further that Congress was prepared to continue honourably to work the settlement provided there was reciprocal attitude on the part of the Provincial Governments. The letter reads :

Events have moved so fast that I have not had the time to acknowledge your very kind personal letter of July 31.

I recognise the sincerity running through the communication, but the latest developments have made that letter past history and, as I said in my wire of August 13, the sum-total of all circumstances betrays a fundamental difference of outlook between us.

I can only give you my assurance that it was not without the greatest and most anxious deliberation that I came to the conclusion that, in view of your decision, I could not, consistently with my obligations here, attend the Round Table Conference.

I was grieved when I heard that your decision was affected by the opinion ascribed to you that I had insisted upon a Board of Arbitration and that I was trying to set myself up as the head of a parallel government.

As for a Board of Arbitration, it is true that I have claimed it as a matter of right, but, if you recall our conversation, I never insisted upon it. On the contrary, I told you that so long as I got the justice to which I was entitled I would be quite satisfied. You will agree that this is wholly different from insisting on a Board of Arbitration.

VOLUNTARY PATELS

As to the alleged parallel government I thought I had dispelled the illusion when, in reply to a jocular remark by you, I had told you that I did not claim to be a district officer, but that my co-workers and I had acted as voluntary patels or village headmen, and that, too, with the consent and knowledge of the district officers. I should therefore be sorry if these two opinions, which I submit were erroneous, had affected your decision.

THE PACT

The purpose, however, of writing this letter is to inquire whether you regard the Delhi Settlement as now at an end, or whether it is to be still continued in spite of the abstention of the Congress from participation in the Round Table Conference. The Congress Working Committee arrived at the following decision this morning :

"In view of the resolution relating to Congress non-participation in the Round Table Conference passed by the Working Committee on August 13, the Committee desires to make it clear that this resolution should not be construed as ending the Delhi Settlement. The Committee therefore advises the Congress organisations and all Congressmen to continue to comply, until further instructions, with the terms of the Delhi Settlement in so far as they are applicable to the Congress."

From this you will observe that the Working Committee has no desire to embarrass the Government at the present juncture, and that therefore it is prepared to continue honourably to work the Settlement; but such working must depend upon a reciprocal attitude on the part of the Provincial Governments.

As I have told you so often, through correspondence and our conversations, this reciprocity has been found to be progressively missing. Information continues to be received at the office of the Working Committee of Government activity which can only be

interpreted to be a token of a design to crush the Congress workers and normal Congress activities.

It, therefore, the Settlement is to abide, I venture to think that early relief in the matter of complaints already filed is necessary. More complaints, as I have already said, are coming and co-workers are insistent that, if relief is not had in time, they should at least get permission to adopt defensive measures. May I request an early reply.

THE REAL ISSUE: THE ATTITUDE OF THE SERVICES

Gandhiji explained the purpose of his letter to the Viceroy, in an article in *Young India*. After referring to the fact how the Government had refused to accept the Congress as the intermediary between the people and the Government, and how he had not insisted on the point as he did not want to embarrass or humiliate the Government, Gandhiji pointed out that he could prove by documents that occasions were not wanting to warrant the Congress declaring the Truce at an end by reason of the Provincial Governments having failed to carry out the terms. Gandhiji cited instances of alleged breaches and added that Congress had shown exemplary patience in not terminating the Truce in the face of the determined antagonism of the Civil Services. It was they that stood in the way of peace in the Bardoli dispute.

The inference to be drawn from the conduct of the Provincial Governments is that members of the Civil Service are unwilling that they should proceed to London. Had they desired otherwise it was open to them, as it is even now, to make my way clear for me by treating the Congress as worthy of their trust and respect, and therefore giving it satisfaction through an impartial enquiry.

Replying to the objection that Gandhiji, in concentrating upon matters of detail, had really missed the opportunity of helping decisions on matters of higher interest, he pointed out that he does not look at the two things separately :

Government of India is but a part of the whole Imperial scheme and if it is not ready to recognise the right of India to govern her-

self unfettered from any outside control, it is not likely to think do otherwise. My closest association with that Government for the last four months has left the impression on me that the Civil Service is not ready to recognise the right of India to full freedom. I have too great a regard for their ability and powers of organisation and their influence on the British public opinion, to think, that without their whole-hearted co-operation and blessing, a humble person like me could possibly get anything from London. Therefore, till the members of that Service are converted, there is no scope for the Congress to enter upon negotiations for full freedom. It must go through further suffering, however costly the process may be. Bardoli, therefore, was for me an acid test. It was designed to gauge the Civilian temper. Looked at in that light, it was not a small thing.

FURTHER PEACE EFFORTS

While he gave out his mind freely on the attitude of the Services, he was unremitting in his endeavours to continue negotiations for peace. He caused the Working Committee to issue instructions to the Provinces that Congressmen at any rate the Truce should be observed both in the letter and spirit. He repudiated the press report that he had issued a challenge to the Government, as when it was brought to his notice that the publication of his charge-sheet had affected the negotiations adversely, pointed out :

I have issued no challenge. Whatever I have said has been published in the correspondence. If my letter to the Collector of Simla be regarded as a challenge, then that letter undoubtedly stands. The material result has been already achieved—that is to say, could not go to London. The honour of the Congress pledge to Bardoli peasants was thereby half vindicated. The rest is in the lap of the Government. Whatever the final decision of the Government may be, I decline to believe that it can possibly be affected by the publication of the charge-sheet which was part of the relevant correspondence. This publication was authorised by the telegram dated 14th instant from Simla.

So far as the counter-charges were concerned, he said he would welcome them as also an impartial tribunal to investigate them.

I will be prepared to advise the Working Committee to accept even an one-sided tribunal—that is a tribunal that may confine

Commission only to investigate the counter-charges. The Congress has nothing to lose by a public enquiry into the allegations made against it.

Meanwhile H. E. the Viceroy who was in Calcutta, hastened to his headquarters in Simla, held a meeting of his Council and sent a reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter of August 14, in which he had alleged breaches of the Settlement on the part of the local Governments. The Viceroy replied :

The activities of the Congress during the past five months have, in many directions, been contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the Delhi Settlement, and have involved a constant menace, not only to the continuance of the Settlement, but to the maintenance of peace, particularly in the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province.

Lord Willingdon further observed that the refusal of the Congress to be represented at the Round Table Conference involves the failure of one of the main objects of the Settlement. Declaring that the Government would continue to avoid resort to special measures so far as that was possible, the Viceroy added :

It is the intention of the Government of India to pursue the policy they have hitherto followed to restrict action to the requirements of the specific situation, and, in particular, to avoid resort to special measures so far as this is possible.

But so far as this action may relate to the activities of the Congress, its nature and extent must depend primarily on the nature of those activities, and the Government of India are unable to fetter their discretion or that of Local Governments in this respect.

Commenting on the Viceroy's reply, Mahatmaji told representative of the A. P. I :

I do not consider the Viceroy's reply to be at all bad or disappointing. In fact I was prepared for some such reply.

Mr. Gandhi added :

I am glad too that so far as I can understand the Government do not intend to terminate the Settlement and as this is well aware, the Working Committee of the Congress has already passed a resolution to that effect. I am therefore hoping all Congressmen will meticulously observe the Settlement.

Gandhiji had, in the meanwhile, received a message from Sir T. B. Saprú and Mr. Jayakar from Simla, protesting against the release of the charge-sheet which had placed them in an awkward position as they had been in communication with Whitehall on the one hand, and the Viceroy on the other. While Gandhiji could not see how the publication was irrelevant, he showed a spirit of accommodation in wiring to the Viceroy at once to grant him an interview, so that he might personally explain to His Excellency and clear up the points which there had evidently been some misunderstanding.

THE GANDHI-WILLINGDON TALKS

His Excellency having agreed, Gandhiji accompanied by Mr. Vallabhai Patel, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mr. Prabhashankar Pattani reached Simla on the 25th August and at once started negotiations. Gandhiji's evident moderation and sweet reasonableness naturally disarmed all opposition and the discussions with Mr. Emerson proved most satisfactory. The discussion covered a wide area, particularly breaches relating to Gujerat, the United Provinces and the North-West-Frontier, but finally centred around Gujerat.

The Viceroy held a two hours' meeting of the Executive Council when Mr. Emerson explained the purport of his conversation with Mr. Gandhi.

It all seemed quite plain sailing and Gandhiji was to have left for Bombay *en route* to England but a eleven-hour hitch arising, fears were aroused lest he should miss the boat on Saturday the 29th. Meanwhile Sir Prabhashankar and Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.) were assiduous in the peace efforts with Government, and a settlement was reached to the satisfaction of both parties. And the following *communiqué* was issued on the 27th embodying the result of the Gandhi-Willingdon talks :

THE AGREEMENT

As a result of the conversations between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, the Congress will now be represented by Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference.

The Settlement of March 5, 1931, remains operative. The Government of India and the local Governments will secure the observance of the specific provisions of the Settlement in those cases, if any, in which a breach is established and will give their careful consideration to any representation that may be made in this respect. The Congress will fulfil their obligations under the Settlement.

In regard to collections of land revenue in the Surat District, the point in issue is whether in those villages of Bardoli Taluk and Valod Mahal which were visited by revenue officials accompanied by a party of police during the month of July 1931, more severe demands, having regard to their material circumstances, were made from revenue-payer and enforced by coercion exercised through the police than were made from and met by revenue-payers of other villages of the Bardoli Taluka. The Government of India, in consultation and full agreement with the Government of Bombay, have decided that an inquiry shall be held into this issue in accordance with the following terms of reference: To inquire into the allegations that khatedars in the villages in question were compelled by means of coercion exercised through the police to pay revenue, in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard had been applied which was adopted in other villages of the Bardoli Taluka, where collections were effected after March 5, 1931, without the assistance of the police and to ascertain what sum, if any, was so paid.

Within the terms of reference, evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute. The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. R. G. Gordon, I.C.S., Collector of Nasik, to hold the inquiry. In regard to other matters hitherto raised by the Congress, the Government of India and the local Governments concerned are not prepared to order any enquiry.

Thus Gandhiji's principal demand for an enquiry over the Bardoli dispute was conceded. The Delhi Settlement was to remain operative and Congress was to be represented at the Round Table Conference.

The news was hailed with rejoicing all over the country which for weeks together was distracted between hopes and fears. Gandhiji left Simla by special train on the 27th and reached Bombay in time to catch the P. & O. Boat *S. S. Rajaputana* on the 29th noon. With him sailed

two veteran Congress leaders—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and the distinguished statesman and administrator Sir Prabhaskar Pattani—all Members of the Round Table Conference.

Mahatma Gandhi, just before sailing, gave the following message to the Associated Press representative, who interviewed him in his cabin on board *S. S. Rajputana* :

Though I see nothing on the horizon to warrant hope, being a born optimist, I am hoping against hope. My faith is in God and He seems to have made my way clear for me to go to London. Therefore I expect He will use me as His instrument for the service of humanity. For me service of India is identical with the service of humanity.

Though Congress may be repudiated by sections of the people of India, it aims at representing the whole of India and, therefore, to deserve the trust that had been reposed in me and imposed upon me, I shall endeavour to represent every interest that does not conflict with the interests of the dumb millions for whom the Congress predominantly exists.

I hope that Provincial Governments, the Civil Service and English mercantile houses will help the Congress to realise the mission it has set before itself. Representing, as the Congress does, the message of non-violence and truth, it can only succeed by the goodwill of component parts of the nation, and I am therefore hoping that goodwill will be extended to the humble representative that is going upon his errand.

September, 1931.

APPENDIX

THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF SATYA- GRAHASHRAMA*

OBJECT

The object of this home is to learn how to serve the mother-land and to serve it.

DIVISIONS

This home is divided into three classes: Managers, Candidates and Students.

(1) MANAGERS

Managers believe that, in order to learn how to serve the country, the following observances should be enforced in their own lives, and they have been doing so for some time.

1. THE VOW OF TRUTH

It is not enough that one ordinarily does not resort to untruth; one ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country, that Truth may require opposition to one's parents and elders. Consider the example of Prahlad.

2. THE VOW OF AHIMSA (NON-KILLING)

It is not enough not to take the life of any living being. The follower of this Vow may not hurt even those whom he believes to be unjust; he may not be angry with them, he must love them: thus he would oppose the tyranny whether of parents, governments or others, but will never hurt the tyrant. The follower of Truth and *Ahimsa* will conquer the tyrant by love, he will not carry out the tyrant's will but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered.

3. THE VOW OF CELIBACY

It is well-nigh impossible to observe the foregoing two Vows unless celibacy is also observed; for this vow it is not enough that one does not look upon another woman with a lustful eye, he has so to control his animal passions that they will not be moved even

* A translation of the Gujarati draft constitution.

In thought: if he is married he will not have a carnal mind regarding his wife but considering her as his life-long friend, will cherish with her the relationship of perfect purity.

4. CONTROL OF THE PALATE

Until one has overcome the pleasures of the palate it is difficult to observe the foregoing Vows, more especially that of *brahmacarya*. Control of the Palate is therefore treated as a separate observance. One desirous of serving the country will believe that eating is necessary only for sustaining the body; he will therefore, daily regulate and purify his diet and will abstain gradually or immediately in accordance with his ability from all such foods as may tend to stimulate animal passions and are otherwise unnecessary.

5. THE VOW OF NON-STEALING

It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered other men's property. It is theft if we use articles which we do not really need. Nature provides from day to day just enough for no more for our daily needs.

6. THE VOW OF NON-POSSESSION

It is not enough not to possess and keep much, but it is necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for our bodily wants: thus if one can do without chairs, one should do so. The follower of this vow will, therefore, by constant thinking thereover, simplify his life.

SUBSIDIARY OBSERVANCES

Two observances are reduced from the foregoing :

1. SWADESHI

It is inconsistent with Truth to use articles about which one knows about whose makers there is a possibility of deception. Therefore, for instance, a votary of Truth will not use articles manufactured in the mills of Manchester, Germany or India, for he does not know that there is no deception about them. Moreover, labourers suffer much in the mills. Use of fire in the mills causes enormous destruction of life besides killing labourers before their time. Foreign goods and goods made by means of complicated machinery are, therefore, tabooed to a votary of *Ahimsa*. Further reflection will show that use of such goods will involve a breach of the vows of non-stealing and non-possession. We wear foreign goods in preference to simple goods made in our own hand-loom because custom attributes greater beauty to them. Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance to a Brahmachari; he will, therefore, avoid the use of any but the simplest goods. Therefore the vow of *Swadeshi* requires the use of simple and simply made clothing to the exclusion of even buttons, foreign cuts, etc., and so will *Swadeshi* be applied to every department of life.

2. FEARLESSNESS

He who is acted upon by fear can hardly follow Truth or *Ahimsa*. Managers will, therefore, endeavour to be free from the fear of kings, people, caste, families, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals such as tigers and even death. A truly fearless man will defend himself against others by truth-force or soul-force.

VERNACULARS

It is the belief of the managers that no nation can make real progress by abandoning its own languages; they will, therefore, train themselves through the medium of their respective vernaculars and as they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India, they will learn the chief Indian languages, and as Sanskrit is the key to all the Indian languages they will learn that also.

HAND LABOUR

Managers believe that body labour is a duty imposed by nature upon mankind. We may, therefore, resort to bodily labour alone for our sustenance and use our mental and spiritual power for the common good only, and as the largest percentage in the world live upon agriculture, managers will devote some part of their time to working on the land: and when such is not possible, perform some other bodily labour.

HAND-LOOMS

Managers believe that one of the chief causes of poverty in the land is the virtual disappearance of cotton-spinning wheels and hand-looms. They will, therefore, make a great effort to revive this industry by working upon hand-looms themselves.

POLITICS

Politics, economic progress, etc., are not considered to be independent branches of learning but that they are all rooted in religion. An effort will, therefore, be made to learn Politics, Economics, Social Reform, etc., in a religious spirit, and work in connection with these matters will be taken up by the managers with energy and devotion.

(2) CANDIDATES

Those who are desirous of following out the foregoing programme but are not able immediately to take the necessary vows may be admitted as candidates. It is obligatory upon them to conform to the observances referred to above, though they do not take the vows whilst they are in the Ashram, and they will occupy the status of managers when they are able to take the necessary vows.

(3) STUDENTS

1. Any children whether boys or girls from four upwards may be admitted.

2. Parents will have to surrender all control over their children.

3. Children may not be permitted to visit their parents until the whole course of study is finished.

4. Students will be taught to observe all the vows observable by the managers.

5. They will be taught principles of religion, agriculture, hand-loom weaving and literature.

6. Literary knowledge will be imparted through the respective vernaculars of the students and will include History, Geography, Mathematics, Economics, etc., learning of Sanskrit, Hindi, and at least one Dravidian Vernacular is obligatory.

7. English will be taught as a second language.

8. They will be taught Urdu, Beogali, Tamil, Telugu and Devanagari characters.

9. Managers believe that the whole course will be completed in ten years. Upon reaching the age of majority, students will be given the option of taking the vows referred to in section 1 or retire from the Ashram, if its programme has not commended itself to them.

10. This option they will exercise when no longer they will require the assistance of their parents or other guardians.

11. Every endeavour will be made to teach the students from the very beginning not to have the fear, "What shall I do for my maintenance if and when I become an independent man."

12. Grown-up persons also may be admitted as students.

13. As a rule the simplest and the same style of clothing will be worn by all.

14. Food will be simple. Chillies will be excluded altogether and no condiments will be used generally except salt, pepper and turmeric. Milk and its products being a hindrance to a celibate life and milk being often a cause of tuberculosis, and having the same stimulating qualities as meat, will be most sparingly used if at all. Food will be served thrice. In it dried and fresh fruits will be liberally used. All in the Ashram will be taught principles of Hygiene.

15. There will be no vacation in this Ashram and no holiday as a rule, but during $1\frac{1}{2}$ days per week the ordinary routine will be altered and students will have leisure to attend to their private personal work.

16. During 3 months in the year those whose health permits will be enabled to travel mostly on foot in the different parts of India.

17. No fees will be charged either against students or candidates, but parents or members themselves will be expected to contribute as much as they can towards the expenses of the Ashram.

MISCELLANEOUS

The management will be controlled solely by the managers. The chief manager will control all admissions. The expenses of conducting the Ashram are being met from moneys already received by the chief manager and being received from friends who are more or less believers in this Ashram. The Ashram is situated in 2 houses on the banks of the Sabarmati, Ahmedabad.

NOTICE

Visitors are requested during their stay at the Ashram to observe as nearly as possible the rules of the Ashram. Every endeavour will be made to make them comfortable; but they will confer upon the management a favour if they will bring with them their bedding and eating utensils. Those parents who intend sending their children to the Ashram are advised to visit the Ashram. No children will be admitted without being thoroughly examined as to their mental and moral condition.

II. IRWIN-GANDHI AGREEMENT

THE following is the text of the Irwin-Gandhi Agreement signed at Viceroy's House, in New Delhi, on March 5, 1931 :—

Consequent on the conversations that have taken place between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, it has been arranged that the civil disobedience movement be discontinued and that, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, certain action be taken by the Government of India and Local Governments.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

(2) As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there outlined, Federation is an essential part, so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India for such matters as, for instance, Defence; External Affairs; the position of minorities; the financial credit of India, and the discharge of obligations.

(3) In pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister in his Announcement of the 19th of January 1931, steps will be taken for the participation of the representatives of the Congress in the further discussions that are to take place on the scheme of constitutional reform.

(4) The Settlement relates to activities directly connected with the civil disobedience movement.

CALLING OFF OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(5) Civil disobedience will be effectively discontinued and reciprocal action will be taken by the Government. The effective discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement means the effective discontinuance of all activities in furtherance thereof, by whatever methods pursued and in particular, the following :—

1. The organised defiance of the provisions of any law.
2. The movement for the non-payment of land revenue and other legal dues.
3. The publication of news-sheets in support of the civil disobedience movement.
4. Attempts to influence civil and military servants or village officials against Government or to persuade them to resign their

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

(6) As regards the boycott of foreign goods, there are two issues involved, firstly, the character of the boycott and secondly the methods employed in giving effect to it. The position of Government is as follows: They approve of the encouragement of Indian industries as part of the economic and industrial movement designed to improve the material condition of India, and they have no desire to discourage methods of propaganda, persuasion or advertisement pursued with this object in view, which do not interfere with the freedom of action of individuals, or are not prejudicial to the maintenance of Law and Order. But the boycott of non-Indian goods (except of cloth which has been applied to all foreign cloth) has been directed during the civil disobedience movement chiefly, if not exclusively, against British goods, and in regard to these it has been admittedly employed in order to exert pressure for political ends.

It is accepted that a boycott of this character, and organised for this purpose, will not be consistent with the participation of representatives of the Congress in a frank and friendly discussion of constitutional questions between representatives of British India, of the Indian States and of His Majesty's Government and political parties in England, which the settlement is intended to secure. It is, therefore, agreed that the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement connotes the definite discontinuance of the employment of the boycott of British commodities as a political weapon and that, in consequence, those who have given up, during a time of political excitement, the sale or purchase of British goods must be left free without any form of restraint to change their attitude if they so desire.

PICKETING

(7) In regard to the methods employed in furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods, or against the consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs, resort will not be had to methods coming within the category of picketing, except within the limits permitted by the ordinary law. Such picketing shall be unaggressive and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public, or any offence under the ordinary law. If and when any of these methods is employed in any place, the practice of picketing in that place will be suspended.

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE

(8) Mr. Gandhi has drawn the attention of Government to specific allegations against the conduct of the police, and represented the desirability of a public enquiry into them. In present circumstances, Government see great difficulty in this course and feel that it must inevitably lead to charges and counter-charges, and militate against the re-establishment of peace. Having regard to these considerations, Mr. Gandhi agreed not to press the matter.

CALLING OFF REPRESSION

(9) The action that Government will take on the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement is stated in the following paragraphs :—

(10) Ordinances promulgated in connection with the civil disobedience movement will be withdrawn.

Ordinance No. 1 of 1931 relating to the terrorist movement does not come within the scope of the provision.

(11) Notifications declaring associations unlawful under Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 will be withdrawn, provided that the notifications were made in connection with the civil disobedience movement.

The notifications recently issued by the Burma Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act do not come within the scope of this provision.

(12) (i) Pending prosecutions will be withdrawn if they have been filed in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement and relate to offences which do not involve violence other than technical violence or incitement to such violence.

(ii) The same principles will apply to proceedings under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(iii) Where a local Government has moved any High Court or has initiated proceedings under the legal practitioners' Act in regard to the conduct of legal practitioners in connection with the civil disobedience movement, it will make application to the Court concerned for permission to withdraw such proceedings, provided that the alleged conduct of the persons concerned does not relate to violence, or incitement to violence.

(iv) Prosecutions, if any, against soldiers and police involving disobedience of orders will not come within the scope of this provision.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

(13) (i) Those prisoners will be released who are undergoing imprisonment in connection with the civil disobedience movement for offences which did not involve violence, other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence.

(ii) If any prisoner who comes within the scope of (i) above has been also sentenced for a jail offence, not involving violence, other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence, the latter sentence also will be remitted, or if a prosecution relating to an offence of this character is pending against such a prisoner, it will be withdrawn.

(iii) Soldiers and police convicted of offences involving disobedience of orders—in the very few cases that have occurred—will not come within the scope of the amnesty.

(14) Fines which have not been realised will be remitted. Where an order for the forfeiture of security has been made under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and the security has not been realised, it will be similarly remitted.

Fines which have been realised and securities forfeited and realised under any law will not be returned.

(15) Additional police imposed in connection with the civil disobedience movement at the expense of the inhabitants of a particular area will be withdrawn at the discretion of Local Governments. Local Governments will not refund any money, not in excess of the actual cost that has been realised, but they will remit any sum that has not been realised.

RETURN OF MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

(16) (a) Movable property, which is not an illegal possession, and which has been seized in connection with the civil disobedience movement, under the Ordinances or the provisions of the Criminal Law, will be returned, if it is still in the possession of Government.

(b) Movable property, forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues, will be returned, unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period, special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulters, while willing to pay, genuinely require time for the purpose, and if necessary, the revenue will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Compensation will not be given for deterioration.

(d) Where movable property has been sold or otherwise finally disposed of by Government, compensation will not be given and the sale proceeds will not be returned, except in so far as they are in excess of the legal dues for which the property may have been sold.

(e) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the attachment or seizure of property was not in accordance with the law.

(17) (a) Immovable property of which possession has been taken under Ordinance IX of 1930 will be returned in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance.

(b) Land and other immovable property in the possession of Government, which has been forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues, will be returned unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the

defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulter, while willing to pay, genuinely requires time for the purpose, and, if necessary, the revenues will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Where immovable property has been sold to third parties, the transaction must be regarded as final, so far as Government are concerned.

Note.—Mr. Gandhi has represented to Government that according to his information and belief some, at least, of these sales have been unlawful and unjust. Government, on the information before them, cannot accept this contention.

(d) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the seizure or attachment of property was not in accordance with the law.

(18) Government believe that there have been very few cases in which the realization of dues has not been made in accordance with the provisions of the law. In order to meet such cases, if any, local Governments will issue instructions to District Officers to have prompt enquiry made into any specific complaint of this nature, and to give redress without delay if illegality is established.

POSTS OF INCUMBENTS WHO HAVE RESIGNED

(19) Where the posts rendered vacant by resignation have been permanently filled, Government will not be able to reinstate the late incumbents. Other cases of resignation will be considered on their merits by the local Governments who will pursue a liberal policy in regard to the re-appointment of Government servants and village officials who apply for reinstatement.

MANUFACTURE OF SALT

(20) Government are unable to condone breaches of this existing law relating to the salt administration, nor are they able, in the present financial conditions of the country, to make substantial modifications in the Salt Acts.

For the sake, however, of giving relief to certain of the poorer classes, they are prepared to extend their administrative provisions, on lines already prevailing in certain places, in order to permit local residents in villages, immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected or made, to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale within such villages, but not for sale to, or trading with, individuals living outside them.

(21) In the event of the Congress failing to give full effect to the obligations of this settlement, Government will take such action as may, in consequence, become necessary for the protection of the public and individuals and the due observance of Law and Order.

APPRECIATIONS

I. THE RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI

In the course of an appreciative study of the character and genius of Mahatma Gandhi, the Rt. Hon. Sastri wrote as follows in the pages of the SURVEY GRAPHIC, an American Magazine :—

POLITICS is not separable from life. Mr. Gandhi would not countenance the separation, for his great aim is to strip life of its sophistication and reduce it to its own nature—simple, rounded, pure. It merely happens that for the moment his activity is in the field of politics. It merely happens that for the moment he is confronting Government and daring its wrath. It merely happens that for the moment his cry of *Swaraj* for India has caught the ear of the world and the world is anxious to know what his *Swaraj* is. His real and final objective is a radical reform of human kind. His Gospel is "Back to Nature". He avows himself an implacable enemy of Western civilization. In his mighty war against Western civilization, *Swaraj* for India is but a campaign. The rules of the campaign are the rules of the mighty war; the weapons to be used in the campaign are the weapons to be used in the campaign of the mighty war; the virtues to be evoked by the campaign are the virtues which will win the mighty war in the end. The cardinal rule of both, the war and the campaign, is non-violence. Non-violence is of the heart as well as of the body. By thought, word and act you may not injure your adversary. Enemy in a personal sense is too strong a word for his dictionary. But as the adversary does not follow the rule, you will be subjected to great suffering and loss. Rejoice in the suffering and loss and court them. If you cannot rejoice in them, do not avoid or complain against them. Love your enemies; if you love them, pardon them and never

retaliate against them. Force is wrong and must go under. The soul is invincible; learn to exercise its full power. Hold to the truth at all costs; *Satya* triumphs in the end. Out of this cardinal rule, almost logically, proceed a number of principles which will keep us straight in the war and this campaign for Swaraj. Since Western civilization and the existing system of British Government have to be got rid of, we must have nothing to do with either offspring of Satan; we must cut off our connection with those large and powerful institutions by which they enslave us. These are schools, courts, legislatures. Withdraw children from schools, sue not for justice in courts, and avoid the polling-booth. Machinery being another invention of Satan and mills being the mainstay of British domination in India, boycott both, cease to import foreign cloth, and erect a spindle in each home. The motion of the *Charka* has mystic properties, its music chastens the soul, and its products most adorn the human form, especially the female form. These principles and courses of action have more or less permanent validity because the war against modern civilization must be expected to be of indefinite duration. It is a picked body, however, namely, the members of the *Satyagrahasrama* in Ahmedabad—who are engaged in this exalted enterprise and owe lifelong allegiance to those principles and courses of action. - The numerous levies now fighting in India under the flag of Non-Co-operation are enrolled only for a single campaign and may lapse into the common grooves of life as soon as the British Government has been brought to its knees and consented to change its basis. In the intensive operations of this campaign it may become necessary to resort to civil disobedience of selected laws and non-payment of taxes. But wherever the severity of the measures which such action may provoke the authorities to adopt, Non-Co-operators are precluded from the slightest inraction of the commandment as to non-violence.

To understand Mr. Gandhi's view of life, attention must be fixed on the rules he has laid down for the regulation of his Ahmedabad institution. Its name, *Satyagrahasrama*, means the hermitage of the determined practice of truth or the abode of soul-force. The *Asrama* is still small. It has had no real chance of proving its vitality, for ever since its establishment, other things have claimed the energies of its founder. But the attainment of its

object is conditioned by the increase of its numbers and the acceptance by the community at large of these austere ideals as at present exemplified in the lives of a few apostles. No estimate can be formed of the prospective influence of the new gospel without an examination of its real nature.

Truth in the highest sense is possibly only where the individual enjoys complete freedom. All forms of force or coercion are thus at once barred. Compulsion, authority, government, these are anathema to one who at bottom is a philosophical anarchist. In fact, he describes the essence of his doctrine, sometimes as love, sometimes as truth, sometimes as non-violence (*ahimsa*), these forms are in his opinion interchangeable: for organised government in the ideal world, is unjustifiable. The merit of the British Government is that it governs the least. Even a family and a school must trust entirely to the power of love and moral reasoning. Flagrant misconduct he deals with by himself fasting for a certain number of days, the guilty party being invariably brought to a state of contrition within that period. Sometime ago he applied this remedy to end a serious strike in a mill, the employers coming to reason for fear of incurring sin. Within the last few weeks the violence practised by some persons in Bombay in the name of Non-Co-operation on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit entailed this form of self-chastisement on his part, and by all accounts it had the desired result.

Nobody is entitled to possess more than is absolutely necessary for the moment. To hold in excess of the need is to be guilty of theft. He and his wife have given away all their property—he practised law for many years with success—and now own nothing beyond the clothes they wear and a change or two and may be a bag or box to contain these. The *Asrama* in Ahmedabad contains the barest necessities.

Each person must supply his wants by his own exertion. The ideal is to grow the corn that one eats and weave the cloth that one wears. Even the brain-worker is not exempt for this bodily labour. In fact, the spindle has grown to be a fetish with Mr. Gandhi. Its music has a charm for him. He prescribes it for all men and women. Boys must prefer it to books. Lawyers must cast away their briefs for it. Doctors must abandon the stethoscope and take to it.

So far its products have been coarse; but he asks, can a man or woman look more beautiful than in the Khaddar made by himself or herself? When a lady pupil of his wore the first *Sari* of her own making, he surveyed her and pronounced her divinely attractive. Without a doubt his eyes so saw her and his mind so judged her.

Control of the senses is a requisite of the first-importance. It is very hard and can be only very slow. But it must be incessantly and ruthlessly practised. Luxuries are, of course, taboo. Even comforts must be steadily reduced. The palate is a particularly venal sense and has to be rigidly curbed. Simple hard fare is a condition of spiritual advancement. Celibacy is also enjoined on the inmates of the Asrama. Married couples may not be admitted unless they agree to surrender their marital relation and adopt that of brother and sister. If Mr. Gandhi had his way he would recommend this course to mankind. The resulting extinction of the species has no terrors for him. He merely asks, why should we not all go to a better planet and live on a higher plane? The question would not appear so fantastic after all to one who believes in the re-birth of souls according to the law of Karma and remembered that no person would be a celibate except of his or her own free choice and when the sex passion had been transcended.

Machinery, being one of the most inseparable adjuncts of modern civilization, must be abandoned. It is of the kingdom of Satan. Mills and factories where the labourer is done out of his humanity have no place in his scheme. The wealth they create it needs no saying, is an abomination. Posts and telegraphs and railways are likewise condemned and with them goes the printing press. He says that every time he himself uses these instruments of civilization he does so with a pang. It would be nearly as hard for him to carry on his work without resort to them as it would be to escape from the atmosphere of the earth: but perhaps the use of evil might be defensible in its own destruction. Rapid and easy means of communication have but multiplied crime and disease. Could not man infer from the fact of God having given him legs that he was not intended to go farther than they could carry him? What are ordinarily called the benefits of the railway and similar things are in reality the opposite, being added enjoyments and means of gratifying the senses.

Medicine does not escape his judgment ; he calls it black magic and actually says it is better to die than be saved by a drug prescribed by the doctor. The fear of immorality and unhealthy mode of life has been materially weakened if not totally removed by the hope of being saved from the evil consequences by the help of the doctor. A return to the cure of nature and her simple ways would redeem mankind.

These and similar doctrines which appear harsh to the ordinary person, form the substance of Mr. Gandhi's ethics. Let it not be supposed that they are logical abstractions formulated for the purposes of a moral treatise or sermon, and with no intended application to life. Their propounder practises them in the spirit and to the letter, and the limitations on their practice do not proceed from any tenderness for himself or his relatives. His renunciation of worldly goods has already been mentioned. He does not seek the medical man in sickness. He eats hard fare. He wears *Khadis* woven by his own hands and in that dress and barefooted appears before the Viceroy of India. He knows no fear and shrinks from nothing which he advises others to do. In fact, his love of suffering and hardship as a means of spiritual progress is almost morbid. His compassion and tenderness are infinite like the ocean, to use an Eastern simile. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment. In fact it is his complete mastery of the passions, his realization of the ideal of a "sanyasin" in all the rigour of its Eastern conception, which accounts for the great hold he has over the masses of India and has crowned him with the title of Mahatma or the Great Soul.

Now to a few other doctrines of a subordinate grade. Curiously enough he is a believer in the system of caste though the pride of caste and its exclusiveness will receive no quarter from him. Apparently he is convinced of its beneficence, if maintained in its original purity, and holds it to be of the essence of Hinduism. In this belief, however, he is not likely to be followed by a great section of his countrymen, who are anxious to restore their religion to its ancient purity. But he is at one with them and in fact with the awakened conscience of India in desiring to exorcize the demon of untouchability. Millions of people are held by caste Hindus to be beneath their physical touch and live in conditions which are scarcely fit for human beings. These he would uplift, asserting that

Hinduism gives no kind of justification for the abuse. But his work for the depressed classes, as they are called, would take the form which has quite recently been given to social work of that kind in the West. He would have the worker cast aside his own status and live the life of the class to be helped, do their work and earn their wage, exactly as they do. So only can real understanding and sympathy come, so only can that confidence be engendered which is an essential pre-requisite of all work of amelioration.

His Non-Co-operationist followers seem in places to have mixed up his humanitarian work with politics and so suffered a check. In the Mahatma's eyes no political rights will be of the slightest use to a community which is the prey of great social failings, and work for *Swaraj* can never reach any success without simultaneous work for great social reforms. But violent political excitement is not a favourable condition, for such antagonism of government and its officials is only to be expected to the activities of hosts of young picketers who are pledged at the same time to embarrass and even destroy the ordinary administration.

The educational ideals of the Mahatma have not yet received a clear expression. To compulsion even of rudimentary education he must be averse. The highest sciences and arts, the specialised forms of historical research or economic enquiry with their glorification of machinery and wealth in its varied forms, will find no room in his simple scheme. Of the necessity of introducing one language for common use in India, he has been for long a persistent advocate. He has chosen Hindi for the place of the *lingua franca*. With characteristic earnestness he has collected funds for the purpose of spreading a knowledge of this language and has sent out enthusiastic teachers to all parts of India. The Non-Co-operation turmoil may have for the time overshadowed this activity. Perhaps, too, the bulk of educational workers in India has not yet accepted the Mahatma's conclusions in this regard, and for this reason his efforts on behalf of Hindi have not been co-ordinated with the educational work of the country generally.

The writer of these lines is not of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the working of an

iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanskrit verse says: "Do not tell me of holy waters or stone images; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight."

II. ROMAIN ROLLAND

SOFT dark eyes, a small frail man, with a thin face and rather large protruding eyes, his head covered with a little white cap, his body clothed in coarse white cloth, barefooted. He lives on rice and fruit, and drinks only water. He sleeps on the floor—sleeps very little, and works incessantly. His body does not seem to count at all. There is nothing striking about him—except his whole expression of "infinite patience and infinite love". W. W. Pearson who met him in South Africa, instinctively thought of St. Francis of Assisi. There is an almost childlike simplicity about him. His manner is gentle and courteous even when dealing with adversaries and he is of immaculate sincerity. He is modest and unassuming, to the point of sometimes seeming almost timid, hesitant, in making an assertion. Yet you feel his indomitable spirit. He makes no compromises and never tries to hide a mistake. Nor is he afraid to admit having been in the wrong. Diplomacy is unknown to him; he shuns oratorical effect or, rather, never thinks about it; and he shrinks unconsciously from the great popular demonstrations organised in his honour. Literally "ill with the multitude that adores him", he distrusts majorities and fears "mobocracy" and the unbridled passions of the populace. He feels at ease only in a minority, and is happiest when in meditative solitude, he can listen to the "still small voice" within.

This is the man who has stirred three hundred million people to revolt, who has shaken the foundations of the British Empire, and who has introduced into human politics the strongest religious impetus of the last two thousand years.—"Mahatma Gandhi" by Romain Rolland. (*Allen & Unwin.*)

III. H. S. L. POLAK

THERE may be more than one opinion as to Gandhiji's profundity as a teacher, his insight as a leader, his wisdom as a guide. There can hardly be two opinions as to his merits and qualities as a man, and it is as a man that he would, I imagine, prefer to be judged. Indeed, it is to his human weaknesses and demerits that he always points when he explains to his audience how and why it is that he fails to reach the goal that he has set himself to, how and why he has failed to satisfy their hopes and his own aspirations. He is Mahatma, because, small, weak, humble as he is, it is instinctively recognised that here we have the type and example of the man striving with all his might to reach the heart of Divinity within him. Again and again, he implores us and his Creator to take him with all his faults and failings, to recognise his limitations (which he eagerly exposes to our gaze), and yet to measure him by the heights that he would attain with every effort of his sleeping and waking hours. It is thus that we come to realise the majesty of manhood, and because he insists that he is a mere man striving to be perfect even as our Father in Heaven is perfect that we have agreed to call him a great soul. Can any higher tribute be paid by us to one in the flesh? He forces us to understand clearly, what we but dimly perceived before, that Mahatma is a Spirit and that, in addressing the best in us, it is Spirit calling to Spirit. I doubt if any can make a higher practical contribution to life than this.

It was my own high fortune and privilege to be closely associated with Gandhiji when the Mahatmaship was less insisted upon and its glamour did not partly hide him from us, when he was allowed to be among us as a man among men; and then it was that we, who were close to him, could see him as he really is—tender, affectionate, humorous, generous, always eager to serve, never hasty to condemn. Did you feel like shirking? Who readier to do the work than Gandhi? Who made you more ashamed than he by his very unconsciousness of your slackness? Who more dependable in an emergency? Who readier to overlook your faults—even to ignore them? Who more eager to attribute to you

high motives of which you were all too ashamedly unaware? To live with Gandhi was an education in the whole art of manhood. Courage, with him, has stood for something more than a mere physical attribute. Truth has been an urgent and immediate reality, not a vague and misty dream-figure whose proper habitation lies at the bottom of a well. Another's need has been his occasion. He once said to me in mild rebuke: "Sunday is no day of rest for the sorrowful or those who suffer." And for him Sunday was, accordingly, a day of harder work than any other.

Gandhi has proved beyond dispute the theory that the best men and the best women combine in themselves the best qualities of each other. No woman could excel him in patience or endurance, none could be more long-suffering. I leave to another pen the task of elaborating this point on the domestic side, and content myself with its application to his public life. Abuse has left him completely unmoved. The difficulty of the task has inhibited him not at all. The faithlessness of fellow-workers has merely stimulated him to greater endurance for them as well as for the others who have stood and waited upon events. Disappointment has but encouraged that invincible patience with which he has taken up the task anew, sure of his goal, certain of the rightness of his cause, with the words "one step enough for me" ever upon his lips.

The true test of leadership is not when the cause is won and the flowing tide carries it to victory; but when the leader of a cause forlorn, facing treachery and disaster, nevertheless keeps his inner eye upon the distant vision, and conveys something of that vision and his own assurance of its realisation to his colleagues, associates and followers. That is where Gandhi's true greatness as a man lies. To the young man at the threshold of life, in the midst of struggle, all untried, Gandhi has ever been a source of inspiration and encouragement. However wearied by the incidents of the fray, however frequent the disappointments, however hurt by the failures, Gandhi never failed. He understood human weakness, human sorrow, human incapacity, human folly—and made yet one more sacrifice in order to retrieve their consequences. He has been the exemplar of high courage, of chivalry, of hope, of faith. His soul soars high above his human weakness. Strength has come to him and flowed from him because the human man has ever been in contact with the things of the Spirit.

By perseverance in overcoming, man climbs from the shadows of the lowlands to the bright mountain-tops of the Spirit. For how many of us has Gandhi marked out the way and, alas! how many of us has not this great pioneer left far behind, conscious of our lost opportunities, staggering with fatigue at the pace that he has set laying down our burdens for just a little rest, taking breath where he has gone serenely forward, doubtful of our capacity to endure realising that our hero is already acclimatised to higher altitudes than any that we can hope in this life to reach, that there rings in his ears a harmony to which we cannot attune ourselves, that for him there burns a light that is still hidden from us by the intervening distance, that he already converses with those Higher Spirits with whom we cannot yet commune!—(*The Indian Review.*)

IV. MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

MOST women love men for such attributes as are usually considered masculine. Yet Mahatma Gandhi has been given the love of many women for his womanliness; for all those qualities that are associated with women—great faith, great fortitude, great devotion, great patience, great tenderness and great sympathy. Women could sense that in him they found a fellow-traveller, one who had passed ahead along the road they, too, were travelling, and could give him an affection deep, pure and untouched by any play of sex-emotion. Women of all kinds have turned to him in perplexity and trouble, and no problem of their lives but could be discussed with absolute frankness, if they desired to do so. They could be sure that some light would be thrown upon their difficulties and the path made to look not too arduous to travel. He seemed to understand how easy it might be for a woman to do what appeared to be evil for love's sake, to sympathise with the soul-surrender which prompted the action, and yet to condemn it unflinchingly and point out that the way of love's service could not be through ministering to anything but the highest. I have known many occasions when a woman has gone to him deeply troubled because she had to acquiesce in some seriously dishonourable action of her husband. Mahatmaji has sympathised with her difficulty, never suggested that she should betray her knowledge of her husband's action, but advised her to

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...and a woman's power to get the world to accept his ways. For himself, he chose the path of the ascetic, yet I have always known him to make allowances for those who could not read the cold, austere path of denial. If comforts and objects of beauty seemed essential to the woman who discussed such a question with him, he would, had it been in his power, have given them to her; but, at the same time, he would try and persuade her to seek beauty in the things of the spirit and not to identify herself with the things of the world. Perhaps, sometimes, he did not quite realise that so many women, while having great possessions, do yet stand outside of them. So often the woman herself does not realise it until she is called upon to give them up. Then she knows they have very little real meaning to her, neither are they the things that matter most.

I often see in Imagination Mahatmaji, as I frequently saw him in South Africa, walking up and down a room with a young child in his arms, soothing it in the almost unconscious way a woman does, and, at the same time, discussing with the utmost clearness pressing political questions, communal strife, or abstract problems in philosophy; and children instinctively knew this side of his character; they would nestle up to him, sure of the comfort they desired. In some ways I have thought it was easier for him to deal with the needs of young children than those of adolescence, without warring emotions, its struggle for liberty and self-expression, and its developing mind. During that period in the life of the developing individual, he did not so easily realise the strength of the storms that can sweep reason aside, and when as it unfortunately sometimes happened, he was deceived by the youth around him, it was because in his own great simplicity he did not appreciate the amazing complexity of the character of youth. He saw so clearly the straight path that should be trod, that he seemed to find it somewhat difficult to deal with the dual nature that becomes apparent during those years when one passes from childhood into adolescence. When, however, the individual had taken upon himself the adult character, then again, for Mahatmaji, contact and understanding were once more easy and could be complete.

Another of the many pictures of life in South Africa arose early in my mind. It was during the early years of life in South Africa that Mahatmaji had that is time come to define his

about sex-abstinence. He had written and spoken on the subject very decisively. I had had several discussions with him about the continuance of human life on this planet, and had, on one occasion, remarked that he must surely consider that God was wrong in having created men and women with their senses and emotions, since, were they to accept and adopt Mahatmaji's dictum, then God's expression through creation would cease; self-control, I contended, being the goal of developed humanity and not the denial of God's method of peopling the world. Very soon after this conversation, one of the members of the little settlement at Phoenix gave birth to a child. I purposely refrained from speaking of the matter when I visited Phoenix two or three days later. I thought that perhaps Mahatmaji might feel the fact displeasing. After a short time, and having talked of other things, he said in a surprised voice: "You have not asked about the mother and babe. Do you not want to see them?" He then came with me to see the baby and talked in a quiet, joyous way to the mother; and I realised in a flash that even as a woman does, he differentiated between abstract principles and human needs and affections.

Only once have I known him fail to comprehend the deep emotions of a woman's life, and that was in not understanding the depth of absolute sorrow into which a woman, bereft of her dear beloved by death, was plunged. Perhaps it was the one experience that he had not until then fully entered into, and he could not therefore, realise how sick the soul of such a woman could be. It may have been that his belief in woman's consciousness of her touch with the All Father precluded him from knowing that women also have their periods of standing alone in an empty universe where God has ceased to be and man is a vanishing shadow.

—(*The Indian Review.*)

V. C. F. ANDREWS

TO Mr. Gandhi, any swerving from the truth, even in casual utterance, is intolerable: his speeches must be read as stating uncompromisingly what he feels to be true. They are in no sense diplomatic, or opportunist, or merely 'political,' using the word in its narrower sense. He never pays empty compliments: he never hesitates to say, for the truth's sake, what may be unpalatable to his audience.

I shrink, as I have said, out of the very reverence that I have for him, from writing for the cold printed page about his character; but I may perhaps not offend by setting down something, however inadequate, concerning his intellectual convictions. It is of the utmost importance to understand these; because, in his case, they are held so strongly, as to bind fast his whole life and to stamp it with an originality, all its own.

The greatest of all these is his conviction of the eternal and fundamental efficacy of *ahimsa*. What this means to him, will be explained a hundred times over in his writings. To Mr. Gandhi,—it would not be too much to say,—*ahimsa* is the key to all higher existence. It is the divine life itself. I have never yet been able to reconcile this with his own recruiting campaign, for war purposes, during the year 1918. But he was, himself, able to reconcile it; and some day, no doubt, he will give to the world the logical background of that reconciliation. Leaving aside the question of this exceptional case, I do not think that there has been any more vital and inspiring contribution to ethical truth, in our own generation, than Mr. Gandhi's fearless logic in the practice of *ahimsa*. Sir Gilbert Murray's article in the *Hibbert Journal* has made this fact known to the larger world of humanity outside India.

A second intellectual conviction is the paramount use of religious vows in the building up of the spiritual life. Personally, I find it far more difficult to follow Mr. Gandhi here. Especially I dread the vow of celibacy which he, not unfrequently, recommends. It appears to me unnatural and abnormal. But here, again, he has often told me, I do not understand his position.

I have heard him say, again and again, to those who were his highest authority: "If I did not believe that racial equality was to be obtained within the British Empire, I should be a rebel."

At the close of the great and noble passive resistance struggle in South Africa, he explained his own standpoint in Johannesburg, in his farewell words, as follow:—

"It is my knowledge, right or wrong, of the British constitution, which has bound me to the British Empire. Tear that constitution to shreds, and my loyalty will also be torn to shreds. On the other hand, keep it intact, and you hold me bound unreservedly in its service. The choice has lain before us, who are Indians in South Africa, either to sunder ourselves from the British Empire, or to struggle by means of passive resistance in order that the ideals of the British Constitution may be preserved,—but only *those* ideals. The theory of racial equality in the eyes of the Law, once recognised, can never be departed from; and its principle must at all costs be maintained,—the principle, that is to say, that in all the legal codes, which bind the Empire together, there shall be no racial taint, no racial distinction, no colour disability."

I have summarised, in the above statement, the speech which Mahatma Gandhi delivered on a very memorable occasion at Johannesburg, before a European audience, and I do not think that he has ever departed from the convictions which he then uttered in public. What has impressed me most of all, has been his unlimited patience. Even now, when he has again been imprisoned by the present rulers of the British Empire, who have charge of Indian affairs, he has not despaired of the British Empire itself. According to his own opinion, it is these rulers themselves who have been untrue to the underlying principle of that Empire.

A short time before Mahatma Gandhi's arrest (1922) when I was with him in Ahmedabad, he blamed me very severely indeed for my lack of faith in the British connexion and for my publicly putting forward a demand for complete independence. He said to me openly that I had done a great deal of mischief by such advocacy of Independence. If I interpret him rightly his own position at that time was this: He had lost faith in the British Administration in India,—it was a Satanic Government. But he had not lost faith in the British Constitution itself. He still believed that India could remain within the British Empire on the

basis of racial equality, and that the principle of racial equality would come out triumphantly vindicated after the present struggle in India was over. Indeed, he held himself to be the champion of that theory, and the upholder of the British Constitution.

Whether that belief, which he has held so persistently and patiently all these years, will be justified at last, time alone can show. I remember how impressed I was at the time by the fact that he, who had been treated so disgracefully time after time in South Africa, should still retain his faith in the British character. I said to him, "It would almost seem as if you had more faith in my own countrymen than I have myself." He said to me, "That may be true,"—and I felt deeply his implied rebuke.

* * * * *

He still trusts that the temper and character of the British people will change for the better, and that the principle of racial equality will finally be acknowledged in actual deed, not merely in word. If that trust is realised, then he is prepared to remain within the British Empire. But if that trust is ultimately shattered, then he will feel that at last the time has come to sever once and for all the British connexion.—*Introduction to Gandhi's Speeches.* (G. A. Natesan & Co.)

VI. PROF. GILBERT MURRAY

LET me take a present day instance of this battle between a soul and a Government, a very curious instance, because it is almost impossible without more knowledge than most people in England possess to say who was wrong and who right.

About the year 1889, a young Indian student called Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came to England to study law. He was rich and clever, of a cultivated family, gentle and modest in his manner. He dressed and behaved like other people. There was nothing particular about him to show that he had already taken a Jain vow to abstain from wine, from flesh, and from sexual intercourse. He took his degree and became a successful lawyer in Bombay, but he cared more for religion than for law. Gradually his asceticism increased. He gave away all his money to good causes except the meagrest allowance. He took vows of poverty. He ceased to

practise at the law because his religion—a mysticism which seems to be as closely related to Christianity as it is to any traditional Indian religion—forbade him to take part in a system which tried to do right by violence. When I met him in England in 1914, he ate, I believe, only rice, and drank only water, and slept on the floor; and his wife who seemed to be his companion in everything, lived in the same way. His conversation was that of a cultivated and well-read man with a certain indefinable suggestion of saintliness. His patriotism, which is combined with an enthusiastic support of England against Germany, is interwoven with his religion, and aims at the moral regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, with no barriers between one Indian and another, to the exclusion as far as possible of the influence of the West with its industrial slavery, its material civilisation, its money-worship, and its wars. (I am merely stating this view, of course, not either criticising it or suggesting that it is right.)

Oriental peoples, perhaps owing to causes connected with their form of civilisation, are apt to be enormously influenced by great saintliness of character when they see it. Like all great masses of ignorant people, however, they need some very plain and simple test to assure them that their hero is really a saint and not a humbug, and the test they habitually apply is that of self-denial. Take vows of poverty, live on rice and water and they will listen to your preaching as several of our missionaries have found; come to them eating and drinking and dressed in expensive European clothes—and they feel differently. At any rate I am told that Gandhi's influence in India is now enormous, almost equal to that of his friend, the late Mr. Gokhale.

And now for the battle. In South Africa there are some 1,50,000 Indians, chiefly in Natal; and the South African Government, feeling that the colour question in its territories was quite sufficiently difficult already, determined to prevent the immigration of any more Indians, and if possible to expel those who were already there. This last act could not be done. It violated a treaty: it was opposed by Natal, where much of the industry depended on Indian labour; and it was objected to by the Indian Government and the Home Government. Then began a long struggle. The whites in South Africa determined to make life in South Africa undesirable not for all Indians, at least for all Indians above the co

class. Indians were specially taxed, were made to register in a degrading way; they were classed with Negroes; their thumb-prints were taken by the police as if they were criminals. If, owing to the scruples of the Government, the law was in any case too lenient, patriotic mobs undertook to remedy the defect. Quite early in the struggle the Indians in South Africa asked Mr. Gandhi to come and help them. He came as a barrister in 1893; he was forbidden to plead. He proved his right to plead; he won his case against the Asiatic Exclusion Act on grounds of constitutional law, and returned to India. Gandhi came again in 1895. He was mobbed and nearly killed at Durban. I will not tell in detail how he settled down eventually in South Africa as a leader and counsellor to his people; how he found a settlement in the country outside Durban, where the workers should live directly on the land, and all be bound by a vow of poverty. For many years he was engaged in constant passive resistance to the Government and constant efforts to raise and ennoble the inward life of the Indian community. But he was unlike other strikers or resisters in this: that mostly the resister takes advantage of any difficulty of the Government in order to press his claim the harder. Gandhi, when the Government was in any difficulty that he thought serious, always relaxed his resistance and offered his help. In 1899 came the Boer War. Gandhi immediately organised an Indian Red Cross Unit. There was a popular movement for refusing it and treating it as seditious. But it was needed. The soldiers wanted it. It served through the War, and was mentioned in despatches, and thanked publicly for its skilful work and courage under fire. In 1904 there was an outbreak of plague in Johannesburg, and Gandhi had a private hospital opened before the public authorities had begun to act. In 1906 there was a Native rebellion in Natal; Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher-bearers, whose work seems to have proved particularly dangerous and painful. Gandhi was thanked by the Governor in Natal and shortly afterwards thrown into jail in Johannesburg.

Lastly in 1913 when he was being repeatedly imprisoned among criminals of the lowest class, and his followers were in jail to the number of 2,500; in the very midst of the general strike of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal, there occurred the sudden and dangerous railway strike which endangered for the time the very existence

of organised society in South Africa. From the ordinary agitator's point of view the game was in Gandhi's hands. He had only to strike his hardest. Instead he gave order for his people to resume work till the Government should be safe again. I cannot say how often he was imprisoned, how often mobbed and assaulted, or what pains were taken to mortify and humiliate him in public. But by 1913 the Indian case had been taken up by Lord Hardinge and the Government of India. An Imperial Commission reported in his favour on most of the points at issue and an Act was passed according to the Commission's recommendations, entitled the Indian Relief Act.

My sketch is very imperfect; the story forms an extraordinary illustration of a contest which was won, or practically won, by a policy of doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring all the punishments the other side could inflict until they become weary and ashamed of punishing. A battle of the unaided human soul against overwhelming material force, and it ends by the units of material force gradually deserting their own banners and coming round to the side of the soul!—(*The Hibbert Journal*)

VII. MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

Mrs. Naidu was present at the Court when Mahatma Gandhi was tried and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. Describe the scene of the great trial in the "Bombay Chronicle"; Naidu wrote in March 1922:—

A convict and a criminal in the eyes of the Law! Nevertheless the entire Court rose in an act of spontaneous homage when Mahatma Gandhi entered—a frail, serene, indomitable figure in a coarse and scanty loin cloth, accompanied by his devoted disciple and fellow-prisoner, Shankerlal Banker.

"So you are seated near me to give me your support in case I break down," he jested, with that happy laugh of his which seemed to hold all the undimmed radiance of the world's childhood in its depths. And looking round at the hosts of familiar faces of men and women who had travelled far to offer him a token of their love he added, "This is like a family gathering and not a law-court."

A thrill of mingled fear, pride, hope and anguish ran through the crowded hall when the Judge took his seat—an admirable

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deserving of our praise alike for his brave and resolute sense of duty, his flawless courtesy, his just perception of a unique occasion and his fine tribute to a unique personality.

The strange trial proceeded and so I listened to the immortal words that flowed with prophetic fervour from the lips of my beloved master, my thoughts sped across the centuries to a different land and different age when a similar drama was enacted and another divine and gentle teacher was crucified, for spreading a kindred gospel with a kindred courage. I realised now that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth cradled in a manner furnished the only true parallel in history to this invincible apostle of Indian liberty who loved humanity with surpassing compassion and to use his own beautiful phrase, "approached the poor with the mind of the poor".

The most epic event of modern times ended quickly.

The pent-up emotion of the people burst in a storm of sorrow as a long slow procession moved towards him in a mournful pilgrimage of farewell, clinging to the hands that had toiled so incessantly, bowing over the feet that had journeyed so continuously in the service of his country.

In the midst of all this poignant scene of many-voiced and myriad-hearted grief he stood, untroubled, in all his transcendent simplicity, the embodied symbol of the Indian Nation—its living sacrifice and sacrament in one.

They might take him to the utmost ends of the earth, but his destination remains unchanged in the hearts of his people who are both the heirs and the stewards of his matchless dreams and his matchless deeds.

VIII. BISHOP WHITEHEAD

I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr. Gandhi, the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a true representative of the Crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ.—(*Speech at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, Madras, December, 1913.*)

IX. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE secret of Gandhi's success lies in his dynamic spiritual strength and incessant self-sacrifice. Many public men make sacrifices for selfish reasons. It is a sort of investment that yields handsome dividends. Gandhi is altogether different. He is unique in his nobility. His very life is another name for sacrifice. He is sacrifice itself.

He covets no power, no position, no wealth, no name and no fame. Offer him the throne of all India, he will refuse to sit on it, but will sell the jewels and distribute the money among the needy.

Give him all the money America possesses, and he will certainly refuse to accept it, unless to be given away for a worthy cause for the uplift of humanity.

His soul is perpetually anxious to give and he expects absolutely nothing in return—not even thanks. This is no exaggeration, for I know him well. * * * * *

Emperors and Maharajas, guns and bayonets, imprisonments and tortures, insults and injuries, even death itself, can never daunt the spirit of Gandhi.

His is a liberated soul. If any one strangles me, I shall be crying for help; but if Gandhi were strangled, I am sure he would not cry. He may laugh at his strangler; and if he has to die, he will die smiling.

His simplicity of life is childlike, his adherence to truth is unflinching; his love for mankind is positive and aggressive. He has what is known as the Christ spirit. The longer I know him, the better I like him. It is needless for me to say that this great man is destined to play a prominent part in moulding the future of the world.—(From an interview in America.)

X. REV. DR. J. H. HOLMES

AS the crown of his great movement, Gandhi seeks the moral and spiritual regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, Indian custom, and Indian idealism. This means the exclusion, so far as possible, of the influence of the West, with its industrial slavery, its materialism, its money-worship and its wars. The first step in his endeavour is to wipe out the barriers which divide the Indians from one another, and make them one great united brotherhood. Thus, he seeks the obliteration of caste distinction and religious differences; Mohammedan must live peaceably with Hindu, and Hindu with Mohammedan. Then must come a leadership of mankind in ways of peace and amity. "I believe absolutely," says Gandhi, "that India has a mission for the world." His idealism, therefore, transcends the boundaries of race and country and seeks to make itself one with the highest hopes of humanity. "My religion," he cries, "has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself."

Such is Mahatma Gandhi! In this great spirit, he lives among the people.

As he moves from city to city, crowds of thirty and even fifty thousand people assemble to hear his words. As he pauses for the night in a village, or in the open country-side, great throngs come to him as to a holy shrine. He would seem to be what the Indians regard him—the perfect and universal man. In his personal character, he is simple and undefiled. In his political endeavours, he is as stern a realist as Lenin, working steadfastly toward a far goal of liberation which must be won. At the same time, however, he is an idealist, like Romain Rolland, living ever in the pure radiance of the spirit. When I think of Rolland, as I have said, I think of Tolstoi. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life; he speaks his word; he suffers, strives, and will some day nobly die, for His kingdom upon earth.

Do you recall how it is told of Jesus, that one day, as he was journeying, he heard his disciples quarrelling? And he said, "What were ye reasoning on the way?" And they said they had disputed who was the greatest. And Jesus said, "If any man would be first among you, let him be the servant of all."
—(From a sermon.)

Gandhi is in prison, but the great cause to which he has given his life moves on. If Gandhi were to die of confinement and

XI. DR. WILLIAM KIRK

SCHOLARLY Indians have told me that he is venerated for his saintliness as no other man has been in the memory of any one now living. Rabindrarath Tagore has said that, "the whole nation follows him implicitly and for one reason only, that they believe him to be a saint. To see a whole nation of different races, of differing temperaments and ideals, joining hands to follow a saint is a modern miracle and possible only in India. The worst and most deep-rooted passions are soothed by the words: 'Mahatma Gandhi forbids it'.....He is not only the greatest man in India, he is the greatest man on earth to-day." One often hears his name linked with the Messiah, Buddha, St. Francis, and Tolstoi, and comparisons are inevitably made between his life and theirs. * * *

His physical appearance is anything but prepossessing, although an ardent admirer exclaims, "In this trivial lantern of the flesh there burns a light that never was on land or sea." And it may be true as another writer has suggested, "When Nature is making geniuses she has a habit of paying more attention to the contents than to the container."

His power does not lie in the sweep of his mental life, for there are in India many who are more than a match for him in intellectual vigour. In fact, he seems to lack in some respects the scientific outlook which differentiates the modern mind from the mediæval. He seldom manifests an artist's love for the beautiful in nature, in poetry, or in song; nor has he the eloquence of voice or pen to sway the multitudes, who sit reverently at his feet.

His one claim to greatness and perhaps the real secret of his power lies in his Christ-like willingness to sacrifice self for others. In a letter to Tagore who had intimated that Gandhi had left little place in his life for the beauty of the flowers and the fields, he wrote: "True to his poetic instinct, the poet lives for the morrow, and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds in the early morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky.....The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced and to be realised. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song. The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food."

And even in this desperate struggle to escape from hunger and starvation, he tells us not to apply the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but to follow the teachings of the Nazarene and the divine Buddha—overcome anger with love, return good for evil, temper justice with mercy, conquer avarice with generosity, confront falsehood with truth.

In other words, Gandhi has indeed a rare gift—the gift of goodness—which the Indian temperament universally accepts as the essence of a great life. I have heard more than one thoughtful Hindu say that the East will continue to worship Gandhi regardless of his ideas and his theories, and in spite of his worldly defeats and failures. He is to trusting millions a holy man and a great soul, whom the Universal Spirit has singularly favoured.

Whatever the West may eventually think of Gandhi as a politician, economist, social reformer, or religious leader, no one who has recently journeyed through India with an open mind can fail to note how reverently the high and low, the weak and the strong, speak the name of the meek and lowly man of Ahmedabad. All classes seem to unite in hailing him “Mahatma”, their hope in time of trouble, their apostle of peace, and goodwill among men.

No one who has talked with him in his Ashram on the banks of the Sabarmati, as he sits upon the floor spinning and shaping the future destiny of India, can leave his physical presence without feeling the impact of a saintly character and a dauntless spirit. As I walked slowly away from his simple little cottage, passed the *khaddar* workshops where his followers were busily spinning, along the path leading to the dusty, bullock-trodden highway, I found myself repeating, after the manner of the Orientals, “Mahatma, great leader of a suffering people, I salute you!”

—*Cultural World.*

XII. MR. H. N. BRAILSFORD

Since Tolstoy died there is no human being living to-day who commands as he does the veneration of mankind. Others are liked, respected and admired, but he stands on a Mount of Transfiguration.

* * * *

One glances in vain at the world's premiers and presidents for a personality worthy to stand beside him “Gandhi.”—*The New Leader.*

XIII. MR. NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE first time that Mahatma Gandhi was likened unto Jesus Christ was in the course of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes to the congregation in the Community Church at Park Avenue, New York. The entire sermon was devoted to an exposition of Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence and it concluded with the following striking words: "When I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life; he speaks his word; he suffers, strives, and will some day nobly die, for His kingdom upon earth." In another sermon delivered quite recently Dr. Holmes spoke with clearer conviction and greater emphasis. The theme of the sermon was "Gandhi before Pilate". The opening words are of impressive solemnity. 'Why talk ye about God and the Son of God and His resurrection on this earth when He is here?' In symbolic answer to his own question the preacher placed upon his head a Gandhi cap made of Indian Khaddar cloth in pledge of recognition and devotion to the Indian leader who, Dr. Holmes believes, is now taking Christ's place in this world. As he put on the cap he continued: "This cap is a symbol of human devotion as sacred as the cross. As the early Christians lifted the cross in token of Christ's triumph over shame and death, so the Indians are wearing this cap in token of Gandhi's triumph over tyranny and force. Why should not this cap go around the world, as the cross has gone around the world? For there are millions of men in all countries to-day who see in the Mahatma the true redeemer of our modern world. More than any other man since Jesus, Gandhi manifests that spirit of universal peace and brotherhood which alone can save us." * * * * *

The kings and the captains depart, the governors and the tetrarchs are forgotten, empires rise and fall, but the Christ and the Mahatma live for ever, enshrined in the hearts of men, revered, generation after generation through all time!—*The Modern Review*.

XIV. MR. GEORGE SLOCOMBE

IN the course of his despatch to the *Daily Herald* Mr. George Slocombe cabled on May 21, 1930:—

My conversations with Mr. Gandhi took place in the presence of three British officials, Major Doyle, Inspector-General of Prisons, Major Martin, Prison Superintendent and Mr. Gould, District Magistrate. With all the three the prisoner seemed on excellent terms. Mr. Gandhi's cell door opens on the wide verandah. His spinning wheel occupies a prominent position in the cell and among the books at his bedside I noticed a well-thumbed copy of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress", the work of another famous prisoner. In the cool darkness in which he spends his days by spinning and meditation, the man revered as a saint in India by millions of countrymen emerged to greet me with a shy smile. During our interviews which took place on the verandah outside his cell, Mahatma abandoned the cross-legged posture in which he is familiar to hundreds of millions and sat on a cane chair. Otherwise he was, as the world knows him, bare except for the loin cloth, thin and emaciated like the anchorite of a desert but apparently calm and even cheerful. Alone, spectacled, the mild and shining smile of the mouth with its queer toothless smile and his childish tendency of dropping sandal from one foot as he sat with one leg crossed rendered the strange apostolic figure human.

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WHAT IS INDEPENDENCE

I asked him to explain frankly what he means by independence. Did he demand independence as ultimately implied in Dominion Status or did he insist on separation from the British Commonwealth? "I have always heard," he replied, "that in England Dominion Status was understood to mean independence but by Indian authorities, it is not so understood. Therefore when Independence is insisted on by them in contradistinction to Dominion Status they naturally ask for Independence." When I asked him if he thought that Canada and South Africa were not in all essential respects independent, he acknowledged they were. "But, we are not of a status like theirs," he added significantly.

RISKS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I asked him if he had calculated all the perils involved in his campaign of civil disobedience. He replied that he had. "I have taken what has been called a mad risk but it is a justifiable risk." No great end has been achieved without incurring danger. Nevertheless he was gravely alarmed at violence said to have been committed at Sholapur. He grieved at the death of two policemen killed there but he was convinced violence had not come from the civil resisters. They had, he said, been ordered to suffer everything, even violence, without offering resistance. I asked if he thought that in the struggle between law-breakers and authorities, Government could acknowledge defeat and Mr. Gandhi smiled, "I am an optimist"; he said, "in forty years of struggle I have frequently been told I was attempting the impossible but invariably I proved the contrary. Nevertheless, he did not refuse to negotiate. "My life has been nothing but a record of settlements," he declared. If Government was in earnest in its desire to satisfy India, it should grant the eleven points demanded in his last letter to the Viceroy. "I can only judge the tree by its fruits," he repeated over and over again. "Until we get satisfaction we shall fight on until the end and give our lives if need be in the cause of Indian freedom. We shall fill all jails in India with our passive resisters and our breakers of salt laws. We shall make all administration impossible by our opposition."

* * * * *

NEGOTIATION STILL POSSIBLE

I believe Mr. Gandhi only needs to be convinced of the sincerity of British Government's intentions to offer his co-operation. The Indian Government will court disaster if it persists in its tragic error of regarding Mr. Gandhi and the Congress as a negligible political force in India. Many celebrated Indian Moderates have confessed to me during the past week that Mr. Gandhi alone possesses the confidence of the masses and that communal differences upon which Government now places so much mistaken emphasis are capable of solution if the Government can reach agreement with Mr. Gandhi. His co-operation alone can make the Round Table Conference a reality.

XV. MR. ROBERT BERNAYS

What is the explanation of this lawyer who can meet Viceroy on equal terms and, by a gesture, can shape for better or worse the destinies of three hundred and twenty millions of his countrymen?

Is he a prophet or a priest, or just a politician of genius?

His power certainly does not lie in his appearance. * * *

But all thought of his unattractive appearance vanishes the moment he begins to talk.

Though he speaks very quietly and without a trace of passion or bitterness, his power is almost hypnotic. His words so grip and absorb the mind that half an hour's conversation with him produces real physical exhaustion.

Yet the man is not lost in the prophet.

Mr. Gandhi has charming manners. * * *

Yet with all his political astuteness, Gandhi has a deep strain of religious mysticism. It is difficult in conversation to keep him on to domestic politics at all. He is always straying off into doubts and speculations on the universe. He talks familiarly of the inner voice, and scouts the claims of reason.

Gandhi has indeed all the attributes traditionally associated with sainthood. * * *

He has also [this important attribute of sainthood that "the common people gladly hear him". * * *

The fact remains that the whole country, including the remotest hamlet in the shadow of the hills of Baluchistan or within sight of the Tibetan snows has heard of him and would shout "Gandhi Ki Jai"—which roughly means "Up Gandhi"—if he passed by.

He is perhaps the one man since the dawn of modern history who, outside the King-Emperor, is a name to the whole of India.

How has he achieved this astounding position?

Perhaps the truth is that he is at once a prophet, priest and politician of genius and that the gifts have never before been combined in one man.

XVI. MR. JAIN LAING.

Nobody who has ever had personal contact, however casual, with Mr. Gandhi, can escape his charm, or ever forget it; never were asceticism, religious zeal and fixity of purpose more disarmingly seconded by kindness, homely shrewdness and sly, chuckling humour.

Some of the qualities manifest in Gandhi are that he is an educated man; he has a vivid love for India and for the depressed classes, the untouchables, one of whom he cherished and insisted in taking into his own home; has courage, the kind of courage which does not recognise danger, which stands up in the face of death and laughs; his religion—he loves God, but is not a Christian, he prays and fasts, and daily submits himself to the guiding-head of God—he is unselfish; he has that strange composition which gives a man the ability to lead.

Whenever he stands up, all India hangs on his words. When you find a man without any arms or organized forces, frequently lonely, even in prison, renouncing the resources which most men regard as indispensable to success, and whose decision affects the whole of a great people, you have a fact which has to be reckoned with, which you dare not dismiss with contempt.

* * . *

All the same, in prison or out of prison, in this country or in other countries, there resides in that body some mystic force which passes out and affects millions of people. There is something very wonderful about such a man.

XVIII. MR. HORACE G. ALEXANDER

Phrases like 'Dominion Status' and 'Federation' mean little to him. He wants to know what the functions and powers of a Dominion are to be, and who is to have effective control of the essential services in any federation. Unlike many of his fellow-countrymen, it is not the prestige of a higher status that he craves, but the power to wrestle with the problem of Indian poverty. There is surely nothing negative or destructive in such an aim, as so many of his British critics maintain, even though his method of securing it may seem strange.—*The Spectator*.

* * * *

Something like a miracle has happened in those intimate talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin last spring, and I think we English people ought to count it as a wonderful providence that there was a man representing us in India at that moment great enough to reach across the gulf to that great-souled man on the other side.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

XIX. MR. UPTON CLOSE

Gandhiji's battle is more than that of the Indian nation *versus* its conquerors. It is that of humanity *versus* social oppression. It is more than that of the Asiatic resenting the intrusion of the Western industrialism. It is that of the farmer in America as well as India who cries out that he cannot live unless a new relationship is established between agriculture and industry.

India and Ireland, Mahatma Gandhi and George Russel are initiating the constructive experiment of some industries on the soil and the building of rural culture and self-respect. It is Mahatma Gandhi who is the world's greatest example of political straightforwardness, the only true follower of the ideal of "open diplomacy" openly arrived at" proposed by our own Woodrow Wilson.

This man must speak for himself. Has anything more arresting than this been said, "The moment of victory has come when there is no retort to the mad fury of the powerful, that moment will also be the moment when all the destructive cutlery in India will begin to rust?"

Or, is anything truer than this :

"With the extension of definite forgiveness comes a mighty wave of strength in us? Or anything more "Modernist" than this? "I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority if it supports a sinful institution. I decline to be bound by any interpretation however learned it may be, if it is repugnant to reason or to moral sense." Or has any greater definition of religion been given than this which your speaker is proud to have received from Mahatma Gandhi in direct conversation. "The conviction that I shall always live as truly as I live now and that I can better my condition. To that, he added "Provided I have the willingness to risk mental and physical suffering". Does his answer to Tagore "to a people famishing and unemployed, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and wages and food" sound pertinent right now?

Gandhi is the greatest of to-day's makers of new nations, because alone among them he builds upon a policy to be good for them and for those in their mercy after they have attained social, political and economic equality with Great Powers. He is the greatest, because unlike the others, he would sacrifice his nation's hope of independence rather than commit one act of violence or chicanery

to attain it. Gandhi will outlive both India and Great Britain as Jesus of Nazareth outlived both Judea and Rome. To close, may I quote the concluding sentence of my book of lives of Eminent Asians.

Gandhi is the world's unique leader, its modern prophet of the ancient gospel of love whose spiritual descent is through the Buddha, Mo Ti the Chinese Jesus of Nazareth, St. Francis of Assisi and Tolstoi. Such men outlive the antipathies they arouse and last longer than their immediate causes, becoming a factor bearing upon every cause that stirs humanity after them.—(From *Radio Talk at Gandhiji Testimonial Dinner, New York, June 4, 1931.*)

XX. MR. BOYD W. TUCKER

I am a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, because I find him the most vital, living spiritual personality in the world to-day. In some respects he has given the Christ's message a richer and fuller interpretation, which the Jesus himself had neither the time nor the environment to develop. I believe that in Mahatma Gandhi, God has again visited the world in its hour of desperate need.

Two great forces are striving for the conquest of the world to-day: Gandhism and Bolshevism. But both are moving in diametrically opposite directions. Bolshevism stands for class discrimination, but Mahatma Gandhi knows no distinctions in seeking to achieve his ideal by reason and love. Mahatma Gandhi stands to-day as the world's greatest hope of salvation from militarism, from class war, from Bolshevism, from sectarian strife and from tragic conflict between the Orient and Occident. * * * He is utterly misunderstood in the West, but I make a bold prophesy: His proposed visit to London and later to America will be an epochal event, representing the greatest transformation since the Renaissance.

XXI. H. E. LORD IRWIN

However mistaken any man may think him to be and however deplorable may appear the results of the policy associated with his name, no one can fail to recognise the spiritual force which impels Mr. Gandhi to count no sacrifice too great in the cause, as he believed, of the India that he loves.—*Speech at the Legislative Assembly, January 17, 1931.*

XXII. AN AMERICAN TRIBUTE

May be Gandhi is the saint his people proclaim him. May be Gandhi is the half-naked fanatic and devil described by the British diehards. But, saint or devil, he ranks among the greatest revolutionary leaders of all time.

A revolutionist is judged by his power to move mountains. Gandhi has done that. Not by physical force like Lenin and others but by spiritual force. He fights as Jesus fought.

This method is inaccurately called non-resistance. It is in fact resistance of the most extreme and uncompromising sort, moral resistance. It is war—no less war because it is non-violent war.

The weapon is civil disobedience. In this country Thoreau once preached it without winning converts. To-day it is generally practised in the United States in two fields—and with success. With this weapon the South has nullified the constitutional amendments giving black men paper equality with white men. With this weapon citizens have virtually destroyed prohibition. * * * *

That Gandhi does make the seemingly impossible come true is clear from the terms of the truce which he has signed with the British Viceroy.

One year ago when he marched to the seashore to make salt in defiance of all the might of the British empire, the wise men of the Western world predicted that Britain could not and would not bow to the will of an unarmed brown man.

But Gandhi has won this first great battle in the war for India's liberation from alien rule. His people will continue to make salt by the sea, breaking the British monopoly. His 70,000 followers imprisoned for civil disobedience will walk free. He will dominate the negotiations for Home Rule which were futile in London and Delhi without him.

Britain must deal with him, for he is India.

And if Britain in the end does not grant his demands, one gesture from his emaciated hand will unleash again the gigantic boycott which wipes out British trade at his command.

Saint or devil, Gandhi's personal power probably is unequalled in all the world to-day.—*The New York World*.

FOR FAVOUR OF PUBLICATION.

MAHATMA GANDHI

THE MAN AND HIS MISSION

This is an enlarged and up-to-date edition (Price Re. One: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras) of Mahatma Gandhi's life and career from his South African days down to his recent departure to London to attend the meeting of the Round Table Conference. It contains a detailed account of his activities in South Africa and India, a sketch of the Non-Co-operation Movement, his Great Salt March, his arrest and internment, the Slocombe interview, the Sapru Jayakar negotiations, the historic Irwin-Gandhi Pact, his rupture and the agreement with Lord Willingdon and his message from *S. S. Rajputana* by which he sailed for England. This edition also contains appreciations by the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Tagore, Romain Rolland, Rev. Holmes, Sarojini Naidu, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mrs. Mille Graham Polak, Prof. Gilbert Murray, Bishop Whitehead, Mr. George Slocombe, Mr Upton Close, Messrs. Jain Laing, Horace G. Alexander, B. W. Tucker, Rev. R. Pyke and Lord Irwin. The appendix at the end contains the full text of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact and the rules of Satyagrahashrama.

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Publishers' Note.

The publishers owe no apology in placing this book before the public. Mahatma Gandhi who occupies the foremost place in Indian politics is engaging the world's attention and what the world thinks of him will be found by a perusal of this book. We are fortunate in getting an appreciation from Lala Lajpat Rai from the latest issue of the New York "Nation." At the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi, we have included the inspiring Messages of our leaders now in jail.

We cannot sufficiently thank the proprietors of the Karnatak Press without whose co-operation, we would not have been able to place this book before the reader so early.

We trust that the patronage given to us by our readers in connection with our last two publications will be continued in this case also.

*Opp. Portuguese Church,
Girgaon, Bombay,
20th January 1922.* } **THE PUBLISHERS.**

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AN APPRECIATION.

Gandhi's simplicity, openness, frankness and directness confound the modern politician, parliamentarian and publicist. They suspect him of some deep design. He fears no one and frightens no one. He recognises no conventions except such as are absolutely necessary not to remove him from society of men and women. He recognises no masters and no *gurus*. He claims no *chelas* though he has many. He has and pretends to no supernatural powers, though credulous people believe that he is endowed with them. He owns no property, keeps no bank accounts, makes no investments, yet makes no fuss about asking for anything he needs. Such of his countrymen as have drunk deep from the fountains of European history and European politics and who have developed a deep love for European manners and European culture neither understand nor like him. In their eyes he is a barbarian, a visionary, and a dreamer. He has probably something of all these qualities, because he is nearest to the verities of life and can look at things with plain eyes without the glasses of civilization and sophistry.

Some say he is a nihilist; others that he is an anarchist; others again that he is a Tolstoian. He is none of these things. He is a plain Indian patriot who believes in God, religion and the Scriptures. He believes even in caste, not the present-day sub-division and sub-sections of it, but the four original castes of the ancient Aryans. He does not believe in the superiority or domination of one caste over another, but he believes in their different occupations according to their inherited ability. He is so orthodox as to believe that caste is heritable. Far from being an anarchist, he believes in discipline, organisation

and authority. His cult is not one of negation as some say but of positive discipline made up of self-denial and self-assertion. He does not believe in the inherent superiority of the white race or in its God-given mission of ruling other people by making tools of them. He does not hate the European civilization, but he abhors the industrial system upon which civilization of Europe rests, and the double-mindedness which characterises European politicians. The doctrine of non-co-operation which he preaches and practises is not a negation. It is the withdrawal of that help which the Indian people have voluntarily been giving the English which has made it possible for them to rule India and exploit her for their own ends.

The non-co-operation programme consists of (a) rejection of all Government titles, honours and honorary offices, (b) abstention from drink, (c) withdrawal of all boys and girls from a system of education which has reconciled the best of Indians to slavery under foreign domination, without feeling the sting of it, and which has made of them parasites sucking the blood of the classes that produce and work, (d) establishment of such Schools and Colleges as will give a secondary place to the study of English and other European literature, reserving the first for the spoken languages of India and for manual training, (e) boycott of English forms of "justice", their Courts and their lawyers, (f) boycott of foreign cloth and the rehabilitation of Swadeshi, (g) withdrawal of Indians from the services of the British Government and from service in the British Army and the British police, (h) non-payment of taxes.

This is the provisional programme which is by no means exhaustive and which is not to be put in practice all at once. Gandhi and his associates have been working on this programme for only twelve months and the success

they have achieved is marvellous. It is true that not many people have given up their titles and honorary offices. It is also true that only a small proportion of lawyers have given up their practice. As regards withdrawal of students, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, an Indian High Court Judge in the confidence of the British, complained the other day that in Bengal the attendance at Colleges had fallen by 23 per cent and at schools by 27 per cent, and that the University had suffered a great loss of income from examination fees. As regards the boycott of foreign cloth, he has succeeded remarkably well. Lancashire is already feeling the pinch, and the sale of foreign cloth in Indian bazaars has gone down to less than 25 per cent. It may be safely said that the masses and the middle classes are with and the wealthy against him. There are a sufficiently good number of wealthy men also with him as was proved by the phenomenal success of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for which ten million rupees were collected in less than three months. In these three months, he perfected the Congress organisation which now has the registered membership of about ten millions. He called upon the country to introduce two million new spinning wheels in the same period and the response was more than adequate. These are concrete items of his success, but to my mind his great success lies in having created a universal love for freedom and a spirit of non-violence among the people. The Indian patriot of Mr. Gandhi's School is quite distinguishable from the old revolutionaries of Russia. He works in the open and has no secret affiliations either in India or abroad. He is frankly out to destroy the present system of Government and win full freedom for his country, with full discretion to remain in or go out of the British Empire as it suits him best.

It is true that the "higher" and "respectable" classes of the intelligentsia who have thrown themselves on the side of the Government are opposed to his programme because it would reduce them to positions of comparative poverty and nothingness. The British in India have accepted these intelligentsia as subordinate partners in their business of exploitation. Imperialism is as much a business as capitalism. For 150 years the intelligentsia cried for reforms. The Government did not listen to them. At first they did not ask even for Home Rule. They merely wanted a few more posts and offices and extension of education. In 1905 rose a party which set up a flag of independence. Both the Government and the intelligentsia saw that the game was up. That astute scholar-politician, John Morley, started the policy of "Rally the moderates." So he decided to throw them a few crumbs. They accepted them gratefully, sang Hallelujahs of gratitude and praise, and conspired to root out the extremists, both by repression and propaganda.

In the meantime came the war. Lord Morley's disciples and the princes immediately declared for the British, and persuaded the people to believe that British victory would bring them freedom. The country was 'bled white'. Men and money, munitions and provisions were poured into the theatres of war, though the country itself lost millions of souls (six millions from influenza alone in six months) from disease and distress. Victory came and was immediately followed by the Rowlatt Act which was a negation of freedom. Gandhi who during the war had been recruiting for the Government, but had caught the popular fancy by his simple life, and fearless championship of the poor and the peasant, declared for passive resistance.

All kinds of repression have been resorted to; meetings proclaimed and prohibited, speakers and writers arrested and imprisoned; but the movement has progressed unchecked. India is in a state of non-violent revolt. The most pleasing feature of the new movement is the active support it is getting from the women, who flock to the non-co-operation meetings, clad in *Khaddar*, by thousands. Millions worth of foreign cloth has been destroyed in order to intensify the feeling against it. Thousands are ready to adopt general civil disobedience of British laws as the cult of their lives, but the leaders are withholding their consent in their desire to keep the movement strictly non-violent. When a man is arrested, he refuses to give bail and goes straight to the lock-up with a view to spreading the idea that he has no confidence in and he does not recognise the authority of the Government and its Courts. In some places people have lost self-control and committed outrages on the police and government men. Gandhi has denounced them and advised expiation.

The movement for Indian freedom has taken deep root and gone out of the control of the Government and the "respectable" section of the intelligentsia. The Government can repress, but it cannot suppress. The greater part of Mr. Gandhi's following may even now accept a dominion from of government within the British Empire, but a little more delay and the weight of public opinion will not be satisfied with anything less than full independence.

LAJPAT RAI.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST MAN

By

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

I am going to speak to you this morning upon what I hope will be the interesting question as to who is the greatest man in the world to-day. In seeking an answer to this inquiry, I imagine that all of our minds instinctively go back to the days of the Great War, and run over the names of the men who held position of vast responsibility and power in that stupendous conflict. Especially do we think of the great gathering of the war-leaders in Paris, in the opening months of the year 1919. Two years ago, at this time, we would all of us have agreed that if the greatest man in the world was anywhere to be found, it was in this council of the premiers and statesmen of the Allied Governments. These were the men who had been tested by the most awful peril which had ever threatened the civilization of the world, and who had brought out of that peril a victory which was as complete as it was sudden. Now they were being tested by the challenge of peace—by the great problem as to how to use a victory after it has been won. And it is just here, in this most rigorous of all tests, that these leaders of the nations failed who can say, in view of what happened at Versailles, and especially in view of what has happened since the signing of the treaty, that any one of these men responsible for the great disaster of the peace, has any substantial or permanent claims to greatness, in the true sense of the word? Of all the men who sat in that Peace Conference two years ago, there is only one, it seems to me, who still preserves a reputation that is without serious question. I refer, of course, to General Smuts, the Premier of

South Africa, the man of whom Mr. Walter Lippman said so vividly that, of all the peace conferences who signed the treaty in the famous Hotel of Mirrors at Versailles, he was the only one who saw mankind and not himself in the glass. If you would know how great a man was General Smuts at the Conference, I ask you to read three immortal documents—first, his public apologia for the signing of the treaty; secondly, his “farewell to the people of Europe,” published on the eve of his departure from London for Johannesburg; and thirdly, his noble and generous tribute to President Wilson on the latter’s retirement from office on March 4 last. General Smuts fought the war with consummate ability and unfaltering idealism; in the moment of triumph on the battlefield, he sought forgiveness of the enemy, and healing of the bleeding wounds of men; in the moment of defeat in the Council Chamber, he confessed his failure in honesty of spirit, and sought at once to repair the damage, which he had been unable to prevent. General Smuts is a great man—the only great man who is left to us to-day out of the wreckage of the war. All the rest of those leaders, who filled on world for a little time with the noise of their fame, have faded, or are fading, into oblivion, never again to be restored, I believe, to the reverence of men. Ours to-day must be the cry of David, after the battle of Mt. Gilboa—“How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!”

I turn away, therefore, from the storm of the Great War, and from the men who rode that storm to power and place; and I look elsewhere for that man who impresses me as the greatest man who is living in the world to-day. And immediately I hit upon three men, very different from one another in origin and character, who I believe may not unworthily qualify for this position.

The first man whom I would name is the Frenchman, Romain Rolland, author of that immortal novel, *Jean Christophe*, pacifist exile from his native land during the Great War, the leading internationalist in this perplexing period of the aftermath of the war. Rolland is supremely great in the field not so much of achievement as of ideals. I can best indicate my estimate of him by stating that I always think of him as the true successor, in character and influence, though not of course in personality, of Leo Tolstoi, who was himself the greatest single moral influence produced during the whole course of the nineteenth century. Like Tolstoi, Romain Rolland lives a life of rigorous simplicity. Like Tolstoi, he unites a gigantic intellect with a soul of ineffable beauty and power. Like Tolstoi, again, he lives and moves and has his being in that sublime realm of moral and spiritual idealism, where love is recognized as the perfect law of life, and the brotherhood of man as the fulfilment of this law upon the earth.

Before the war, Rolland was one of the few men in Europe who saw the coming of the great catastrophe, and did his utmost to prevent it. He sent out his call to poets, musicians and artists of the continent; gathered about him, as a master his students, the young and ardent souls of all countries; and strove to lead them to those heights of pure idealism in the atmosphere of which he knew it would be impossible for the prejudices and hostilities of contemporary nationalism to survive. *Jean Christophe* was written in answer not so much to artistic passion, as to a desire to interpret Germany to France, and France to Germany, and thus make clear the essential kinship between the two. With the outbreak of the War, he conceived it his unique privilege and duty to keep alive those higher instincts of the soul,

which are the first to suffer in the strife of arms. Never for a moment did he deceive himself into believing that the war would purge the heart of man, or quicken it permanently to nobler impulses of devotion; on the contrary, he knew that this war, like every war, was a dirty and ugly thing, subversive of all that is pure and good in human life. Therefore did he deliberately set himself, as a priest at the altar of humanity, to guard from extinction the spirit's flame, that when the conflict was at an end, the race might not wander as one lost for ever in impenetrable dark. And now, with the close of the disastrous struggle, Rolland is building anew his international fraternity, to the end of persuading men to sheath their swords, to cleanse their hearts of the poison of patriotism, and to toil for the coming of that great Kingdom of the living God which shall mean wars and rumours of wars no more.

If there is any civilization in Europe to-day, and light shining through the gross darkness of the present chaos, any hope for the ultimate realization of the dreams and visions which beset us of a better world. I believe this is due more truly to Romain Rolland than to Foch or Clemenceau, Lloyd George or Woodrow Wilson, or any other of the men who struggled vainly to bring good out of the evil of the War. Rolland remained true to his ideal, served it with a flawless courage, and therewith did a work which marks him as a spiritual genius of the first order. If he falls short, as I think he does, it is in what we may term the realm of practical affairs. In this he does not fail; he simply does not enter at all. For Rolland is an artist, an intellectual, a man of the utmost sensitiveness and delicacy. It is difficult to conceive of him as dwelling among the trodden ways of men. He could never be the leader of a revolution, the moulder of great masses of

the common people to a world-upheaval, the builder of the structure or the writer of the constitution of a new political and social state. Rolland, by the very necessities of his nature, as Tolstoi by the deliberate plan of his life, must move "above the battle," and not in the midst of its bloodshed and affright. For Rolland is an idealist and not realist. I think of him as a silver star shining resplendent above the murk and mist of earth, a light to steer by and to worship. Others must serve as the smoky torches which show terribly the pathways of men's climbing.

The mention of the contrast between the idealist and the realist, brings me to the second name which I desire to present this morning in this discussion. I refer to the Russian, Nicolai Lenin, Premier of the Soviet republic, a man who wields a greater degree of personal power than any other man in the world to-day. In making an estimate of the position of Lenin among the great men of this time, it is necessary for us to disregard entirely such unfavorable ideas as we may chance to have of the work that he is attempting to do among his people. We may think that his principles are bad, his policies dangerous, his whole influence destructive of the best interests of civilization; but these opinions should not, and indeed cannot, affect in any way the facts as to his ability. Many people, for example, regard Napoleon Bonaparte as one of the most immoral personages that ever lived, and describe his achievements as among the most disastrous in the whole range of human history, but I have never met any body, except Mr H. G. Wells, in his "The Outline of History," who denied his consummate greatness as a man. So also with Nicolai Lenin! We may think him the vilest monster alive upon the earth to-day, if we so choose, but there stands the fact of his greatness all the same. This man moves among his contemporaries like a giant among pygmies. He is at the

moment the centre of the world's life. The affairs of the race move round his central figure like the rim and spokes of a wheel about its axle. I am not at all sure, but what in future ages, this present period, which has followed upon the close of the Great War is destined to be described by historians as the age of Lenin, just as we speak to-day of the age of Elizabeth or of Louis XIV.

If we would seek for evidence of the surpassing greatness of Lenin, we have only to cite the testimony of those who have seen him and studied him at close range. At first, he seems to make little impression upon those who meet him, for his personal presence is evidently one of utter insignificance. He does not look like a hero, he does not walk the stride of a hero. Mr. Wells, who was as little impressed as anybody, speaks of him simply as a little man sitting behind a big desk. Bertrand Russell describes him as "very friendly, and apparently simple entirely without a trace of hauteur. If one met him without knowing who he was, he would not guess that he was possessed of great power, and never that he was in any way eminent. I have never met a personage so destitute of self-importance." The only thing impressive about Lenin's appearance, so far as I can judge, is his head, which is that of a stupendous intellectual genius. To see the great dome of his brow, as depicted, for example, in Mrs. Clare Sheridan's bust, is to think at once of the head of Shakespeare. Aside from this single feature, however, Lenin's presence is apparently as unimpressive as his bearing is modest.

That Lenin is a great man, however, is admitted by everybody who has seen him. Arthur Ransome, who is favourably inclined toward the Bolshevik regime, declares that he is "one of the greatest personalities of his time."

Burtrand Russel, who is now opposed to Bolshevism, refers to Lenin without qualification as "a great man." Raymond Robbins, who stands midway between the position of friend and foe, asserts his belief that the Soviet premier is "the greatest living statesman in Europe." Even those who view him at a distance, cannot disguise their admiration. Mr. Frank Vanderlip, for example, has said that Lenin impresses him as "a man of most extraordinary ability." Nor can I refrain from quoting the opinion of most extraordinary ability." Nor can I refrain from quoting the opinion of the "New York Times," which can hardly be described as friendly to the Bolsheviks. Speaking at an unguarded moment, on one of the numerous occasions Lenin's reported death, the "Times" referred to him as "the most remarkable personality brought by the world war into prominence."

What moves all these persons who have seen or studied Nicholai Lenin, to speak of him in these laudatory terms, is undoubtedly the consciousness of the stupendous things which this man has accomplished during the last three years. His deeds are almost unparalleled in history. In the first place, he has beaten back upon every front, the attacks brought against him by the enemies of Russia at home and abroad. Army after army has been organized and led against Moscow, only to be destroyed by the "red" armies fighting without resources, in a distracted country, and amid a starving population. It is the fashion of these days to compare Lenin with Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, the leaders of France in the bloody days of the "Reign of Terror." The true comparison, however, is with Carnot, the great war minister who raised the levies of the Revolution, and hurled back triumphantly the invading armies of autocratic Europe.

Secondly, Lenin and his commissaries have saved the civilisation of Russia from the utter collapse which was threatened, and is still being threatened, as a result of the catastrophe of the Great War. This is just the opposite of what is ordinarily assumed, for most people believe that it is the advent of Bolshevism which has caused the human misery and social disintegration which are everywhere prevailing in Russia at the present time. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth! The empire of the Czar collapsed of its own rottenness and decay nine months before the Bolsheviks found their way into the seats of power. This collapse was the immediate result of the impact of the Great War, which in its end, if not in its conscious purpose, was a struggle for the destruction, and not at all for the preservation of civilization. What happened in Russia in 1917, was only what would have happened in France had the War continued another year, and in Great Britain had it continued another four or five years. Russia simply went to pieces, because she was the least developed and most corrupt of modern capitalistic countries, and therefore the least able to bear the strain. The first revolutionary government which succeeded the Czar, tried to control the situation, but ignominiously failed. Then came Kerensky, who likewise failed. Then came Lenin, who put his mighty shoulders beneath the toppling fabric of the state, and has thus far prevented it from falling. That Russia is not to-day a realm of utter chaos—that its cities are not empty, its railroads streaks of rust running across vast wastes of desert country, its peoples swarming hordes of wanderers trooping madly to the west in search of food—all this is due more to Nicolai Lenin than to any other single force in the world to-day. If H. G. Wells is right in his surmise that the fate of Europe is identical with the fate o

Russia, I venture to prophesy that the time will come when this man will be remembered not as a destroyer, but as the saviour of the social structure of civilization.

Lastly, as we survey the achievements of Lenin, we see his great constructive undertakings in the field of statesmanship. Amid unexampled confusion and difficulties, he has worked out a new formula of economic relations—communism; he has builded a new structure of social order—the Soviet; he has visioned a new type of social idealism—a democracy of the workers; he has created out of abstract theory a new technique of practical achievement—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These are the deeds of a man of the first order of practical genius. If Lenin falls short anywhere, and I am certain that he does it is in the field of moral idealism. He seems to be absolutely devoid, not in character but in thought, of everything that we mean by ethical or spiritual principle. He boasts of the fact that he has no religion but lives contentedly in the realm of materialism. He denies that there is any such reality as a moral law to which it is proper or necessary for him to give acknowledgment. What we ordinarily describe and recognize as a system of ethics, calling for the allegiance of all right-minded people, he regards as an artificial code created by the strong, and imposed by them upon the weak for the better protection of their property and privileges. To Lenin's way of thinking anything is right that serves the class interest of the workers; by the same token, anything is wrong that delays or hinders the emancipation of the workers. In his activities as leader of the proletariat and chief executive of the Soviet republic, Lenin acts upon exactly the same law of necessity which holds away upon the field of battle. Like the soldier, in other words, he

does anything which it is necessary to do in order to defeat the enemy and thus clinch victory for his cause. "The end justifies the means!" Lenin is seeking a great end of human redemption and social liberation; any means which are necessary for the attainment of this end, are justifiable in the period which must intervene before men are ready and able to reach the goal. It is this realist point of view of life which explains the extraordinary contradictions in Lenin's career. Thus Lenin is a democrat; but he sustains one of the most absolute tyrannies that mankind has ever known. He is not a terrorist, and yet he carried through the six weeks of the "red terror" with ruthless severity. He is not a militarist, and yet he has builded on the foundation of universal conscription, the most powerful and successful military machine in the world to-day. What we have in Lenin is a phenomenon which has never before appeared in history, so far as I know—a reformer of unquestioned personal integrity, rigorously pure in private character, simple and unpretentious in his ways of life, devoted to the ideal of a better world, seeking nothing for himself and everything for his fellow-men, and yet a man arrogant, autocratic, stern, hard in outline, untouched by any softness save a love for children. At bottom, there is nothing gentle or lovely about this man; he suggests only the strength of granite, and the coldness of steel. This is the reason, I take it, why Mr. Wells, when he thinks of Lenin, finds himself recalling the figure of Mohammed. Bertrand Russell, when he saw Lenin and his regime, was put in mind of Cromwell and the Puritans, I have to confess that I always think, in this connection, of Napoleon Bonaparte. All these parallels are defective—the last outrageously so; but they serve at least to reveal the realistic pattern of the man, and the stupendous order of his genius.

It is obvious that we have not yet found our greatest man. Rolland, the idealist is defective on the side of practicality ; Lenin, the realist, falls short on the side of ideality. What we need is a universal man—a man who combines in perfect balance the supreme qualities of the Frenchman and the Russian—a man who is at once an idealist and a realist, a dreamer and a doer, a prophet who sees “the heavenly vision” and, “not unfaithful to (that) vision” makes it to come true. Is there any such person living in the world ?

I believe that there is—unquestionably the greatest man living in the world to-day, and one of the greatest men who has ever lived. I heard of him first in 1917, through an article by Professor Gilbert Murray in the “Hibbert Journal.” I did not learn anything of him again until a few months ago, when there came to my desk a little paper-covered pamphlet containing extracts from his speeches and writings. This is meagre information ; but when I read it, I felt as did John Keats when he first read Chapman’s translation of the “Iliad”—

“ Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
 When a new planet swims into his ken ;
 Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes.
 He stared at the Pacific—and all his men.
 Looked at each other with a mild surmise.
 Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

The man whom I have in mind is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Indian leader of the present great revolutionary movement against British rule in India, known and revered by his countrymen as Mahatma, “the Saint.” I wonder how many of you have ever heard of him, or know the story of his life. Listen while I tell

this story, and see if I am not right in calling its hero the greatest man in the world to-day!

Gandhi was born some fifty odd years ago in India of a rich, clever and cultivated family. He was reared as the sons of such families are always reared, possessed of everything that money can buy and the imagination of devoted parents can conceive. In 1889 he came to England to study law. He took his degree in regular course, returned to India, and became a successful lawyer in Bombay. Already, however, he had found that religion was coming to have a dominant place within his life. Even before his journey to England, he had taken the Jain vow to abstain from wine, flesh, and sexual intercourse. On his return to India, his asceticism increased. Finding that money was inconsistent with his ideal of spirituality, he gave away his fortune to good causes, keeping only the barest pittance for himself. Later on, he took the vow of poverty, and thus became, what he is still to-day, a beggar. Later still he became converted to the doctrine of non-resistance, which he calls "the root of Hinduism," and therefore abandoned the practice of the law as "a system which tried to do right by violence." When Gilbert Murray saw him in England in 1914, he ate only rice, drank only water, and slept on the bare boards of a wooden floor. "His conversation," says Professor Murray, "was that of a cultivated and well-read man, with a certain indefinable suggestion of saintliness." Gandhi was indeed become a saint. He had deliberately swept out of his life every last vestige of self-indulgence, that no slightest desire of the flesh might stand in the way of devotion to his ideals. From early in his life, he was a man apart, with every last energy of soul and body dedicated to the service of humankind.

His public career divides itself into two distinct periods. The first extends from 1893 to 1913, and is identified with South Africa. The second, which belongs to India itself, runs from 1913 to the present day.

In South Africa, in the early nineties of the last century, there were located some 1,50,000 Indians, chiefly in the province of Natal. The presence of these aliens had led to a situation very similar to that now prevailing in California as a result of the influx of the Japanese. The color question, in other words, had become acute, and the South African Government determined to meet it, first by forbidding the immigration of any more natives from India, and secondly by expelling the Indians who were already there. This last it was found, could not legally be done as it violated a treaty and was opposed by Natal where industry was depended upon cheap "coolie" labour and was objected to by the Indian Government. The first proposal of course could easily be met by the passage of an exclusion act. At once began a long and bitter struggle. The whites of South Africa, baffled in their desires, did what the whites in all parts of the world have always done under such circumstances—namely, persecuted and outraged those whom they detested as so-called inferiors. Systematically they undertook to make life in South Africa as miserable an affair for all Indians, especially those above the labour class, as malice and cruelty could provide. Thus, these Indians were burdened with special taxes; they were forced to register in degrading ways; their thumb-prints were taken as though they were criminals; they were publicly insulted and discriminated against. In cases where the law could not be conveniently utilized the South African whites did what we do so proudly here in America—organised patriotic mobs to loot, burn and lynch. Nothing was left undone to harry these

unhappy Indians and drive them in wretchedness and horror from the land.

It was in 1893 that the Indians in South Africa appealed to Gandhi, and asked him to come and help them. At once he responded to their call, for it was his conviction that if his countrymen were anywhere suffering it was his duty and privilege alike to suffer with them. He came, therefore, to Natal in 1893, and there he remained with the exception of one short interval of time, until 1913. As he was still a lawyer at this time, he began his fight against the Asiatic Exclusion Act, and won it in the face of the most bitter and unfair opposition on grounds of constitutionality. Then came the terrific battle for equitable political and social recognition—a struggle fought from beginning to end with the weapons of passive or non-resistance. Not once in all the years of the protracted struggle was there resort to violence or yielding to the temptation of retaliation and revenge.

Acting as the leader and counsellor of his people, Gandhi founded a settlement in the open country just outside the city of Durban. Here he gathered the Indians, placed them on the land for self-support and bound them by the solemn vow of poverty. Here for years these organized thousands of resisters suffering constant deprivation and frequent outrage, carried on their struggle against the government. It was in essence, I suppose a strike—a withdrawal of the Indians from labour in the towns and villages and a paralysis, therefore, of the industrial and social life of the republic. It was such a strike as Moses declared in incident Egypt when he led the Israelites out of the land of Pharaoh into the vast reaches of the wilderness. But this strike if it may so be called was in one thing different from any previous strike in human history! Universally in movements of this kind the resisters make

it their business to take quick and sharp advantage of any difficulty into which their opponents may fail and press their claim the harder for this advantage. Gandhi however, took the opposite course. Whenever in these years of struggle the Government became embarrassed by unexpected troubles, Gandhi, instead of pushing the fight ruthlessly to victory, would call a truce and come to the succour of his enemy. In 1899 for instance the Boer War broke out. Gandhi immediately called off his strike and organized an Indian Red Cross unit which served throughout the war, was twice mentioned in dispatches, and was publicly thanked for bravery under fire. In 1904, there came a visitation of the plague in Johannesburg. Instantly the strike was "off" and Gandhi was busying himself in organizing a hospital in the pest-ridden city. In 1906 there was a native rebellion in Natal. Again the strike was suspended while Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher-bearers, whose work was dangerous and painful. On this occasion he was publicly thanked by the Governor of Natal—and shortly afterwards on the resumption of the resistant movement thrown into a common jail in Johannesburg. It would be impossible for me to tell this morning the indignities and cruelties which were visited upon Gandhi during these years of intermittent resistance and forgiveness. He was thrown into prison countless times, placed in solitary confinement bound hand and foot to the bars of his cage. He was again and again set upon by raging mobs beaten into insensibility and left for dead by the side of the road. When not outraged in this fashion he was insulted in public mortified and humiliated with the most exquisite pains. But nothing shook his courage, disturbed his equanimity, exhausted his patience or poisoned his love and forgiveness of his foes. And at last, after twenty years of trial and suffering he won

the victory. In 1913 the Indian case was taken up by Lord Hardinge ; an imperial commission reported in Gandhi's favour on nearly all the points at issue and an act was passed giving official recognition to his claims. I know of no more astonishing illustration of a battle won by doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring without resentment all the punishment the enemy can inflict, until at last he becomes weary and ashamed of punishment.

The second period of Gandhi's life began in 1913, and is at this moment in the full tide of its career. This period of course, has to do with the great revolutionary movement in India which had been slowly developing during his years of absence in South Africa. Immediately upon his return he took the leadership of this movement; but in 1914, with the outbreak of the war with Germany suspended all operations against English rule. To strike at England at such a moment, he contended was to strike her in the back and it was as reprehensible to strike a nation in this cowardly fashion as to strike a man. Throughout the war, therefore, Gandhi gave enthusiastic support to the Empire in every way not inconsistent with his religious ideals.

Immediately that the war was closed however quickened by the outrages visited upon the Indians during this period by the oppression of English tyranny, Gandhi lifted again his banner of revolt and organized that stupendous Non-Co-operative movement, which is shaking the British Empire at this moment to its foundations. What we have here, under Gandhi's leadership is a revolution—but a revolution different from any other of which history has knowledge. It is characterized by four distinctive features.

In the first place, it is a movement directed straight and hard against English rule in India. There is no concealment of Gandhi's determination to free his people from the injustice and cruelty implicit in alien domination. "So long" he says "as the Government spells injustice it may regard me as its enemy—implacable enemy." Again he declares, "I seek to paralyze this Government until we have wrung justice from unwilling hands that is what I stand for." Still again he asserts, "I deliberately oppose the Government to the extent of trying to put its very existence in jeopardy." That this is sedition, Gandhi sees as clearly as any one. If he were charged under the sedition section of the Indian Penal Code he says that he could not plead not guilty. . . . "For my speeches are intended to create disaffection such that the people might consider it a shame to assist or co-operate with a Government that had forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support."

With all this unbending opposition to English rule, however, there is mingled no hatred against the English people. Gandhi has never at any time been guilty of the sin to which most of us were tempted during the war with Germany, of confusing a Government with its people. "I tell the British people," says Gandhi, "that I love them, and that I want their association," but this must be on conditions not inconsistent with self-respect and . . . absolute equality."

Secondly, Gandhi's movement is a revolution which has no place for force or violence of any kind. "Non-violence" is its most conspicuous motto and slogan. For Gandhi, as we have seen, is a non-resistant; and in India, as in South Africa, will win his victory by peaceful means, or not at all "Violence," he says, "whatever end it may

serve in Europe, will never serve us in India." We must fight our battles with cleaner weapons, on a nobler plane of combat. Thus, "we (must) meet their ungodliness by godliness; we (must) meet their untruth by truth; we (must) meet their cunning and their craft by openness and simplicity; we (must) meet their terrorism and frightfulness by bravery and patient suffering. Further, he says, "We must bring no violence against those who do not join our ranks"—how well were it, if Lenin practised this rule of conduct! And he adjures his followers to hold "every English life, and the life of every officer serving the Government, as sacred as those of our own dear ones"—think of what it would mean to Ireland if Sinn Fein observed this precept! "As soon as India," says Gandhi, "accepts the doctrine of the sword, my life as an Indian is finished.Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart."

In advocating thus the policy of non-violence, Gandhi takes pains to emphasize that he is not doing this because the Indians are weak. On the contrary he commends non-violence just because India is so strong and thus so well able to meet the hazards involved. "I believe in the doctrine of non-violence," says Gandhi, "as a weapon not of the weak but of the strong. I believe that man is the strongest soldier who dies unarmed with his breast bare before the enemy." Again, he says, ". . . I want India to practise non-violence because of her strength and power. No arms are required for her. We seem to need it because we seem to think that we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish, and that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of the world."

At bottom, of course, Gandhi advocates and practises non-resistance because he thinks it right. "The true thing," he declares, "for any human being on earth, is not justice based on violence but justice based on sacrifice of self." Again he says, "Non-violence is noble and right. . . . Forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier." It is from this point of view, I take it, that Gandhi refers to his movement as "this religious battle"! He is insistent, however that non-resistance is not only right but expedient. It is the one sure way of attaining a triumph that will endure. "The condition of success," he says, "is to ensure entire absence of violence." Again, "India might resort to destruction of life and property, but it could serve no purpose. You need but the one weapon of suffering. Such truth is obvious to any one, says Gandhi, who understands the laws of a universe which is spiritual. "If we would realize the secret of this peaceful and infallible doctrine, we will know and find that we will not want to use even an angry word when they lift the sword, we will not want even to lift a little finger."

Non-violence, however, is not enough. Non-resistance means something more than mere acquiescence in suffering. It must have a positive or aggressive policy—and it is this which Gandhi provides in what he calls "Non-Co-operation." To all his followers Gandhi recommends refusal to co-operate in any of the political or social functions which are essential to the continuance of British rule in India. He urges that the Indians boycott everything English, and thus paralyze the whole English system of control. Thus he advises that his countrymen refuse to sit on the local Councils; that native lawyers refuse to practise in the courts; that parents withdraw their children from the schools; that title-holders

give up their titles. On the occasion of the recent tour of the Prince of Wales, he urged all Indians to refuse welcome or recognition to the Royal visitor. Even a boycott of English goods is under consideration, but of this Gandhi voices his disapproval. Such policy, of course, if effectively carried out on a large scale, would destroy English rule in India; it would little by little bring paralysis to the Government as the hemlock brought inch by inch the chill of the death to the limbs of Socrates. "The peacefullest revolution the world has ever seen" would be triumphant.

Lastly, as the crown of his great movement, Gandhi seeks the moral and spiritual regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, Indian custom, and Indian idealism. This means the exclusion, so far as possible, of the influence of the West, with its industrial slavery, its materialism, its money-worship and its wars. The first step in his endeavour is to wipe out the barriers which divide the Indians from one another, and make them one great united brotherhood. Thus, he seeks the obliteration of caste distinction and religious differences; Mohammedan must live peaceably with Hindu, and Hindu with Mohammedan. Then must come a leadership of mankind in ways of peace and amity. "I believe absolutely," says Gandhi, "that India has a mission for the world." His idealism, therefore, transcends the boundaries of race and country and seeks to make itself one with the highest hopes of humanity. "My religion," he cries, "has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself."

Such is Mahatma Gandhi! In this great spirit, he lives among the people. As he moves from city to city, crowds of thirty and even fifty thousand people assemble

to hear his words. As he pauses for the night in a village, or in the open countryside, great throngs come to him as to a holy shrine. He would seem to be what the Indians regard him—the perfect and universal man. In his personal character, he is simple and undefiled. In his political endeavours, he is as stern a realist as Lenin, working steadfastly toward a far goal of liberation which must be won. At the same time, however, he is an idealist, like Romain Rolland living ever in the pure radiance of the spirit. When I think of Rolland, as I have said, I think of Tolstoi. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life ; he speaks his word ; he suffers, strives, and will some day nobly die, for His kingdom upon earth.

Do you recall how it is told of Jesus, that one day as he was journeying, he heard his disciples quarrelling ? And he said, "What were ye reasoning on the way ?" And they said they had disputed who was the greatest. And Jesus said, "If any man would be first among you, let him be the servant of all."

MAHATMA GANDHI

BY

W. W. PEARSON.

Whatever may be one's personal opinion of the Indian leader, M. K. Gandhi, there can be no doubt that he is a remarkable man. Remarkable because his standard of conduct and method of action are so entirely different from those of other Indian leaders. Statesmen and politicians are seldom guided by the motives which compelled Gandhi to action, and the very fact that in him we see a man who wields enormous influence over his countrymen

by a character—the exact antithesis of the ordinary political leader—gives to his personality a peculiar interest. One Governor of a British Province in the East has described him as “a dangerous and misguided saint.” Everyone, whether foe or friend, agrees in regarding him as a saint. And it is because of his evident saintliness of character that he has such an unparalleled influence in India at the present day.

In a recent article on Gandhi in an American magazine he was described as “A Monk who imperils British Rule in India.” That one man by the force of his austere and ascetic character should be regarded as a menace to one of the greatest Empires that has ever existed, is in itself a remarkable phenomenon. Accounts from India recently have described how, during the Duke of Connaught's visit to the large cities of the different provinces, the streets on many occasions when the Duke was passing through the city, were almost deserted. This is a striking enough circumstance in view of the great reverence with which royalty has been regarded in India throughout her history, and is a contrast to the welcome which was given to King George on his visit. But more striking than the deserted streets in the presence of the uncle of the Emperor were the crowded streets whenever Gandhi passed through any of these cities. In Delhi, the present capital, when Gandhi arrived a crowd of 80,000 took possession of the railway station and was permitted by the station officials to superintend the arrival of the train in which the popular leader was travelling. As he drove through the streets of Delhi there were crowds lining every thoroughfare numbering more than 1,00,000.

The explanation of this phenomenon is simple. Not only do the people, the masses of India, reverence Gandhi

as a saint, but he has practically unlimited influence over them in the sphere of national aspiration. But this is not because he is primarily a politician. He has none of the usual qualifications for political success. He is not Diplomatic, for he lays all his cards on the table. He never compromises and has never been known in his public life to rely on expediency rather than on principle. He belongs to no party and has therefore no party ambition, and he is unmoved by the criticism of friends and enemies alike. He himself has said :—

“ Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise: I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man.”

MAHATMAJI'S HOLD ON MASSES

He is a man who, by the very example of this ascetic life would attract the masses in India whatever his policy might happen to be, and it is just because of the great influence which he exercises over the people that he is regarded as so dangerous an opponent of British rule in India. He cannot be bribed or tempted by personal ambition to change his methods. He is a man who, having once accepted a principle, will not yield an inch even to those whom he knows to be his friends, even though he knows that by yielding he might gain large numbers of adherents. Some people have said that he is easily influenced by those around him, and is being used as a tool by the Extremist leaders who regard his fame as a saint as a valuable asset for their own propaganda. As a matter of fact no man is less readily influenced or diverted by external pressure from his purpose than Mr. Gandhi. I came across a striking example of this some years ago when I first had the privilege of meeting Mr. Gandhi.

It was in the autumn of 1913 that trouble arose in South Africa because of the treatment of the Indian residents in that Colony. Gandhi had for years been struggling on behalf of his fellow-countrymen to assert their rights in South Africa as fellow-citizens with the white subjects of the British Empire. He had given up a lucrative legal practice in order to devote his whole time to this cause. A crisis was reached in October 1913 owing to the action of Mr. Gandhi in starting an extensive Passive Resistance Movement aimed at inducing the Union Government to grant their demands. As a result of his appeal thousands of men, women and children marched without permits from Natal into the Transvaal, while many others went on strike in the mines and sugar plantations. The government arrested and imprisoned thousands converting the mines into jails to accommodate the unprecedented number of prisoners. Mr. Gandhi as well as two or three European sympathisers were also imprisoned. Feeling in India at the news ran high, so high indeed that the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, made a strong public protest in a speech in Madras against the treatment of Indian citizens of the Empire in South Africa. In every province of India the people united in protest and the government both in India and in England became alarmed. At last the South African government realising the danger to the Empire, hastily appointed a Commission to inquire into the grievances of the Indian leaders in order that they might give evidence. But in appointing the commissioners they did not appoint any nominee or representative of the Indian community. They did not even consult the Indian leaders as to the scope and character of the Commission. Mr. Gandhi protested and asked that the Indian community be allowed to appoint at least one representative to serve on this Commission, but the Govern-

ment refused. Mr. Gandhi then made the announcement that as a protest he would neither give evidence himself nor could he advise any self-respecting Indian to give evidence. This would obviously stultify the work of the Commission and at the same time would give to the critics of Indian aspirations the occasion for saying that the Indians refused to give evidence simply because their evidence was weak. In India, the great Indian statesman and politician, the Hon. G. K. Gokhale, for whom Gandhi had the profoundest admiration and love, saw this clearly enough and was almost daily sending cables to Mr. Gandhi urging him to reconsider this decision. Mr. Gokhale felt that such a boycott of the Commission would be sure to have a detrimental effect on any sympathy which the Indian case had aroused both in England and in South Africa itself. But Mr. Gandhi was adamant on this point. He regarded the honour and self-respect of the Indian community as at stake, and although he realised that he was going against the wishes of the one Indian whom he respected above all others, and that Mr. Gokhale was right in so far as political expediency was concerned, he would not retract, and the Commission sat without hearing the evidence either of Gandhi or any other Indian of position or influence.

ALLEGIANCE TO PRINCIPLES

I remember clearly being greatly struck with this unusual and unyielding allegiance to principle. On a point of honour Mr. Gandhi would never compromise, and since then though I have seen him under very different circumstances I have never known him to compromise the honour and self-respect of India. It is this quality which seems to some to be his weakness because for the sake of some distant and unattained ideal he often loses for the time being some obvious but temporary advantage. But in

reality it is this quality which constitutes Gandhi's strength; for, everyone who has to deal with him knows that he will never accept any policy or accede to any request which he himself believes to be contrary to his principle of Truth. We may disagree with him as to what is Truth, we may disapprove of the methods he adopts for achieving his ends, but one thing is self-evident to all who come into contact with him and that is the fact that Gandhi is absolutely disinterested in his actions and cares not at all for his own personal popularity or position.

In appearance he is not at first striking. His very asceticism makes him insignificant physically. He personifies an idea and when he is expressing it his body does not seem to count. When I first met him in South Africa he was taking only one meal a day and that consisted of fruits, nuts, and whole meal bread with olive oil. He took very little sleep and from early morning till late at night he was busy interviewing people, discussing plans of campaign, and writing important despatches to India and to the government authorities in Pretoria. But however busy he was, he always had time to talk with the poorest of the coolies who came to see him and to consult him constantly. He would ask them often to come and sit by him as he took his meals in order that he might have more time for talking to them. The poorest people felt that he was their friend; for he had a word for all. When he went to Pretoria to see General Smuts and General Botha he was dressed in the simple home-spun which he always wears, and walked barefoot. His face expresses great patience and love, and to me he seemed nearer to my idea of Saint Francis of Assisi than anyone I had ever seen. He believed intensely in the ultimate victory of those who try to "Conquer hatred by love," and never allowed people to express hatred towards those whom he

regarded as treating his fellow-countrymen unjustly. He strives with implacable insistence by the force of moral suasion to compel his rulers to yield to his demands for fair and just treatment.

He expects this unfaltering loyalty to Truth in his followers, and although gentle and very tolerant towards those who differ from him, over those who once ally themselves to him he exerts a moral authority which is almost despotic. Regarding celibacy as the highest estate for service of humanity he expects those who live in his community to observe the same rule of continence that he has imposed upon himself. Also he is a rigid vegetarian though I remember his once advising me to eat meat when I had been ill.

He is chivalrous to his opponents and never takes advantage of the weakness of those who are opposing him however tempting the opportunity may be. This quality he has shown once or twice in his recent campaign. But the following example will suffice. Shortly after his release from jail early in 1914 a serious strike broke out amongst the white labourers on the Rand. Gandhi had a week previously threatened to re-start the Passive Resistance Movement and to call the Indian coolies in the mines and on the plantations out on strike as a protest against the lack of representation on the Commission referred to above. Instead of taking advantage of the difficulty in which the Government was placed, Gandhi announced that the Passive Resistance Movement would be entirely suspended until the Government was free from the embarrassment caused by the strike on the Rand. Had he chosen he could have carried out his threat while the Government's hands were filled with the Rand Strike, and probably might have gained much for which he had been

for so long struggling. But he was chivalrous to his opponent and General Smuts was the man to appreciate chivalry of this kind, for when later the Indian question again came up for discussion he was found in a frame of mind much more ready to listen to the Indian point of view. But this was not done as a matter of tactics; it was a point of honour to fight clean. In the end it proved to be good tactics also, for by the middle of 1914 most of the demands of the Indian community were met and laws were passed in the Union Parliament granting juster treatment to Indians in the Colony.

HIS PRIVATE LIFE

I have described Mr. Gandhi's public activities in South Africa, but in order to know the complete character of the man it is necessary to say something of his private life. Near Durban he had a Settlement which was a community based on the principles of service. It was situated at Phoenix, and it was there that one saw Gandhi in the atmosphere and surroundings in which his characteristic unselfishness was most apparent. It was modelled on the lines which Tolstoi had advocated at the close of the last century. Mr. Gandhi had a profound admiration for Tolstoi and his teachings, and possibly owes more of his present attitude on the value of Passive Resistance to that great Western Teacher than to the teachings of his own religion, though "*ahimsa*" (aversion to slaughter or inoffensiveness) is one of the chief doctrines of the Hinduism which Gandhi both practises and preaches.

It was at this Settlement that one saw Mr. Gandhi co-operating in the work which the boys and other members of the community were engaged in. Often did I protest against the way in which Mr. Gandhi spent his valuable time, in the midst of his great public responsibilities

in menial tasks which could so easily have been carried out by less prominent members of the Settlement. When the Hon. Mr. Gokhale was guest at Phoenix, he had the same experience, and he often told humorously of the heartless tyranny of his host who insisted upon doing the most menial tasks, including that of the sweeper, for his guests. To protests he would reply that as regards a piece of work which had to be done and got through there was no highness or lowness about it—if a piece of work was thought to be too dirty for him (Gandhi), it should be regarded as too dirty and low even for any poor sweeper, who was just as much a human being as he himself.

It is this readiness to make the same sacrifices which he asks those who follow him to make which gives to him his moral authority. As a writer in India has said of him :

“Mr. Gandhi has always been prepared to accept and has always actually accepted for himself the direct logical outcome of his principles, whatever hardship and breach of social convention it may involve. This, combined with his utter sincerity, the austere simplicity of his life and his readiness to serve the people at all costs and sacrifice, explains his unparalleled hold over his countrymen. No trick or posing can give such influence to any leader.”

When Mr. Gandhi gave up a lucrative legal practice in Johannesburg, the annual income from which was over Dols. 15,000, in order that he might serve his countrymen, he was obeying the same impelling call which came to Saint Francis of Assisi, and later to Tolstoi. But although he felt that poverty was necessary to himself because it gave him freedom, he does not ask others to follow his example and amongst many of his most enthusiastic friends

and admirers are men of wealth and position. His desire was to win for the Indians of South Africa the equality which he regarded not only as the right to every citizen of the British Empire but also as the right of every human being. But although he fought the Government to win the justice he knew was the right of his countrymen, he co-operated whenever possible with the very government whose abuses he was attempting to remove. He received the Zulu war medal for his services as the officer in charge of the Indian Volunteer Service Corps in 1906, and the Boer war medal for his services as Assistant Superintendent of the Indian Volunteer Stretcher Bearer Corps during the Boer War of 1899—1900. He was also later decorated by the Indian Government with the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal for his humanitarian work in South Africa. It was his hope that by showing the readiness and ability of Indians to share in the dangers and responsibilities of the Empire he would win for them some measure of respect. These medals he has now returned to the British Government as a protest against the action of the authorities in regard to the Turkish Peace Treaty and their attitude to those who were responsible for the shooting of hundreds of innocent people at Amritsar. Up till quite recently he had believed in the ultimate triumph of justice because he trusted the British people to see that justice was done. Now that hope he has surrendered as will be seen from his letter to "Every Englishman in India."

"A CLEVER POLITICIAN"

Most Englishmen in India regard Gandhi as a clever politician who attains his political ends by masquerading under the cloak of a saint. It is true that no other politician in India has succeeded in doing what Gandhi has done, uniting the people of every Province in a common demand

for freedom. Even the late Mr. Gokhale, the greatest Indian statesman of modern times and Gandhi's ideal politician, did not succeed simply because he measured the immediate consequences of his actions in a way which Gandhi never does.

Gandhi has succeeded in awakening the common feeling of nationality of which Sir John Seeley speaks in his "Expansion of England." When, referring to India, he wrote :—

" If there could arise in India a nationality movement similar to that which we witnessed in Italy, the English power could not even make the resistance that was made in Italy by Austria, but must succumb at once."

NO MORE OF FOREIGN DOMINATION

Mr. Gandhi believed for many years in the doctrine of gradual evolution towards self-government and tried the method of co-operation with the British Government whenever possible. But at length he has adopted a more incisive method, and has created in the masses the feeling that it is shameful to be under foreign domination. Sir John Seeley wrote—

" If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist in India only feebly ; if, without any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his dominion, from that day, almost, our Empire would cease to exist."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer writing recently in the London "Fortnightly" has said :

" Since the Mutiny, the position of our government was never so weak, its credit never so low.

“Our margin of safety in India was never very large, and in these days of world-wide anxiety and peril it has been reduced almost to vanishing point.”

But it would not have been possible for Gandhi to have created this feeling had not external circumstances concurrently converted the masses of the people to the belief that the continuance of foreign rule was no longer tolerable. For the last twenty years the desire for a greater share in the government of their country has been growing rapidly in India, and many methods have been attempted to attain this end. The Indian National Congress has met year after year and talked, the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, which started after Lord Curzon's attempt to partition Bengal in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the people had its enthusiastic response in the imagination of the whole of Bengal, while religious organizations like the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, and the Ram Krishna Mission started by followers of Swami Vivekananda in Bengal all had their share in educating the people to a realisation of their own rights. But none of these went so directly to the root of the matter as Gandhi's preaching of Non-co-operation. He showed that in thousands of subtle ways Indians were by their co-operation with the existing form of government simply prolonging its life. He pointed out that no government can exist except with the co-operation of the people.

Seeley's words are coming true, and, they are coming true because of the influence of this one man, Gandhi. A recent writer in "India" has said of him :

“Mahatma Gandhi cuts at the very root of the disease. He is like a surgeon performing an operation, rather than a physician administering soothing drugs. And, as his

surgeon's knife cuts deep, we can see at once the recovery of self-respect and manhood and independence."

* * * * *

Gandhi has been able to unite the people of India as they have never before been united not only because of his unfaltering loyalty to a moral ideal and by his austere and ascetic personal life, but because the British Government has itself fed fuel to the fires of national aspiration. Confronting the most powerful Empire in existence stands one man, Gandhi, who cares nothing for his own personal life, who is uncompromising and fearless in the application of principles which he has once accepted, and who scorns any longer to receive or beg for favours from a Government which he regards as having "forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support." He believes in conquering hate by love, in the triumph of right over might, and all the effort of his public life is directed towards persuading the masses of India of the truth of this ideal.

—*The Asian Review.*

AN ESTIMATE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

By

PERCIVAL LANDON.

Yesterday I spent a long time in the frankest conversation with Mr. Gandhi, and at length succeeded in forming a complete, though almost incredible, estimate of his attitude to the campaign to which he has devoted every faculty and every moment of his life. "No one understands Mr. Gandhi's crusade," said a sage man to me in Bombay, "who does not know Mr. Gandhi." What I have to say, therefore, may probably seem impossible to those who have never met this amazing and dangerous man, who in solitude bestrides the field of Indian sedition

like a colossus. In truth he is alone. He does not seem to need lieutenants or councillors, who embarrass him with their practical suggestions as much as Mr. Gandhi bewilders them by his pure Utopianism. Whether they remain or desert him makes no difference; his appeal is to the lowest of the population, and his strength lies precisely in the fact that his teaching is a visionary reconstruction of the Golden Age based upon universal loving-kindness. He preaches to the heart and despises the head. And, therefore, he has no parallel in the world to-day, either in the semi-divine character of his influence or in the magnitude of the disaster which will attend his success.

Seated on the floor in a small, barely-furnished room, I found the Mahatma, clad in rough, white home-spun. He turned up to me, with a smile of welcome the typical head of the idealist—the skull well formed and finely modelled; the face narrowing to the pointed chin. His eyes are deep, kindly, and entirely same; his hair is greying a little over the forehead. He speaks gently and well, and in his voice is a note of detachment which lends uncanny force to the strange doctrines that he has given up his life to teach. One could not imagine him ruffled, hasty, or resentful, not the least part of the moral supremacy in his crusade is his universally-known willingness to turn the other cheek to the smiter. From the first it must be realised that consciously his teaching has been influenced by that of Christ, for whom his admiration has long been the almost dominating feature of his spiritual life and probably the external character of his daily activity, has been modelled also upon Him. He made a curious observation during our conversation, which throws some light upon his interpretation of the Galilean Teacher. In answer to a remark of mine that Christ strictly abstained from interfering in

politics, Mr. Gandhi answered. "I do not think so but, if you are right, the less Christ in that was He."

AN IDEAL WORLD

The achievement of an ideal world built upon selflessness and governed by loving kindness alone, which has proved too much for the Christian nations seems to Mr. Gandhi a self-evident possibility. The danger, the very real danger, of the man lies in the fact that his belief is exactly that best calculated appeal to the Oriental, and most certain, if adopted, to lead in India to internecine bloodshed and disintegration and—should our long patience become exhausted—to Indian servitude to some other Power more willing than ourselves to keep the sabre rattling in its sheath. It is precisely his idealism which makes him the worst enemy of his own people.

Courteous, implacable, and refined, Mr. Gandhi explained to me the faith that was in him, and as he did so my hopes of an understanding between him and the English grew less and less. The hated civilisation and rule of England must go. I suggested the unprotected state of India should our work come to an end.

"If India has sufficient unity to expel the British, she can also protect herself against foreign aggression; universal love and soul force will keep our shores inviolate. It is by making armaments that war is made."

"But what of the religious antagonism between Hindu and Moslem?"

"No trouble will come."

I thought of the transfigured face of a certain distinguished Moslem follower of Mr. Gandhi, in the Punjab, and his eager anticipation of the day when the coast would be clear and Islam would crush Hindu opposition and

re-establish India as the Sovereign Moslem State—and I renewed the question to which he replied :

“ If trouble should ensue I shall be ready to accept it. If even all India were submerged in the struggle it would only be a proof that India was evil, and it would be for the best.”

His attitude not unnaturally made me ask what he thought about Lenin. He said he did not know enough about Lenin, but in any case he would prefer Bolshevism to British rule. Unless what has been said before is borne in mind, this answer might seem to justify much that has been charged against Mr. Gandhi, but I am convinced that idealism uncontrolled, and now uncontrollable, is at the root of every extravagant view enunciated by Mr. Gandhi. We agreed that Western and Eastern standards were irreconcilable, but I asked him if he could find no good in Englishmen and English civilisation. He said it was not against individual Englishmen that he directed his campaign. He admitted that several Englishmen had shown a willingness to work unselfishly for India, and instanced Bradlaugh, Jardine, Wedderburn, and Montagu. Asked why, then, he opposed the reforms, he said that the justice they intended had been whittled away by those to whom their application had been entrusted. He would not admit that he could have carried on his campaign inside the Chambers by sending deputies—a remark which gives food for thought. Either he believes that the intense centralisation of the non-co-operative movement would be destroyed thereby, or he wishes as yet to avoid a definite issue between himself and the moderates. In any case his famous justification of his use of such bad products of British civilisation as railways and post offices, on the ground of helping the cause, should apply here also. His

policy in this matter suggests weakness in political organisation.

STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

His bitterness against modern civilisation is at once the strength and weakness of his campaign. Presented as the protest of Hinduism against the Black Age in which we are now living, it makes a direct appeal to the country districts, whose antagonism to the large towns is one of the disregarded factors in the present Indian situation. He frankly admitted that in two matters, sanitation and organisation, he admired British methods, but he did not seem to realise that the latter covered almost the whole ground of our administration of India. Similar inconsistencies between Western and Eastern standpoints account for much in Mr. Gandhi's teaching, but he seems to forget that India has already attempted something like his Utopia and found it unpractical. Listening to Mr. Gandhi, one was again and again reminded of the beautiful vision of a world of selfless kindness that Gautama inculcated twenty-four centuries ago—a world that never existed, a vision which has left human nature unchanged.

Coming to essentials, I asked him directly whether he did not see that his campaign of non-violence as he conducted it must inevitably result in violence, for which he must be held responsible.

"There will be no trouble unless the Englishmen begin it." This was so like the German contention that France began hostilities that I asked him if he had said that he believed that the Government at Bihar had recently provoked violence. He said he did not believe it, and added, with a smile, that much was alleged of him that he had never said.

Courteous and refined he remained to the end, but implacable he remained also, and I could only sum up my impression of my visit in the conviction that a pure idealist, whom the people of India revered as a god, must through the very qualities which had enthroned him, end by delivering them over to bloodshed and misery.

—*Daily Telegraph.*

THE INDIAN SAINT

By

COL. JOSIAH C. WEDGEWOOD, M. P.

India is drifting into anarchy. To understand what is now happening in India one must first understand Mahatma Gandhi, and then the state of the clay which he is moulding. The saint or Mahatma has India at his feet; the "intelligensia" differs from him in private, rarely in public; property differs from him and trembles; the Government, any Government, differs from him (because he goes to the root of all Government), and thinks it best to—wait.

The last time I saw him he was sitting cross-legged on a mattress on the floor, eating a dish of rice, and surrounded by a semi-circle of squatting disciples. All he wore was his small white convict cap and a pair of coarse white trousers. "Why have you not brought Mrs. Wedgwood?" said he. On the whole, I was glad I had not, for I know few things more unpleasant than being perched up on a chair, in boots, when all around are silent strangers on the floor.

Gandhi specializes in giving up, in reducing his wants; his recreation is fasting, and making his disciples fast. He looks so physically frail and weak and small that one

could carry him as one does a child, and he makes one feel like that towards him. He is as serious as any child, and as pure. All this has captured India. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ; and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers. For Gandhi is a philosophic anarchist—a new edition of Tolstoy, without Tolstoy's past and a Tolstoy who has long since subdued Nature and shrunk into simplicity.

He tells me that when first he came to London he took lessons in dancing and elocution to fit himself for the polite world. But he is a Jain, peculiarly averse to taking life, and while still a child, he had already found the efficacy of non-resistance; he now came upon Ruskin's "Unto this last," and the dancing lessons ceased. A loathing of civilization, especially Western civilization, grew up. He read Tolstoy's "The Kingdom of Heaven is Within You," and it fitted in. In South Africa in the early years of the century, he was still nominally a lawyer, but the practice died out, and instead the gaols of the Transvaal and Natal began to be full of his disciples. The last cure for oppression by Government is to be completely indifferent to whatever Government may do. Non-recognition of law, non-cooperation with the State which is the embodiment of civilization, was born in South Africa. It is a terrible weapon, but it can be used only by those who are prepared to lose all. That is a condition which is just beginning to be understood by Indian Nationalists, and they are beginning to shy. It does not deflect the Mahatma. Three times he was gaoled; once he was left for dead, murdered by his own followers for imagined treachery.

In South Africa, too, he wrote his first book, "Indian Home Rule" and sketched the same scheme. If you

would destroy English rule, you must go to the root—cease to use the schools and law courts, refuse to plead, go to gaol gladly. “The Western civilization has corrupted you. Cast it out—by non-co-operation.” But he is not so much interested in destroying Western rule as Western civilization, Western wants, and the parasitic work of towns. Such cotton clothes as he has are hand-spun, hand-woven, and hand-made. His food (when not fasting) is too simple to create fear of gaol fare. (Only, he does use a highpowered motor and the railway train [third class], and the Philistines jeer !)

All this shows why he has such a hold on India, the land of resignation, and also why the fear of him grows too. He takes the students away from the colleges without asking the parents' leave saying, “Follow me.” Education may be a universal need, but educationalists are a Western product, and they squirm. Pandit Malaviya will even fight for his child, the Benares University. Parliaments and Councils are the machinery of Western Government. “Do not join them !” and the Indian politicians, exasperated by Punjab Martial Law, give up them too, and hand the Councils over to the Moderates. They do not like it but they obey. I fear he tolerates Democracy as little as Autocracy on account of their last two syllables. Only he cannot get the lawyers to leave their practices or officials to leave their posts. Only—Gandhi himself is not mighty enough to destroy Western civilization, even by precept and practice, or by his hold on the masses—masses crying, “Mahatma Gandhi ki jai”—“to Gandhi the victory,” though that victory lead them they know not where. Gandhi alone is not enough to drive India to anarchy. There are his allies, the Moslem fanatics; and there is the Government, which for fear of prestige, dare not apologize. —“*The Nation.*”

MOULDER OF THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD.

What do you think of Mahatma Gandhi ?

‘What do I think of Mahatma Gandhi ? said the poet-philosopher, emphatically; why I think very highly of Gandhi. He is a great man—a great soul.’

‘He to-day wields tremendous power over the teeming millions of India. What is really the secret of his success?’

‘The secret of Gandhi's success,’ said the Hindu Nobel prizeman enthusiastically, lies in his dynamic spiritual strength and incessant self-sacrifice. Many public men make sacrifices for selfish reasons. It is a sort of investment that yields handsome dividends, Gandhi is altogether different. He is unique in the nobility. His very life is another name for sacrifice. He is sacrifice itself.

‘He covets no power, no position, no wealth, no name and no fame. Offer him the throne of all India, he will refuse to sit on it, but will sell the jewels and distribute the money among the needy.’

‘Give him all the money America possesses, and he will certainly refuse to accept it, unless to be given away for a worthy cause for the uplift of humanity.’

‘His soul is perpetually anxious to give and he expects absolutely nothing in return—not even thanks. This is no exaggeration, for I know him well.’

‘He came to our school at Bolpur and lived with us for some time. His power of sacrifice becomes all the more irresistible because it is wedded with his paramount fearlessness.’

‘Emperors and Maharajas, guns and bayonets, imprisonments and tortures, insult and injuries, even death itself, can never daunt the spirit of Gandhi.’

'His is a liberated soul. If any one strangles me, I shall be crying for help ; but if Gandhi were strangled, I am sure he would not cry. He may laugh at his strangler; and if he has to die, he will die smiling.'

'His simplicity of life is childlike, his adherence to truth is unflinching ; his love for mankind is positive and aggressive. He has what is known as the Christ spirit. The longer I know him, the better I like him. It is needless for me to say that this great man is destined to play a prominent part in moulding the future of the world.'

'Such a great man deserves to be better known in the world. Why don't you make him known, you are a world figure', I said.

'How can I make him known ? I am nothing compared to his illumined soul. And no truly great man has to be made great. They are great in their own glory, and when the world is ready they become famous by dint of their own greatness. When their time comes Gandhi will be known, for the world needs him and his message of love, liberty and brotherhood.'

'The soul of the East has found a worthy symbol in Gandhi ; for he is most eloquently proving that man is essentially a spiritual being, that he flourishes the best in the realm of the moral and the spiritual, and most positively perishes both body and soul in the atmosphere of hatred and gunpowder smoke.'

'A few months ago he said that India would win Swaraj (national government) within a year. It may not come to pass within the time indicated but he is sincere and he believes in it. It goes without saying that he will spare no pains, no privations and sacrifice to attain the end in view.'

His South African fight, the moral fight of passive resistance extending over eight years, was crowned with success. Truth may be crushed by brute forces for a while, but it is sure to triumph in the long run.'

'What do you really think of the non-co-operation movement in India?'

'It is great movement indeed. It is a conflict of ideas with physical violence. I have more faith in force of ideas than in physical force. It is fortunate that this movement is headed by a man like Gandhi whose saintly life has made him adored all over India. As long as he is at the helm I am not afraid of the ship, or doubtful of its safe arrival at the port of destination.'

—*Interview with Dr. Tagore by an American correspondent.*

THE SAVIOUR OF INDIA.

By

BLANCHE WATSON.

The first act of the new British Viceroy of India, Lord Reading, was to request an audience with Gandhi, whose activity has been keeping some of the British Government officials awake at nights. Although little is known of the results of the conversation, Gandhi is reported as saying that he and the Viceroy had "understood" each other—which "understanding," be it said, has caused no let-up on the part of the non-cooperationists, as Gandhi's followers are known. Under his inspired leadership, millions have, during the past year, discontinued the use of imported cloths and taken to wearing home-made cotton, in pursuance of the idea that *Swaraj* (freedom) "lies hidden in the spinning-wheel." It is the spinning wheel by the way, which has been chosen for the symbol on the new national flag.

The events of the past seven months in India have written a chapter that has never been matched, in modern times at least. There has been opposition to Gandhi's programme of non co-operation that was only to be expected. "Tories" have come to the fore in India in the twentieth century as they came in America in the eighteenth. But the spirit of '76 has come into being among the teeming millions of this great country. Their goal is the same as that of the American patriots that stood behind Hancock and Adams; it is only their methods that differ. Refusal to help the ruling class to rule has taken the place of mobilization; the vow in which every non-co-operationist promises to abstain from violence precludes resort to arms; good-will has taken the place of hate. Gandhi says, "I would not raise my hand against you even if I had the power, I expect to conquer you only by my suffering. Bravery on the battlefield is impossible for us. Bravery of the soul still remains open to us. I am engaged in invoking that bravery."

And the people respond in a way that is almost inexplicable to the Western mind. There is an authentic account of mob of 30,000 being quietly dispersed by a couple of a Swamis who reminded them of their vow to non-violence. Non-co-operationists, when arrested, make no defence. There is the idea of *Satyagraha*—or passive resistance—the holding fast at any cost to eternal truth. It is this that is supplying the resistance which no mere physical force can ever destroy.

Meantime non-co-operation with an alien people, which connotes co-operation with the best in the national life—for this policy has a positive as well as a negative side—is creating within the shell of the old, a new Indian State, to supersede the present dependent State, wherein

are being destroyed all that makes slaves of 300,000,000 people. It is giving India a new psychology of action—the will to live as a free nation—to create arbitration courts, to build up the village organization system, to start new schools, to revive Indian industries, in a word, to provide for a better life, a new life, and more life for the down-trodden masses.

Non-co operation of the Indians with the ruling power may be described as rejection; but rejection of the evil means acceptance of the good, and this acceptance it is—this putting aside of death for life—that has brought about the Indian renaissance. It is the positive side of the non-co-operation movement and it is the crowning success of Gandhi's whole programme.

The strangest revolutionary programme that the world has ever seen! And well may the world think on what it will mean to the future if such a programme succeeds—the outlawing of physical force in every field and the fulfilment of Christ's admonition expressed in the so little understood words, "Turn the other cheek!" This means the saving of humanity from that terrible god, Moloch, who takes his toll from the finest of the men of the race, lays his fell hand upon the children, and reaches into the future—even unto the fourth generation.

Although Gandhi is the greatest foe to the Government of India from the point of view of the British, and although, by his own admission, he is seditious, he is standing between the government and open, armed insurrection. Now and again reports of uprisings come through in spite of the British censorship. India is having more than a rebellion. It is having a struggle between Caesar's and Christ's way of fighting.

The West is watching the people whose high privilege it is to prove to the world that the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth are practicable. Gandhi is a born leader, and all sorts and conditions of people are seconding him. These millions of men and women are carrying the fight for independence to the high ground of the spirit, and their goal is a free India. And India freed by such methods will mean a free world! —*The "Sinn Feiner" of New York.*

GANDHI

By

BENJAMIN COLLINS WOODBURY.

When shall there be again revealed a Saint,
 A holy man, a Saviour of his race,
 When shall the Christ once more reveal his face?
 Gautama left his 'bode without complaint,
 Till weary, hungered, desolate and faint.
 He sank beneath the bo-tree with his load,
 As on the Path of solitude he strode;
 And Jesus died to still the sinner's plaint.
 Lives there a man as faithful to his vow?
 Mahatma to a bounded race of men?
 Aye, Gandhi seeks his nation's soul to free;
 Unto the least. ye do it unto Me!
 Hath Buddha found in peace *Nirvana* now;
 Or doth a Christ walk on the earth again?

"Unity" Chicago.

GANDHI SAHIB

THE MAN OF THE MOMENT.

Who is this "egregious Mr. Gandhi" whose quaint designs propounded with all solemnity to bring the British Government to its knees and hasten the establishment of complete self-government in India arouse the enthusiasm of Indians and the ridicule of Europeans? He is the soul of India in revolt, the spirit of Indian discontent, the assertion of the East's equality with the West, most powerful and at the same time the most puzzling personality in India to-day. Physically, he hardly counts: scarce 5ft. 6in. in height, frail of body, humble in dress and, devoid of good looks, he presents an altogether undistinguished figure; but a light in the eye and a spring in the step mark him off from the common herd. Birth and caste yield him little prestige; his father was an obscure official in a native state and he himself is a barrister who ceased to practice some years ago. He comes not from the proud ranks of priest or soldier; his caste is that of the trader; but seven years in England and twenty in South Africa have familiarised him, with the wider world of men and affairs and given him a knowledge of the English language possessed by few of his countrymen. He is no orator; and yet he commands the ear of India. He lays no claim to scholarship, he has written nothing with any prospect of immortality. He is the nominee of no party, and yet to-day at the early age of 52 he holds the first place in the hearts of his countrymen. Wherein lies his power? The answer is obvious—in the man himself. This man of humble birth with the light in his eye and the step of a pioneer, this saint turned politician, this returned exile breathing the doctrines of Tolstoy and Ruskin, this "egregious Mr. Gandhi"

is the biggest man in India. We have nobody in this country to whom we can liken him: a General Booth turned politician or a Reverend Roth Smillie might serve as a possible approach to a Western comparison, but even there we should be far from the real Gandhi. He baffles classification. Here, for example, are a few estimates that came within my own knowledge. 'Sir, he is a God,' was the reverent verdict of a Bengali station-master; 'God has given only one Gandhi Sahib in this millennium,' was the fine tribute of an unlettered villager. 'Gandhi is our Mahatma' (our superman) was the faith of a student disciple. "This man reminds me of the Apostle Paul," said a shrewd Government official who had evidently been to a Sunday school in his youth; 'Beware of Gandhi,' wrote a valued friend, 'he is a revolutionary of a most dangerous type.' I have heard him further described as a 'charlatan,' a 'madman,' a 'visionary,' 'a menace to British rule,' an 'astute politician who hides his real designs under a mask of guileless simplicity,' an 'irresponsible and unscrupulous agitator,' or 'a country cousin,' the 'saviour of his country,' and the 'egregious Mr. Gandhi.' This, then, is no common man, be he revolutionary or evolutionary, prophet or politician, saint or sinner, agitator or statesman, madman or wise man, saviour or wrecker, mere man or superman; come he in peace or come he in war, he arrests attention and demands a hearing. He is not to be dismissed by the fine sarcasm of an editorial in an English newspaper nor rendered ridiculous by the foolish worship of admiring disciples: in him the current discontents of India begotten of certain unpopular legislative measures, agrarian and industrial grievances, social inequalities at home and abroad, the implications of the great war and the aftermath of martial law in the Punjab, find expression and he can only be silenced when these are remedied or allayed.

But what manner of man is this? He is a patriot. I have never known a more Indian Indian. He is, moreover, a man of the people. Poverty is the badge of his tribe; the clothes he wears were probably woven by himself—one of his hobbies is handloom weaving; his wants are few—he exists mainly on nuts and fruits; he always travels third class on the railway—a sure token of humility in India, and he is big enough and human enough to break through the conventions of caste and custom in order to eat with pariahs. He will even dine with a Christian missionary! Either a touch of nature makes him wondrous kind or diplomacy drives him to strange companionships and unlikely dinner parties. He is a saint in homespun; but the man is never lost in the saint, for this strangely assorted democrat maintains against heavy odds a keen sense of humour. Then he is a man who bears in his body the marks of suffering. Here, if anywhere, we light on the secret of his power. This man has suffered for being an Indian; his patriotism has been put to the test, time and again, notably in South Africa, where he surrendered a lucrative practice at the bar in order to share the afflictions of his people, and where his championship of their cause led him frequently to prison and on one occasion to the verge of a violent death at the hands of a misguided countryman. These marks command respect. He is of the stuff of which martyrs are made.

A partisan in politics, Gandhi is no bigot in religion. He calls himself a Hindu, but that is a term exceeding broad, and in many matters he shares common ground with Christians and Mahomedans. In fact, his ardent sympathy with the latter contributed largely to the gravity of the Khilafat agitation. He is a disciple of Tolstoy and Ruskin; but he reverences the Christ, and quotes as freely from the Sermon on the Mount as from

the Gita. He sees in the Apostle Paul's eulogy of love a foreshadowing of his own doctrine of 'soul force,' and Calvary as the supreme symbol of sacrifice, is to him holy ground. Familiarity with the Christian Scriptures is a remarkable feature of this remarkable man. Courage and sincerity are closely allied and Gandhi fears neither friend nor foe. He speaks his mind with refreshing candour; and herein he is a man apart, for Indians generally are disinclined to say what they think and state unpleasant truths. Determination is another arresting characteristic. Determination is not far removed from doggedness and we must confess that the 'egregious Mr. Gandhi' is a 'thrawn devil.' Once set on a certain course nothing moves him but disaster. This was tragically illustrated in his advocacy of 'passive resistance,' which led, in some measure at least, to the outburst of mob fury that ushered in the reign of terror in the Punjab. Notwithstanding this obstinate strain in him he knows the value of compromise, and has proved himself more than once a shrewd man of affairs. Few practical politicians at the age of 52 have a better record of something attempted, something done. His record in South Africa will bear the closest scrutiny, and all who read it must bear tribute, however reluctantly, to his resource as well as his patriotism. Returning to India late in life, he plunged with eager spirit into its problems, and many hailed him as the natural successor of Gokhale—one of the greatest Indians of all time. For a time social and economic questions claimed him; he intervened effectively in agrarian troubles in Champaran and Kaira and showed so little (?) resource in handling labour problems; he advocated the revival of cottage industries, notably handloom weaving, and pleaded earnestly for the recovery of self-respect among his people; female emancipation found in him an ardent champion, and education, on

Indian lines, a powerful advocate. Ultimately, impelled by the sovereign motive of patriotism, he entered the troubled arena of Indian politics and he stands out to-day the acknowledged leader of the extremist wing of the Nationalist party and the author of the policy of non-co-operation. This is frankly a policy of boycott, and its avowed object is by rendering the present Government futile and impossible, to win complete self-government for India. Primarily it had in view the modification of the Peace Treaty with Turkey and reparation for the alleged miscarriage of justice in the Punjab; but these minor claims are now merged in the supreme claim for immediate and complete Home Rule.

We do well to remember that this no-co-operation movement has behind it not only the dominating personality of Gandhi but also the following sources of discontent:—(1) The Rowlatt Act—a measure designed to deal immediately and drastically with sedition, but carried through in the teeth of the vehement opposition of educated India. (2) The Peace Treaty with Turkey, the terms of which by their alleged unfairness to the Sultan of Turkey and his empire, aroused the deep resentment of Indian Mohammedans. (3) The unfortunate and tragic happenings in the Punjab in April, 1919: 'martial law and no damned nonsense' may be a sovereign remedy in desperate emergencies, but in the Punjab if it averted a mutiny, as its defenders claim, it left behind an embittered populace and wounded the heart of the province. (4) The treatment of Indians in South Africa and elsewhere—the badge of inferiority is harder to bear as the national consciousness in India gains in strength. (5) The acute economic pressure created by the war and the apparent helplessness of Government to relieve the situation. (6) Ever-recurring agrarian and industrial troubles, turned so easily to politi-

cal account, since the grievances, as a rule, are genuine ; and (7) The universal spirit of revolt against things as they are in the world to day, and vocal in India as elsewhere. Bearing these things in mind, it is not altogether surprising that ardent spirits like Mr. Gandhi have come to the conclusion that British Administration in India has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Things, they argue, could not be worse under Indian rule. That they are mistaken hardly affects the issue, they are out to make India mistress within her own house and the spirit of haste now dominates their counsels. Hitherto the goal of educated India has been self-government within the Empire, today the extremist wing of the Nationalist party define their objective 'as self-government by all legitimate and peaceful means.' The reassuring words within 'the British Empire' are dropped, and the possibility of separation must therefore be faced. In the meantime India may become a vast Ireland.

I am of opinion, however, that the policy of non-co-operation will fail in its immediate objective for two very good reasons. (1) It runs counter to human nature. It asks the lawyer to give up his practice, the trader to confine himself to Indian goods, the political to shun the Councils, the politician to renounce his titles, the students to withdraw from Government schools, and the parent to cease propagating his kind till Home Rule is won. This is magnificent, but it levies an impossible tax on Indian human nature as at present constituted. (2) It is dictated by no overmastering need. It overlooks the salient fact that the peasant, the man that really matters in India, and to whom political power must ultimately pass—has yet to be persuaded that Home Rule is a good thing, far less than immediate necessity. But whether non-co-operation succeeded or fail, Gandhi himself will triumph, for he repre-

sents the soul of a people and the man is bigger than his methods. Ere we part from him let us remember that his campaign is inspired by love of India rather than hatred of Great Britain. He is singularly free from race prejudice. He was with us heart and soul in the struggle with Germany as he was with us years ago when as captain of an Indian company of stretcher bearers, he helped us against the Boers. He counted among his friends the late Lord Roberts; he may find another in Lord Reading. When in course of time the 'United States of India,' come into existence, I hazard the opinion that history will regard the spectacle as an outcome of the works and worth of the 'egregious Mr. Gandhi,' as well as the crowning triumph of British statesmanship in India. —*The Glasgow Herald.*

PEASANT-POLITICIAN-STATESMAN

By

ARTHUR S. DRAPE

London Representative of "New York Tribune"—

A host of officials in the India Office in Whitehall, a swarm of government servants in India, a thousand and one traders in London, Bombay and Calcutta know, "M. Gandhi" and fear him. To them he appears a greater menace to the British Empire than all the revolutionists, Bolshevik, agitators, Indian fanatics and other trouble makers of the last fifty years.

But who is "M. Gandhi"? In the "Asiatic Review" for October, N. M. Samarth, a distinguished lawyer and prominent leader of the Moderate Movement in India, writes:—

"M. Gandhi is not an extremist in the sense in which that term is generally applied and understood in Indian

politics. Indian extremists, rightly viewed are Indian patriots in an angry mood. That mood necessarily postulates absence of cool-headedness.

“ M. Gandhi is nothing, if not cool-headed. He is an idealist pure and simple—an idealist, with an unshakable faith in adamantine “ soul force ” as the only force opposed to physical force, which can compel the most powerful Government, however stern and unbending, to yield to the dictates.

STRENGTH IN SINCERITY.

“ His strength lies in his transparent sincerity and honesty of purpose and his unflinching determination to practise what he preaches at all risks and at all hazards.

Though the name of “ M. Gandhi ” appears in every article on India published in this review, which reflects to a more or less degree the Government view, there is not one word against him morally, no charge that he is corrupt, that he is seeking personal honour or reward. “ M. Gandhi ” is incorruptible. He cannot be bought.

This remarkable Indian, with the wisdom of a statesman, the cleverness of a politician, the simplicity of a peasant, is fearless, idolized by a large part of his countrymen, feared by many but hated by none. His non-cooperation programme adopted by a majority of the delegates of Indian National Congress at Calcutta provided for one of the greatest boycott in the history of the world.

He asked for the boycott of the Courts by Indian lawyers and foreign goods by the public generally. M. Gandhi would withdraw boys and girls from schools and colleges and boycott the legislative councils which have just been reformed in an effort to meet the discontent in India.

This is the grave danger which England fears. M. Gandhi is at pains to warn his followers against the use of force. He urges them merely, to sit tight and that policy is infinitely harder to beat than a force of revolutionists.

WON AID OF CONGRESS.

In the opinion of Bombay correspondent of "The London Times" M. Gandhi won the Indian National Congress to his programme because of the almost universal bitterness following the Punjab disturbances. On the other hand, Mr. Samarth quoted earlier, declares that M. Gandhi found the soil ready after the passage of the Rowlatt Act by the Government of India, "betraying a spirit of riding rough shod on Indian public opinion as though it was absolutely unworthy of considerate treatment."

Then came the Khilafat agitation—the Muslim embitterment at the way in which Turkey was treated by the Allies, even though it is now common knowledge that the British Government took an extremely lenient attitude toward the Turk. These are only a few of the causes of the discontent, rather explanations of the tremendous "growth of the Gandhi movement."

Despite the efforts of the Indian Government to prove that it pressed the cause of Indian Muslims at the Peace Conference the belief apparently still exists that the British have been interfering with their religion and that the Sultan of Turkey, the Khilafat had been endangered."

An Indian writing recently in the "Nation" drew an interesting pen picture of M. Gandhi as now a revivalist "clad in the simplest of hand-woven garments, living on the most frugal diet."

According to this writer, M. Gandhi is not a Nationalist who points out to his following like a modern Moses the land of promise lying in the distance. He is not enamoured of western institutions. He has no belief in industrialism which is bound to follow in the wake of western civilization.

GANDHI A REVIVALIST.

He is a revivalist. His appeal is to the past. What do the traditions, philosophy and culture of India lack, says he that we should wholesale import western ideas' and thus endanger our immemorial social fabric, which has provided so many saints and heroes? It is because India has turned away her gaze from the Vedas and the ancient philosophy that she had fallen upon evil days.

"Let her return to the past and all will be well. Here lies the irresistible appeal of M. Gandhi to the populace. For in matters of religion and social reform the average Indian is what the average European was in the Middle Ages.

"Religion is yet everything to him; he has not yet learned what the European has learned through bitter experience—to divorce politics from religion."

BRITISH ARE PUZZLED.

Here too, lies the distrust that most of the younger generations feel against M. Gandhi's proposals. For good or for evil, India has been committed to a system of government which, rightly or wrongly has been called Western, we have too, plunged into the deepest recesses of industrialism. M. Gandhi would have us deliberately set the hands of the clock backward. Away with lawyers, doctors, railways, machinery, they are an abomination before the sight of the Lord."

British Government have had many problems, many strange opponents to handle. President De Valera of the "Irish Republic" is a worthy antagonist but his methods are not new or unusual. Generals Botha and Smuts were tough enemies twenty years ago, but they fought along orthodox lines. Lenin and Trotsky have introduced some new tactics but their strategy generally is not new. M. Gandhi is different; he is a radical reactionary. He is fighting in his own way for Indian progress, but banning all western methods. He is the antithesis of Lenin and De Valera. The British are frank to confess that they are puzzled.

MAHATMA GANDHI

By

BEN SPOOR, M. P.

Of course, the central figure (in the Congress) was Mahatma Gandhi. Who and what is this man of whom it can be said as it was said of one of old that even his enemies "can find no fault in him"? His bitterest opponents unite in tributes to his transparent sincerity, moral courage, and spiritual intensity. (One can, of course, disregard the irresponsible comments of certain members of the British Parliament whose cloudy prejudice obscures judgment—their remedy of "hang Gandhi" has just that weight which a pitiful bigotry ensures). Even Sir Valentine Chirol, while of opinion that Gandhi is "more unbalanced," suggests that he has "increased in spiritual stature." Some folks believe Mahatmaji is mad—all who know him agree that he is good. In this topsy-turvy world it may well be that goodness and honesty lie strangely near to madness. In an age of false values what chance has Right? And with Truth on the scaffold and Wrong

on the throne, it is too much to expect fair estimates of men and movements. Still, to those who have met and talked with Gandhi, who have seen him in a small business meeting or holding vast multitudes under same subtler spell than mere oratory produces; we have sat alone with him in the quiet, or seen the eager throng pressing around to touch the hem of his garment or to kneel and touch his feet—to those he seems to possess a power granted to few. Call it madness if you like, there is a strength in that frail body which defies all the combinations of political expediency however highly-organised they may be. Gandhi has probably a larger following than any living man. And it is not the "masses" only who accept his leadership. He is "Mahatmaji" to intellectuals, even highly-placed officers of the Government exist who recognise in him the compelling authority of real character. The West has produced a Lenin, strong, masterful, relentless alike in logic and method. The East had given birth to a Gandhi, equally strong, masterful and relentless. But whilst the former pins his faith on force the latter relies on non-resistance. One trusts the sword, the other trusts the spirit. In an extraordinary manner these men appear to incarnate those fundamentally opposing forces that—behind all the surface struggles of our day—are fighting for supremacy. —*Farewell letter to the Press, Jan. 1921.*

INDIA'S ROLL-CALL

By

MAUDE RALSTON SHARMAN.

Hail Gandhi! soul of Asia, who works for *Dharma's*
rule

And calls upon a Higher Self, man's lower self to
school

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is 51, with greying hair, unflinchingly truthful eyes, and slim, eloquent hands. His voice is low-pitched and monotonous yet pleasing, whether in Gujerati or English.....

'G.'s' genius lies in making lost causes live. To his disarming sweetness of a saint he adds all the arts of the advocate. In South Africa he matched even General Smuts. They sparred for years over Indian claims without quarrelling.....

The key to Gandhi and Gandhism is wrapped in his self-revealing sentence: 'Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise: I, however, who wear the guise of politician, am at heart a religious man.'

—*The Daily Mail.*

“ THE REVOLT OF PASSIVITY.”

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

“ The Nation and the Atheneum ” writes—Mr. Gandhi is a figure of such significance that even the remoteness, mental and physical, of India cannot obscure him. One realizes that he is in India what Tolstoy was in Russia, a personality which incarnates the characteristic spiritual vision of his race. His tactics may seem exasperating to our Western minds, and they most certainly set a baffling problem for the Indian administration but the peculiarity of them is that they are evidently much more than tactics. A Western politician, when he invents tactics, simply adapts means to ends on the plane of everyday reality. There is a certain similarity between the methods of Sinn Fein and those of the Indian Non-Co-operators, but Irishmen are Westerners like the rest of us, and there is no spiritual mystery about their methods.

On the surface, perhaps, Mr. Gandhi's notion of the way to achieve "Swaraj" looks as realistic as the earlier tactics of Sinn Fein. One proclaims in principle a boycott of Anglo-Indians and of the whole official machine. In particular, one abstains from elections. The coolies are recalled from the Assam plantations. Above all, no English goods, and especially no Lancashire goods, must be purchased. Students are withdrawn from all the official or Westernizing colleges. Then, since Indians must have cotton goods, and the native mills are not numerous enough to supply them, the students and other enthusiasts are bidden to provide themselves with spinning-wheels and from the working of this primitive hand tool, plied by amateurs and boys, India is exhorted to expect her freedom. Mr. Gandhi's predictions are sanguine. He has positively said that complete success is possible by October, and that the movement will have failed unless full "Swaraj" is attained by the last day of the present year. Imperialism is we think, a tougher force than he realizes. But his conception is reasonable enough as a tactic. The root of all modern Imperialism is economic, and if the Indian market were to disappear beyond hope of recovery, there certainly might be a disposition to consider whether we need delay longer in conceding the full Dominion status. For our part we have no belief in the method of slow and gradual concessions when once a nation is really roused to demand the instant satisfaction of its claim.

But there is a disquieting aspect in this Indian movement. Rabindranath Tagore, fresh from interpreting the East to Europe, has drawn attention to it. He has, he says, brought himself only with great reluctance to dissent from the method of non-co-operation. He is an Indian patriot, and he gave up his knighthood as his own

form of protesting against our brutalities in the Punjab. But he is out of sympathy with the passivity of Mr. Gandhi's attitude. This pride in being able to dispense with everything, even with the gifts of Western science is certainly Oriental. But it is unconstructive and negative. It is a lapse into the instinctive Buddhism of the East. The Oriental attains to spiritual perfection and to a vision of the Infinite by denying and renouncing everything. All particular things, are discarded, and the Infinite is, therefore, a mere emptiness and abstraction. The higher spirits may gain a personal sublimity in the process, but in the mass this attitude tends only to vacancy, to apathy, and to lethargy. The Western mind seeks its Infinite in the system of particular things. We all know its foible. It pursues the particulars and misses the system. It is earthbound, but it is busy, interested, active. The ideal of men like Tagore is rather a synthesis of the two attitudes. The East must learn to seek the Infinite in the fullness and harmony and system of particular things, but it must avoid our vulgar habit of immersing ourselves in them till we lose all vision of the whole.

It is easy to apply this metaphysics to the particular case. To recur to our comparison with Sin Fein. The Irish movement had its own method of emancipating the Irish consumer and producer from the English middleman. It fostered the farmers' co-operative organization. In so doing it advanced from a rather primitive economic system to an evidently higher one, from wasteful individualism to co-ordinated, economic progress with defence against foreign exploitation. When the Indian Non-co-operator substitutes the primeval spinning-wheel for the steamdriven "jenny" of Lancashire, he is attempting to beat a higher form of production by a

lower. One need not be blind to the ugliness of the industrial system to realize that mass production by machinery means an immense economy of human effort.

The attempt is pitiable, and even ludicrous, when young men who should be studying at a University are invited to do with their hands and feet, in weeks of dull toil what a machine would do as well in an hour. Does India really mean to turn her back on science and technical achievement? To our thinking, the road to Swaraj to the emancipation of India from foreign exploitation, lies very largely in the study of Western technology. We should have thought that a constructive patriot instead of setting these students to the sore and hopeless task of vieing with machinery would have bidden them work with redoubled zeal to master engineering, or chemistry, or the science of agriculture.

That advice is not English materialism. Mr. Gandhi's spinning tactics are realistic, economic, even materialistic. But it is a resourceless, primitive materialism. If Mr. Gandhi would do for the wasteful, unproductive, primeval agriculture of India what Mr. Russell has done for the agriculture of Ireland he would reach his goal more surely, if also slowly. It would be the work of a generation and not of a few months. But at the end of it the whole standard of life, the entire habits of thought of the Indian peasantry, would be raised with the fertility of the soil itself. If in doing this he could keep at arm's length the native exploiter and create a truly social system of production (as Irishmen are doing), he would make a moral, as well as an economic, advance. The last thing one wants to see acclimatized in the East is our grasping, gain-loving mentality and its commercial and predatory habits. But at the risk of seeming insular, we do not like to see the East turning its back on Western science. To go no

higher and no further, we are sure that without it the horror of over-population in India and in China can never be met. To take higher ground, we are equally sure that such a man as Sir J. C. Bose, with his fascinating revelations about plant life, has done more to realize the Infinite than all the negations of all the fakirs.

We should be sorry to seem to preach to Indians, however, and to leave our own offences unnoticed. If they are being driven into fanaticism which strikes us as deplorable, not merely because it is anti-British, but because it is unconstructive, the goad to this folly came from us. It was the brutalities and insults of the O'Dwyers and the Dyers which shook the balance of a movement which had and will have again, better possibilities. It is because some of our officials and soldiers made Indians, feel that our yoke is inconsistent with elementary self-respect, that they cast about them for any means of emancipation that might yield its results in a few months. Nor can we forget the provocations of our Turkish policy. What Indians specially resent, about it is that against a people with an Oriental religion we back Greek Imperialism, simply because it is nominally Christian. Our own personal view, based upon a fairly close experience, is that, on the average, the morals of the Eastern Christian, whether in public or in private life, are no higher than those of the Moslem. His religion has no relation whatever to conduct. It is partly an authorized magic, partly a nationalist cult, but it is wholly unethical. The Eastern Christians are frequently, and have been recently, guilty, when they get the chance, of massacre on a horrible scale. The instinctive partisanship which sides with an Eastern race because it is Christian is natural, but it does not stand the test of experience, and it is rightly calculated to turn the rest of the East against us. We have a duty to protect all suffering

minorities, and that duty our Government, in the case of the Armenians, has shamefully neglected. But to turn from this to the promotion of racial or religious wars of conquest is an error of temper which is costing us dear in India. Until we insist on peace in Turkey, on terms that are fair to Turks as well as to Greeks, India will reflect in her unsest the facilities of her people.

THE SOUL OF IT

BY

Prof. GILBERT MURRAY.

Let me take a present day instance of this battle between a soul and a Government, a very curious instance, because it is almost impossible without more knowledge than most people in England possess to say who was wrong and who right.

About the year 1889 a young Indian student, called Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, came to England to study law. He was rich and clever, of a cultivated family, gentle and modest in his manner. He dressed and behaved like other people. There was nothing particular about him to show that he had already taken a Jain vow to abstain from wine, from flesh, and from sexual intercourse.

He took his degree and became a successful lawyer in Bombay, but he cared more for religion than law. Gradually his asceticism increased. He gave away all his money to good causes except the meagrest allowance. He took vows of poverty. He ceased to practise at the law because his religion—a mysticism which seems to be as closely related to Christianity as it is to any traditional Indian religion—forbade him to take part in a system which tried to do right by violence. When I met him in England in 1914, he ate, I believe, only rice, and drank only water, and slept

on the floor; and his wife who seemed to be his companion in everything lived in the same way. His conversation was that of a cultivated and well-read man with a certain indefinable suggestion of saintliness. His patriotism, which is combined with an enthusiastic support of England against Germany is interwoven with his religion, and aims at the moral regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, with no barriers between one Indian and another, to the exclusion as far as possible of the influence of the West with its industrial slavery, its material civilisation, its moneyworship, and its wars. (I am merely stating this view, of course, not either criticising it or suggesting that it is right.)

Oriental peoples, perhaps owing to causes connected with their form of civilisation, are apt to be enormously influenced by great saintliness of character when they see it. Like all great masses of ignorant people, however, they need some very plain and simple test to assure them that their hero is really a saint and not a humbug, and the test they habitually apply is that of self-denial. Take vows of poverty, live on rice and water, and they will listen to your preaching, as several of our missionaries have found; come to them eating and drinking and dressed in expensive European clothes—and they feel differently. It is far from a perfect test, but there is something in it. At any rate I am told that Gandhi's influence in India is now enormous, almost equal to that of his friend the late Mr. Gokhale.

And now for the battle. In South Africa there are some 150,000 Indians, chiefly in Natal; and the South African Government, feeling that the colour question in its territories was quite sufficiently difficult already, determined to prevent the immigration of any more Indians, and if possible to expel those who were already there. This

last could not be done. It violated a treaty; it was opposed by Natal, where much of the industry depended on Indian labour; and it was objected to by Indian Government and the Home Government. Then began a long struggle. The whites of South Africa determined to make life in South Africa undesirable, if not for all Indians, at least for all Indians above the coolie class. Indians were specially taxed, were made to register in a degrading way, they were classed with Negroes, their thumb-prints were taken by the police as if they were criminals. If owing to the scruples of the Government the law was in any case too lenient, patriotic mobs undertook to remedy the defect. Quite early in the struggle the Indians in South Africa asked Mr. Gandhi to come and help them. He came as a barrister in 1893; he was forbidden to plead. He proved his right to plead; he won his case against the Asiatic Exclusion Act on grounds of constitutional law, and returned to India. Gandhi came again in 1895. He was mobbed and nearly killed at Durban. I will not tell in detail how he settled down eventually in South Africa as a leader and counsellor to his people; how he found a settlement in the country outside Durban, where the workers should live directly on the land, and all be bound by a vow of poverty. For many years he was engaged in constant passive resistance to the Government and constant efforts to raise and ennoble the inward life of the Indian community. But he was unlike other strikers or resisters in this: that mostly the resister takes advantage of any difficulty of the Government in order to press his claim the harder. Gandhi, when the Government was in any difficulty that he thought serious, always relaxed his resistance and offered his help. In 1899 came the Boer War. Gandhi immediately organised an Indian Red Cross unit. There was a popular movement for refusing it and treating it as seditious. But it

was needed. The soldiers wanted it served through the War, and was mentioned in despatches, and thanked publicly for its skilful work and courage under fire. In 1904 there was an outbreak of plague in Johannesburg and Gandhi had private hospital opened before the public authorities had begun to act. In 1906 there was a Native rebellion in Natal; Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher-bearers, whose work seems to have proved particularly dangerous and painful. Gandhi was thanked by the Governor in Natal and shortly afterwards thrown into jail in Johannesburg.

Lastly in 1913, when he was being repeatedly imprisoned among criminals of the lowest class, and his followers were in jail to the number 2,500; in the very midst of the general strike of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal there occurred the sudden and dangerous railway strike which endangered for the time the very existence of organised society in South Africa. From the ordinary agitator's point of view the game was in Gandhi's hands. He had only to strike his hardest. Instead he gave order for his people to resume work till the Government should be safe again. I cannot say how often he was imprisoned, how often mobbed and assaulted, or what pains were taken to mortify and humiliate him in public. But by 1913 the Indian case had been taken up by Lord Hardinge and the Government of India. An Imperial Commission reported in his favour on most of the points at issue and an Act was passed according to the Commission's recommendations, entitled the Indian Relief Act.

My sketch is very imperfect; the story forms an extraordinary illustration of a contest which was won, or practically won, by a policy of doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring all the punishment the other side could inflict until they became weary and

ashamed of punishing. A battle of the unaided human soul against overwhelming material force, and it ends by the units of material force gradually deserting their own banners and coming round to the side of the soul!

Persons in power should be very careful how they deal with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasure, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase upon his soul. (*Hibbert Journal*.)

THE OPPRESSION OF THE POOR

BY

Rev. C. F. ANDREWS, M. A.

WHEN I was asked the question a short time ago,—“What is the central problem of India to-day?” the answer that came to my lips, without a moment’s hesitation, was this,—

“*The Oppression of the Poor.*”

I have just come out of the furnace of affliction at Chandpur, where, in a cholera encampment, we were forced to see, day after day, the misery of our brothers and sisters and their little children, the refugees from Assam. If this article bears upon its surface the marks of the fire that burnt within us, I know that I shall be pardoned by all those who read my words with understanding hearts. For I cannot, at such a time, keep a judicial aloofness from my subject. I must put down just that which is in my mind. This article is written soon after the occurrence, with the vision of the scene itself still in front of me and with all the recent suffering still vividly present before me. I can picture it while I am writing. What we have just

been through cannot be forgotten easily and lightly. I am giving hot memories, not cold, calculated thoughts,—memories that still burn, even while I put them down in this Shantiniketan Ashram, where all around me is smiling with peace, in the pure joy of the fresh monsoon rains, and where nature herself is rejoicing in the beauty of new life.

The story has been already told, how the refugees came down from the tea gradens of Assam, emaciated beyond description; with stark hunger looking out of their eyes; with scarcely sufficient rags to cover their own nakedness; with little children who could hardly stand, their legs were so thin; with babies, pinched by hunger, seeking in vain to draw nourishment from their mothers' breasts. I have seen many sights of misery and destitution before,—in a sense, my life has been full of such sights; for I have lived and worked among the poor. But I have never seen such utter misery as I saw among these refugees, when I met them on the railway platform at Naihati first of all, and then afterwards at Chandpur itself. What was the actual origin of their exodus, has still to be investigated. But one thing at least was evident, from first to last, as we went in and out among them. In their destitution, they were miserable beyond description. Misery was the spur which had goaded them forward on their journey. They had one hope left, to which they clung with a pathos that was as great as their suffering itself. It was the hope, that through Mahatma Gandhi, deliverance would come from all their burden of sorrow and affliction.

We watched each day these poor refugees from Assam, in the cholera encampments on both sides of the river channel. We saw the courage that sustained them. We noticed how their spirits were kept up, during those long-drawn days of disappointment, by this hope which I have mentioned. To the men, who were refugees, it gave

patience and endurance. To the women, it was like a passion of the soul; and they were able to enkindle something of their enthusiasm even in their little children. The national volunteers, who worked among them, used to talk to one another with wonder about this. It was a transforming faith that raised the whole scene above the commonplace, and touched it with spiritual beauty.

It is true, indeed, that Mahatma Gandhi himself has set his face firmly against any religious cult being originated in his name. He has repeatedly stated, that he is an ordinary man with no claim to supernatural powers, beyond those to which ordinary men may attain by trust in the supreme. But this devotion which we all witnessed at Chandpur, among these poor refugees, was rather the devotion to an idea than to a person. Mahatma Gandhi represented to them that idea, tinged with his own personality, and it filled their minds to the full. His name was the concrete symbol which expressed it. He was the embodiment to them of their ultimate deliverance from oppression.

I must tell, at some length, one story which touched my heart most deeply. As we made our voyage with the ast contingent of refugees from Chandpur to Goalundo, I had been walking to and fro along the decks of the crowded steamer. We had left behind us for good, oh! how thankfully, the cholera camp with all its misery. There was a busy eagerness among the refugees and a hum of expectation. One slender figure on the upper deck had stirred my compassion each time I had lingered near him. He was a little boy, about twelve years old, who had recovered (so I was told) from cholera, but was still so weak and thin, that he had to be carried on board and to lie on the deck during the voyage. While I stood beside him, we happened to pass out of the midstream of the

great river. The steamer came round a bend of the river quite close to the shore. Bright, healthy children on the bank were running along and shouting,—“Gandhi Maharaj ki jai! Gandhi Maharaj ki jai!”

I looked at the invalid child on deck. His face shone with excitement and he raised his head with great difficulty. Then he waved his hand to the children running along the bank, and cried in a voice that was pitifully weak,—“Gandhi Maharaj ki jai!”

Out of all the suffering and misery, which we have been through, the haunting face of that child still stands out before my mind. There was something in it, through all the weakness, that seemed to have conquered death. It carried a light within the soul, which the Upanishads have called, ‘the joy that is deathless.’ As I stood watching him, lying there on the deck and waving his hand, the tears came streaming from my eyes. I remembered the words of the great prayer,—

Asato ma sad gamaya,
 Tamaso ma jyotir gamaya,
 Mrityor mamritam gamaya,.....
 Avir, Avir, ma edhi.

“Lead me from untruth to truth; lead me from darkness to light; lead me from death to immortality. O thou Manifest One, be thou Manifest in me.”

The thought came like a flash to me, that here, in this child’s faith, God himself was being revealed. Through all this suffering and pain, the words were finding their fulfilment,—“God manifests himself in forms of deathless joy.”

In the midst of all these scenes, the question was borne in upon my mind with great insistence,—“Is this that I have seen one of the signs of a new religious awakening throughout the length and breadth of India?” It has

seemed to me, that there is much to-day which points to a positive answer. The poor of India, who have been so terribly oppressed by governments and priestcrafts, by landowners and profiteers, have cried to God for deliverance. They are becoming more and more certain, that the hour of their freedom is at hand. During the past few months, it has been my own lot in life to travel over almost every part of the North of India, from East to West and from West to East,—to places as far distant from one another as Sindh and East Bengal. On these journeys, I have seen strange happenings and witnessed a new spirit. This new spirit, I am convinced, goes far deeper than the political movement of our times. It has its own initial impulse from the poor. Again and again, it has appeared to me to bear striking analogy to what we read in history concerning the fateful days before the French Revolution, when the oppressed peasantry of France awoke to the new idea of the equality and brotherhood of Man.

Let me try to put my thought more concretely, even at the risk of repetition. The one thing that has impressed itself upon my mind and heart lately, more than any other, is this. The countless millions of the poor in India are all astir. They are coming forth out of their long dark night of ignorance and oppression. They have symbolised their yearning for deliverance in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. Pitifully, eagerly, pathetically, and sometimes almost tragically, they have placed their all,—their destiny, their hopes, their aims, their very life itself,—in his keeping. They are quite firm in their faith, that he alone can bring deliverance. This is not happening in one place only. Time after time, recently, I have been in the company of the poor and the outcast and the destitute; I have been to gatherings, where the untouchables and others have flocked together in crowds to meet me and I have listened

with intense pain to the story of their afflictions. They appear now everywhere to be taking their courage in both hands as they have never done before. The incidents with regard to oppression which they relate,—with reference to forced labour and forced supplies and forced impositions by the police and subordinate officers and with reference also to the forced impositions of caste customs and caste restrictions, equally tyrannical,—have made my blood boil to hear. They have often exhibited an emotion which was almost violent in its urge upwards towards the surface. I have seen in it something of that *elan vital*, of which Henri Bergson writes, and have thanked God for it, even though it has not seldom startled me by its explosive energy. I do not think there can be any question, that a flame has been kindled within and the fire has begun to burn. Again I would make reference to the days before the French Revolution, as perhaps the closest analogy to what is happening before our very eyes in India to-day.

There is one picture, which I may give, by way of illustration. I was in Patna Junction Railway Station on my way back from Gorakhpur. Late in the day, as the sun was setting behind a ridge of dark monsoon clouds, with streaks of gold piercing through the gathering darkness, I was waiting quietly on the platform, trying as best as I could to collect my thoughts while the evening was drawing to its close. Many persons had come to see me and quiet was difficult at such a time and place. The porters and sweepers and others,—whom the railway authorities call the 'menial staff'—having heard of my arrival, gathered round me in a body. They knew that I was a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, and they welcomed me on that account.

At first, they greeted me in silence, with their uplifted hands placed together in an attitude of prayer. Then one

of them, who was in the forefront as their leader, cried out,—“Gandhi Maharaj ki jai !” It was not a conventional and jovial shout, such as is often heard from processions that pass along the street. It was rather the solemn call of religion. A light came into their eyes, and their hands continued to be uplifted in prayer to the end. It was like an act of evening worship.

After this, they went back to their various duties on the railway. It was only a momentary flash, that I had seen,—a look, a gaze, a gesture ; but it spoke to me at once of the same emotion, which I had witnessed so many times before. It told me what depth of religious idealism there is in the hearts of the simple poor, and that evening scene in Patna Station, with the setting sun and the gathering darkness, brought back with a strange power the memory of sunsets at Chandpur. For there at Chandpur, again and again, just as the sun was setting, I had passed along the road and mingled with the groups of the Assam refugees, sitting in dejection, and had seen the look of hope return to their eyes, as they had raised the cry,—“Gandhi Maharaj ki jai !”

The darkness of that despair at Chandpur had been broken with a golden light of hope, even as those monsoon clouds, which formed the background of the scene at Patna Station. However great might be the sufferings of the poor, whether as the menial staff of a railway, or on the tea plantations, or elsewhere, life to them with such ideals of emancipation, as they were now enthusiastically grasping, was at least a nobler thing than the dull monotony that went before with no hope, no faith to cheer them. The crust of the surface of their poverty-stricken existence had been broken. The waters of life from beneath the hard rock had gushed forth ; and even if all should end in outward failure, who should say that it had been in vain ?

How wonderful is this spring of freshness that ever wells up from the hearts of the poor! And withal, how tragic is their suffering! People have often spoken slightly of the poor, and called them the 'lower classes',—as though the uneducated were also the unrefined; as though the illiterate were also the unlearned. But it is not so in truth. There is a wisdom and a refinement, which come from the very suffering itself, which the poor have constantly to bear. Who are we to despise them? It was Christ himself who turned away from the luxurious cities of Capernaum and Bethsaida, and went directly to the oppressed peasants of Galilee and pronounced blessing upon them, rather than upon the rich. "Blessed," he said, "are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven." Nay, further, Christ preferred even the company of the publicans and sinners, with their open vices, to the society of the wealthy Scribes and Pharisees, with their cloak of self-righteousness. For the very vices of those who are the outcast of society are on the surface, and they suffer punishment often beyond their deserving. But the vices of the wealthy are glazed over with all kinds of soothing palliatives, and therefore in this life they rarely suffer for their vices to the full.

Thus, there is always a fertile soil in the heart of the poor, which is ready to receive the good seed and to make it fruitful. A religious faith, that is able to strike its roots deep in this soil, is far more likely to flourish than some respectable and artificial creed, which owes its origin to conventionally-educated mankind. It is Mahatma Gandhi's fellow-suffering with the suffering poor: his fellow-poverty with the poverty-stricken poor: his fellow-hardship with the hardship-bearing poor, which has endeared him to their hearts. It is this which has won from them an instinctive reverence for his goodness. It is this, which

has made them flock to him from every country-side wherever he goes. It is this, which has made them follow his simple precepts, so that, in a few short months, intoxicating drink and 'drugs have marvellously decreased. It is this, which has caused a new hope to be born in millions of hearts, where before reigned only the blank apathy of despair.

What does this all mean? What will happen, if the signs which I have been trying to read are true?

There is a grim story about the French Revolution, which, if my memory serves, is told by Carlyle,—how the encyclopædists and the state record-keepers were busily absorbed in their files, when the Revolution burst upon them. They were told by the revolutionaries that, if they did not side with the poor, their "skins should form the parchments for the next records."—I do not believe, that the religious and social revolution in India, which is now so close upon us, will be violent in its character like the French Revolution. There is an innate love of peace in India which is not present in any other country. It is not in vain that the teaching of the Buddha permeated India for more than a thousand years. But, while there may be no ultimate appeal to force and force alone, yet the misery of the conflict will be terrible indeed, if the present almost complete aloofness of the officials from the common people continues, and if these same officials set themselves in final opposition to those whose lives are lived among the people and who suffer with the people.

I can well remember the year 1907, in the Punjab, and the popular disturbances of that year. At a most critical time, I implored an official to do some very simple thing in order to come in touch with the people. He turned to me sharply and said,—“Look at those files.” I told him

Carlyle's story about the French Revolution that I have just mentioned.

There has been no sign of any change for the better from that time to this. Rather, the heap of official files has grown greater. The mountain tops are still regarded as necessary for health and comfort. The foreign character of the Government is becoming still more foreign, in spite of the reforms and the added Indian members. This, at least, has been my own experience at Chandpur, where a crucial test was applied and the failure of Government to meet the test was manifest.

But I would go still further in recalling the bitterness of my experience. The English education which the country has been receiving, has created a gulf between the 'classes' and the 'masses', which is almost as wide as that between the Government and the poor. If Government's recent action, when tried in the balance has been found wanting, there has been much also that has been found wanting among those who have received to the full their English education, but, while obtaining it, have shamefully neglected the poor. The truth is, and it cannot be, too clearly stated, the English mode of life, with its motor car comforts, continually prevents the educated Indian, just as much as it does the educated Englishman, from coming into close and intimate contact with the poor of India.

Mahatma Gandhi has written in 'Young India' the following words:—"The fact is that it is impossible for any Viceroy to see the truth, living as he does on the mountain tops seven months in the year and in complete isolation. Even when he lives on the plains—with the big 'business house' of Government in Simla and the growing millions on the plains, there is a solid dead rock ;

and even the piercing cry of the feeble millions is broken into nothingness, as it heaves up to the mountain top from the plains." That is true of Darjeeling as well as Simla.

In the same copy of 'Young India,' we have a letter from Mr. Abbas Tyabji showing how the abandonment of the life-long habits formed by an almost purely English education and the taking to 'khaddar' had brought Mr. Abbas Tyabji himself close to the heart of the poor.

"I assure you," he writes, "you need not have the slightest anxiety about my health. The 'khaddar,' adopted at Bezwada, has made me twenty years younger. What an experience I am having! Everywhere I am received most cordially and affectionately, even by the women of the villages.....Some of our workers are lacking in 'go'. I suppose they represent the very respectable class, to which I have ceased to belong. Good heavens! What an experience! I have so much love and affection from the common folk to whom it is now an honour to belong. It is this *fakir's* dress, which has broken down all barriers. Now, men and women meet me, as I would have them meet me. If I had only known, years ago, how the *fenta*, the *saya*, the *angarakha*, the boots and stockings, separated me from my poorer brethren!"

I would go one step further still. The inhuman restrictions which have grown up along with the caste system, especially with regard to untouchability, have also placed a barrier between the higher castes and the poorest of the poor, which is no less a disgrace to mankind, than the separation between the 'classes' and the 'masses'. - If I have burnt with indignation at the action of the Gurkha soldiers, who were turned out to beat an

wound defenceless and sickly refugees by Government officials, I have also burnt with indignation no less deep at the wrongs done to my own Indian brothers and sisters by those, who have beaten and wounded the souls of the poor through branding them with the curse of untouchability. I write with shame as a Christian, as well as a humanitarian, because I have found out, after careful enquiry, that in the South of India my own Christian brothers and sisters are not seldom treated in this manner by Christians, who keep caste, even as my brothers and sisters among the Hindus are treated by high-caste Hindus.

I have written from a very full heart. What I have here stated in writing has been pent up in my mind for many weeks, some of it for many years. At the conclusion of this article, I repeat with all the emphasis I can command, what I wrote at the beginning, *The central problem of India to-day is the oppression of the poor!*

PRICE OF SWARAJYA

BY

S. E. STOKES.

“It is not the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but subjection to a foreign one, that destroys national character and extinguishes national spirit. When a people ceases to have a national character to maintain, they lose the main spring of whatever is laudable both in public and in private life, and the private sinks with the public character.” (Sir Thomas Munro.)

At times, as I ponder the strange incapacity of certain classes in this land to appreciate the significance of Mahatmaji's advent into the political life of India, a curious surpicion crosses my mind: Can it be that these good and

worthy people are worried and perplexed because a *man* has been born into the Indian nation—one who in all things sees, feels and acts as a free man? May it not be that unconsciously—instinctively—they shrink from such a being as from a sort of monstrosity? Is it not that they are unable to understand the psychological outlook of one who frankly takes it for granted that certain of his fundamental rights as a man are being infringed, and that the obvious thing is for him to refuse to permit it? Is it not possible that the whole training of their lives has rendered it difficult for them to understand how the question of wrongs done to India and Indians may be approached, except in the rather apologetic and tentative manner of those who are prepared to accept gratefully as a kindness that which Mahatmaji insists upon as a *right*?

If there be any truth in this suspicion, we shall be forced to infer that it demonstrates in the clearest manner the vital necessity of an immediate rectification of the relations between the rulers and the ruled in India, for it indicates that the psychological emasculation of certain important sections of the nation is an accomplished fact.

I can well understand that an Indian with the mental outlook of a *free man*, must be an altogether disconcerting phenomenon to the bureaucracy. It would be astonishing if it were otherwise, for that august body has not been evolved upon the supposition that it would have to deal with such an absurdity as a being who was both *an Indian and an equal*. But if the spectacle is as disconcerting to Mahatmaji's cultured and educated countrymen it is an ominous sign, and should lead to anxious reflection.

Yet that his point of view is disconcerting to many of them, there can be little doubt. They fear that the movement he has initiated may lead to violence and excess.

The very *idea* of such a state of affairs unnerves them; the thought of a course attended with any peril gives them a feeling of helplessness. In times of crisis and danger they would depend upon others, and trust to lawyers and legislation to win them a place among the free and self-respecting nations of the world. They would have Swarajya, but have it comfortably and without undue inconvenience. In short, they would argue and vote their nation freedom, pausing from time to time upon the way when there appeared to be any prospect of their efforts resulting in violence, or of danger to person or property. Yet by no such timorous road has any nation ever achieved Swarajya since the dawn of history.

SWARAJYA NO FOUNDLING.

We Nationalists do not believe that a people can calmly, gently, unconsciously enter into any Swarajya which is worth the having; or that a people can cease to be slaves without knowing it. To those who think differently we would say, "Other nations through pain and anguish of spirit, through sufferings of persons and property, by high-souled courage and endurance have attained that which you desire to win for the ignorant myriads of India by petitions, representations and legislative efforts. The greatest value to a people of Swarajya, is the soul-experience of the nation while attaining it. You would obtain Swarajya for slaves and then teach them to be free-spirited, but freedom has never come in this way to a people." It cannot be given from without; its advent is like child-birth. Mother India must bring it forth as her child, and travail in anguish for it as a mother. The Swarajya you dream of would be a *foundling* and no true offspring."

The ideal of the Congress Party precludes any desire to change one bureaucracy for another. To those asso-

ciated with it, *Swarajya* does not imply an India governed more sympathetically and understandingly by a limited group of worthy Indian literate. The *Swarajya* for which they are labouring must be born of the travail and the *karma* of the whole people; it must be the conscious expression of the awakened aspiration of all India. To secure this, they are prepared—if need be—that India should suffer the pangs of child-birth; they are not prepared to receive ‘a baby in a basket.’

India will attain *Swarajya* if her sons are prepared to suffer and sacrifice for their country—not otherwise.

“—Many in sad faith sought for her,
 Many with crossed hands sighed for her;
 But these out brothers fought for her,
 At life’s dear peril wrought for her,
 So loved her that they died for her !
 Their higher instinct knew,
 They love her best who to themselves are true,
And what they dare to dream of, dare to do !
 They followed her and found her
 Where all may hope to find,
 Not in the ashes of the burnt-out mind,
 But beautiful,—with danger’s sweetness round her:
 Where faith made whole with deed
 Breathes its awakening breath
 Into the lifeless creed.”

So sang a bard in those days when men not only dreamed but *dared* to make their dreams realities. Truth and justice,—the conviction that God has “created all men free and equal”—these were not to them abstract theories, subjects for essays and orations, or the alms that men should beg on bended knee. They were men’s *right*,

to be sought for, to be fought for, to be grasped upon those heights where they shone resplendent with 'danger's sweetness' round them.

And India has dreamed a dream, has seen a vision of a time when the people of this land—no longer the slaves of other men's ambitions—shall be able to look the rest of mankind in the face with the level glance of equals. It is a glorious dream and our hearts are fired by it.

PRICE OF SWARAJYA.

Swarajya! What man, in whom there survives any last shred of self-respect, does not thrill at the thought of it? What have not men in past ages suffered for it? What have they not endured to make their dream reality?

For Swarajya have tattered and hungry armies trudged through the wilderness, staining the snow-covered ground as they advanced with the blood of their bare and wounded feet. Emaciated and shelterless they have crouched shivering by their camp-fires through the long winter nights, chilled to the bone by icy winds and sleet and snow.

For Swarajya have mothers sent forth their sons, wives their husbands, maidens their lovers, to die alone and untended on distant battle-fields.

For the sake of Swarajya have men suffered the loss of all things, choosing rather to see their fields devastated and the homes they loved a mass of glowing embers, than to purchase a dishonourable security by subservience.

For Swarajya have men—and women too—suffered as exiles among strangers, languished for years in prison, died under the whip, by the bullet and on the gallows, esteeming it better to die as men than to live as slaves.

In all ages and among all nations to such has been given the place of honour; and rightly so, for it is through

the faith, the fearlessness and the self-sacrifice of such as these that humanity ever reaches upward toward the goal of its high destiny.

They have never been mendicants. They have never hunted for crumbs at the door of the powerful. They have never begged as a largest from others, what they knew they should achieve for themselves as men. Well might they have taken for themselves the famous motto, *Dieu et mon Droit*, for putting their trust in God they struggled for their *right* and the right of their fellows, in the face of overwhelming odds.

And yet, how often they achieved the apparently impossible. Before the depth of their conviction that their cause was just, and their profound faith that God was with them, potentates shrank back aghast and mighty empires clattered to the ground.

“ They were men,
Schooled the soul's inward gospel to obey,
Though leading to the lion's den.
They felt the habit-hallowed world give way
Beneath their lives, and on went they—
Unhappy who was last.”

Of such is Mahatma Gandhi.

MIRACLES ARE NOT PAST.

One of the greatest living Indians remarked some weeks ago that ‘Days of miracles are past.’ Why? How? When? There never was an age in which miracles were wrought except *by the power of a mighty faith*. He only can work no miracle who believes that miracles are no longer possible.

Men of India, do you really and truly desire Swarajya? Do you desire it as other peoples in other

ages and other lands have desired it? Are you prepared to suffer as they have suffered for it—to sacrifice as they have done?

Do you believe from your hearts that it is your *right*—that God wills it for you? Have you this *Vishwas*, this *Nischaya*. If so, know that for you the day of miracles is *not* past; you will certainly achieve the miraculous.

And nothing but a miracle will win Swarajya for India. Nothing short of this will disentangle the snarled up coil of her present situation. Yet such a miracle is possible if we have the faith. This, and readiness for self-sacrifice, are the only essentials.

At this time, therefore, measure the value of a leader to India by the measure of his faith. Choose for your guide one who does not believe that the days of miracles are past. He only can lead us to Swarajya who believes absolutely in India's power to attain Swarajya, and is capable of inspiring the masses with that belief.

My own conviction is that such a leader has been granted to India in the hour of her supreme need. My further conviction is that it would be political madness not to support him at this juncture, and that in cabling about details of his programme with which we do not agree, we are doing a very real disservice to the national cause. At last we have found a MAN, honest, fearless, and fired with true patriotism—a man whom the common people trust and one who is able to fire them with the flame of his own idealism. If we sacrifice him to our petty doubts and fears the time will come when we shall deeply and vainly regret it, for such leaders are not granted to a nation every day.

There is no question as to whether Mahatmaji is worthy to lead India; it remains to be seen if India is

worthy of its great leader, and will loyally support him in his great act of faith.

GANDHI AND TAGORE.

In Rabindranath and Gandhi we have representatives of the Greek and the Christian conceptions of life. Rabindranath reminds one of Plato. He is the philosopher-poet-mystic-educationist who abstains carefully from forcing his views, on his pupils but enables them to become their own masters. He never flatters, never dogmatizes but works on the head and the hearts by his sweet speech and subtle humour. By the generous and noble thoughts he expresses in his gracious poetry, he touches the heart and rouses an enthusiasm for the ideal. He is the typical genius of Bengal, famous for her art and culture, lecturing at Santiniketan, like Plato in the olive grove of the Academy. Sauntering among the tall trees, pacing the colonnades, he delights his pupils with fresh springs of thought and new pastures of feeling. It is his heart's desire to establish a *Vishvabhârati* where may be gathered all the wit and genius of the day, artists, poets and philosophers. An idealist trying to live ever in the pure radiance of the spirit, "he is like one who retires under the shelter of a wall in the storm of dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along." Gandhi hails from the hard-headed matter-of-fact Bombay. He is a democrat of democrats and a born leader of men who is able to control all by virtue of the divine principle of love he embodies in himself. None can be blind to the beauty of the great law he lives and propounds. In him we have the ideal man of India, of unlimited patience, of transcendent virtue, who cares for nothing, wants nothing for himself, neither fortune nor fame, and yet out of the abundance of his love for humanity

is devoting himself to the cause of justice and truth for his native land. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the statement of the Rev. Mr. Holmes that Gandhi is the greatest man of the world to-day. "When I think of Roland, I think of Tolstoi. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life, He speaks his word, He suffers, strives and will some day nobly die for his kingdom on earth."

C. S. R. in the "*Calcutta Review*."

THE NEW LIGHT OF ASIA.

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF GANDHISM.

The Indian event of unique significance to mankind is not the serious Malabar rising but the work of Gandhi and his non-co-operation movement. In an age men call cynical, materialistic and disillusioned, the national hero and leader of India is a saint whose singular devotion, unselfishness and spiritual power have won him the almost superstitious reverence of his own people and the respect of the most sceptical critics. At a time when the Western world is unable to think of concerted resistance in other terms than those of war, Gandhi has been able to persuade the organised Indian National movement to use non-co-operation as its weapon. The freedom of India, he realises, may have to spring from the blood of her heroes, but he pleads "Let it be said by coming generations that the only blood shed was our own." Not only violence of deeds but of thought is a spiritual weakness. The brave man will renounce hate even of the oppressor.

But this spritual weapon is also intensely practical. Having begun with the renunciation of British titles by

Hindoo patriots, non-co-operation will march step by step, as Indian support may warrant any British resistance, to a general strike more thorough going than any Western nation has seen. Before such a strike, properly organised, the British garrison in India would be powerless.

At present the best known activity of the non-co-operators is the boycott of foreign cloth and the effort to revive handweaving in order to win for India something like economic independence. Gandhi himself dramatically inaugurated the boycott on August 1 by lighting a great bonfire of foreign cloth. Much of the 4,000,000 fund raised by the National Congress is to go for the purchase of looms for those who will make homespun. Gandhi urges this reversion to domestic industry not merely as a tactical means to bring pressure on Britain. Japanese cloth as well as English is under the ban. The non-co-operators see in the revival of handweaving a return to economic independence. India's bitter poverty dates from the destruction of her ancient looms. It will, they believe, end when spinning mills hum in the peasant cottages; and with domestic manufacture will return native art which machinery destroyed. The necessity of foreign trade is recognised; it is only on foreign cloth that the boycott falls.

But the boycott is only one of the many remarkable phases on the movement which seeks Hindu Moslem fraternity, establishes national schools, breaks down the worst barriers of caste and fights the opium and liquor traffic. Mr. Gandhi has announced that the time may soon come when he himself will feel compelled to practise the duty of civil disobedience to the laws of an unjust state. Already men are in prison because in accordance with the recommendation of the last National Congress they would not defend themselves in the British courts. The same Congress solemnly urged all Indian soldiers, in the event

of British hostilities against the Turkish Government of Angora, to refuse all service. This particular sensitiveness to the relations between British Empire and Turkey is inspired not only by Moslem concern for the sanctity of the Caliphate but by Indian concern, Hindu as well as Moslem, that Indian resources of men and money should not be wasted in Imperial wars. The nationalist movement also appears to be behind the numerous strikes whose primary cause is the miserable condition of the workers. But in all this Gandhi has kept his own soul free from hate. The literature of revolution contains no documents so uncompromising, yet so reasonable and sweet-spirited, as his Letter to Every Englishman and his appeals to the cloth merchants and consumers.

So much one can affirm with reasonable certainty in spite of meagre and often contradictory despatches from British sources. And even fair-minded critics admit that the Nationalist movement has accomplished what a few years ago would have seemed miraculous. But for the future they have doubts. India, they remind us, far more truly than Italy before Mazzini, is a geographical expression. The people are desperately poor, illiterate, divided by caste, religion and language. The more prosperous elements of the community stand aloof from the austere and sacrificial demands of Mahatma Gandhi. (Has it not been ever thus with great religious movements?) But, the critics continue, the masses have not so much caught Gandhi's spirit as lowered him to the level of a wonder-working saint. They do not carry non-co-operation in orderly fashion. Such spontaneous strikes as that of Assam have inconvenienced the British but they have brought enormous suffering on the natives. Gandhi may preach peaceful resistance, but inevitably his agitation stirs up violence. He himself has recognised that his

comrades do not share his religious views on this matter and has denounced the English for disarming the people. In particular, the critics allege that the union of Moslems and Hindus is very superficial. In making his own the religious question of the Caliphate, Gandhi is playing with dangerous fires of Moslem fanaticism. An English critic even alleges that the Ali Brothers, Gandhi's Moslem aids, are more interested in Pan-Islam than in united India. Finally, Gandhi's attempt to revive hand-weaving is criticised and he is reproached for his lack of a constructive programme for an independent India. He, they say, is a saint, and like most saints, with all his powers of leadership, he is essentially and in the noblest sense an anarchist. His supreme tragedy may yet be not persecution by the British but a choice between rejection by his own people of renunciation of his cherished ideals.

We have summarised these criticisms not because we accept any or all of them, but because they matter profoundly. The complete verdict on the course of Indian nationalism can only be written by time. But even now it is possible to say that British, or rather Western, Imperialism is doomed. We are witnessing one of the great historic movements of our time in the awakening of Asia. However that awakening manifests itself in India, whether in the slow or constitutional progress of the Moderates; the spontaneous revolt, half blind and often violent, of exploited workers and hungry peasants; or the ordered resistance, spiritual and economic, of the non-co-operators, the struggle of those long oppressed deserves the sympathetic understanding of every man who waits for a new birth of freedom in every land. But if the triumph of India should mean the triumph of the spirit and method of Gandhi, then, indeed, would a new day dawn for all mankind. For war would be shown to be as unnecessary for winning the outer semblance of freedom, as it is destructive to the realisation of its inner spirit.

—*The New York Nation.*”

MAHATMA GANDHI'S INDIA

BY

VINCENT ANDERSON.

All India is at the feet of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Preaching a political creed that is new to the Hindu and renewing Vedic ideals of asceticism and sacrifice in his own life, this man has within a brief span of months united Hindu and Mohammedan in a common bond of fraternity that has not existed in India since the days of Gautama. A small, slim, dark, composed man with a tremendous personal magnetism a man with the untiring energy of Roosevelt, the human sympathy of Debs and the philosophy of Tolstoy, Gandhi has developed into a force so potent that the English dare not imprison him.

And Gandhi has a new religion. It is not altogether new to the Occident. Anyone who steeps himself sympathetically in Bernard Shaw and Tolstoy, who tries long enough to recognise and remedy the ills that industrialism has brought, may arrive at the conclusion that the defect of Modern civilisation is civilisation itself. This is new, however, to the India that is adopting English and becoming commercial and learning what a factory and a labour problem is. An industrial and political, intellectual and economic civilization is in India like a hurricane; and Gandhi is trying to forestall it. He declares:

“Formerly when people wanted to fight one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a hill from a gun. This is civilization. Formerly, men worked in the open air only so much as they liked. Now thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories and mines.

Their condition is worse than that of beasts. They are obliged to work, at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations for the sake of millionaires. This civilisation is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed."

To Westerners Gandhi's primitive programme will seem Quixotic. So it is. True, a gigantic Swadeshi Movement back to the spinning wheel and home manufacture—has arisen, but for a different reason than Gandhi's. It is not because Indians are against civilisation but against England, not because they are in favour of the old manner of living but because they are against the new.

What is Gandhi's solution? We are suffering, he says. We have two alternatives, to fight actively or passively. If we fight actively, we will be killed like flies by the millions; we lack bodily energy, ammunition and guns. If we fight passively we at least have a chance to win. If we take a physical sword, we will perish spiritually. Evil cannot overcome evil. We will then become as the men we are fighting. Hate and civilisation will have eaten us up. We will then be defeated. There can be no victory in such a material conquest.

The Indians listen to this; they like it immensely for they always have been hero-worshippers. And here is a saint and a revolutionary in one. If Gandhi's dream of social love could come true, it would be the most stupendous event in the history of our world. But the foe is within the gates. Hate is in the heart of the Hindu. Gaunt cheeks, protruding ribs, bloated bellies of children, blear of hunger in women's eyes—these are the outward evidences of an exploitation which makes it absurd to use the same word of the lesser sufferings of the West. Can you blame the Indians if they hate the English?

Resistance is coming. A bloody revolution is not only likely but I believe inevitable. Gandhi fears it. But he says, everything must be done against such an expression of India's desires. If his Tolstoian philosophy of pacifism is not practical, or possible for a whole nation to follow, if his Shavian condemnation of an unnatural social order and a defective civilisation cannot halt that civilization, nevertheless the Hindus, at least, are getting great ideas in a modern form; Gandhi will be an educator for the future if he cannot be the Saviour of the present.

—*"The New York Nation,"*

* Mr. Vincent Anderson is an American Journalist, recently returned from a long residence in India.—Ed.

Appendix A.
Leaders' Inspiring Messages.

CHITTA RANJAN DAS

" TO MY COUNTRY MEN "

The recent communique of the Government of Bengal, the order of the Commissioner of Police, and the various orders under Section 144 issued by Majistrates in different districts of Bengal, make it absolutely clear that the Bureaucracy has made up its mind to crush the movement of Non-Co-operation. The people of Bengal have therefore resolved to preserve with all their strength in the struggle for freedom. My message to them is one of hope and encouragement. I knew from the beginning that the Bureaucracy would be the first to break the law. It began its illegal career at the very outset by occasional orders under Section 144. It continued the unjust and illegal application of the Section in opposition to this movement. Now that the movement is about to succeed, it has adopted forgotten laws and forsaken methods, and Section 144 is being indiscriminately used to further the same object.

Our duty is clear. The Indian National Congress has declared that Swaraj is our only goal and that Non-Co-operation is the only method by which to reach that goal. Whatever the Bureaucracy does the Nationalists of Bengal cannot forget their ideal. The people of Bengal are now on their trial. It entirely depends on them whether they would win or lose. I ask my countrymen to be patient, I appeal to them to undergo all sufferings cheerfully, I call upon them not to forsake the sacred work which the Indian National Congress has enjoined.

The Congress work is done and can only be done by volunteers. Let it be clearly understood that every worker, young or old, man or woman is a volunteer. I offer myself as a volunteer in the Service of the Congress. I trust that within a few days, there will be a million volunteers for the work of the Province. Our cause is sacred, our method is peaceful and non-violent. Do you not realise that the Service of our country is Service of God? I charge you to remember that no communique of earthly Governments can be allowed to stop God's worship.

I appeal to the people of Bengal to realise this truth. I pray to God that it may be given to the Bureaucracy to understand, appreciate and recognise this great truth.

THE GREAT PRINCIPLE.

MR. DAS'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS WORKERS.

My first word and my last word to you is never to forsake the ideal of Non-violent non-co-operation. I know it is a difficult creed to follow. I know that some time the provocation is so great that it is extremely difficult to remain non-violent in thought, word and deed. The success of the movement however, depends on this great principle and every worker must strengthen himself to withstand such a provocation. We are too apt to throw the blame on other persons. For instance, if there is a riot in a city, we say that the hooligans were provoked to commit the riot. Let us not forget that these so-called hooligans are our country men. Let us not forget that we the Non-Co-operators claim to hold the country. Let us realise that to the extent to which we do not succeed in so controlling the masses, be they hooligans or not, to that extent Non-Co-operation has failed. The responsibility is ours. It does not lie in our mouth to say that the

wicked people have instigated the masses to break the law and order. Do you not realise that the success of our movement depends on this, that no other people wicked or otherwise should be able to lead the masses or any section of our countrymen towards violence and bloodshed? If we fail to exercise control over the masses, how can we claim to have success? I am not discouraged. I do not want you to be discouraged. I pray to God that you may have sufficient strength to carry on this great battle peacefully never forsaking the ideal of non-violent Non-Co-operation in all its bearing.

THE TEST OF SUCCESS.

MR. DAS'S ANALYSIS.

I said the other day that the Congress must be judged by the claim it makes. As we claim to hold the country we must accept responsibility for any violence anywhere in this country. One must in fairness except those places where the message of the Congress has not been allowed to be heard. We accept no responsibility with regard to the Moplah outrage. I firmly believe that that rebellion would have been impossible, had the Congress and the Khilafat workers been permitted to carry the gospel of non-violent Non-Co-operation. But the position of the Congress is different regarding the recent violence in Bombay and the application of such violence under similar circumstances. Let us understand clearly the real issue which governs this assumption of responsibility. I have stated it before, but I find its real significance has not been appreciated.

Do we assert that the movement of non-violent Non-Co-operation has succeeded? If it has, is it not quite clear that it is because the Congress may be said to have esta-

blished its control over the masses in this country ? That is the only test of the success of this movement.

The continuance of such control is the measure of our success, its discontinuance must be the measure of our failure. This is also the standard by which the bureaucracy must be judged. The bureaucracy claims to hold this country. I am attaching no importance to its claim so far as that claim is based on physical force. If that had been the only basis of its enormous claim I would have unhesitatingly declared that the bureaucracy was no more. I am dealing only with its claim so far as it depends only on the moral control which it may still exercise. Our rulers are never tired of quoting Mahatma Gandhi's assumption of responsibility as an admission of the failure of the Non-Co-operation movement. That great soul never expresses himself in the faltering accents of half truth and untruth. If there has been a weakening of the control which the Indian National Congress has established let the fact be clearly admitted—so it was admitted. May I not point out with equal force and with equal truth that every case of violence such as was practised in Bombay proves, and must prove, the failure of the bureaucracy to that extent ? If such violence proves that the Congress had lost its hold on those who were guilty of violence, to my mind it proves as convincingly that the bureaucracy also had lost its control.

This brings out the real issue. I state it once again so that my countrymen may realise its deeper significance. The struggle for Swaraj is a struggle for this control. The India of to-day is a country of opposing claims and uncertain control. The Indian National Congress claims to hold the country. The bureaucracy makes the same claim. Are we right ? Are they right ? The coming events must furnish the answer.

APPEAL TO SUFFER CHEERFULLY.

“Our duty is clear. The Indian National Congress has declared that Swaraj is our only goal and that Non-cooperation is the only method by which to reach that goal. Whatever the bureaucracy does the nationalists of Bengal cannot forget their ideal. The people of Bengal are now on their trial, it entirely depends on them whether they would win or lose. I ask my countrymen to be patient. I appeal to them to undergo all sufferings cheerfully. I call upon them not to forsake the sacred work which the Indian National Congress has enjoined. The Congress work is done and can only be done by volunteers. Let it be clearly understood that every worker, young or old, man or woman, is a volunteer in the service of the Congress. I trust that within a few days there will be a million volunteers for the work of the province. Our cause is sacred, our method is peaceful and non-violent. Do you not realise that the service of our country is service of God? I charge you to remember that no communique of earthly Government can be allowed to stop God’s worship.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CALCUTTA.

I do not know how long I shall be allowed to remain out of jail. I repeat with all the emphasis I can command that every Congress and Khilafat worker must remain absolutely non-violent in thought, word and deed. I ask every citizen of Calcutta who has any sympathy for the work of the Congress and Khilafat to remember that the best and the surest way to destroy this work is to help violence in any shape or form.

I ask the people of Calcutta not to gather in large numbers at street corners as they did to-day. I knew that soldiers would be posted. I was not afraid because I had every confidence in our workers. There is no doubt there will be ample provocation. You must expect it. We

must withstand this provocation, otherwise we deserve to lose. I say to our workers again that they must expect to be assaulted and they must be prepared not to be provoked into vice.

Fear of Jail, fear of assaults and fear of being shot down—these are the 3 fears which every worker must conquer before we can get Swaraj. We have conquered the fear of Jail; we are about to conquer the fear of assault. It depends on the Bureaucracy when we shall succeed in conquering the fear of being shot down.

In the meantime, I charge everyone to remember that our success can only depend on non-violence so real, so perfect that all God fearing men and women must come over to our side.

MESSAGE TO THE PERSECUTED.

What shall I say to those who have suffered, who are suffering, and to those who are prepared to suffer for the cause of freedom? I repeat the message which was delivered by a Persian Poet.

Truth, love and courage—that is all you need to learn, all that you need to remember. Faith, Fortitude, Firmness, will they falter and fail and fade at the hour of trial, in the moment of despair, asked the Saqi in a mournful strain, or will they, tried and tested emerge from the the fire of life radiant, strengthened, ennobled, purified?

Nor will I forsake them, answered the youth; not even were the heavens to fall.

Thine then, said the Saqi, is the path of glory; thine a nation's gratitude; thine the fadeless crown.

Would that courage, unfailing courage, unbent courage, such as thine, be the proud possession of all?

For naught but courage winneth life's battle, naught but courage secureth soul's freedom, man's noblest highest prize. Let courage, then be thy gift, O God, to this wondrous land of Love and Light.

TO THE STUDENTS.

MR. DAS ON MR. JITENDRA LAL'S IMPRISONMENT.

"If it is a sin to have demanded liberty for my countrymen with full and passionate intensity of soul, then I have sinned—grievously sinned beyond pardon or penitence and rejoice that I have so sinned. If it is an offence to have asked my people to shake off the fetters of a foreign servitude that degrades and dwarfs our humanity then I am one of the most offending souls alive, and I rejoice and am thankful that God gave me the courage and hardihood to commit such an offence. And as the All-merciful gave me courage and strength in the past to speak out the truth that is within me, so I hope that he will give me endurance in the future to go through the agony of man's unrighteous persecution."

So said Jitendralal Banerjee as I find from a certified copy of his statement made to the Magistrate. We all know Jitendralal Bannerjee. I have been intimately connected with him certainly for the last five or six years of our national activity. Two years of rigorous imprisonment for saying what he believed to be true! A man who undergoes such suffering as this for the sake of truth must be understood and appreciated.

What is Jitendralal Bannerjee? I ask the student community to realise the essential truth of his life. His life has been lived up to the present moment practically before the students of Bengal. He passed his M. A.

Examination in 1902 standing first in the First Class. After that he obtained the State Scholarship to proceed to England but he chose to educate himself and to educate others in this country. He served as professor of English in various Colleges always preferring Indian to Government Institutions. His last appointment was in the Ripon College where he served till 1911. In that year his services were dispensed with by the College authorities because he refused to give an undertaking that he would no longer take part in politics. Then began his career at the bar.

Although he always took part in politics from 1911-1912 he became a prominent figure in the Congress. A devoted follower of Surendra Nath Bannerjee—he broke away from him at the time when the whole of Bengal was intensely agitated on the question of Mrs. Besant's election to the Presidential chair of the Congress. Since then he has been working unceasingly in support of the National cause.

There was no man in our political circle who was a more sincere friend and wellwisher of the student community. He was like a brother to every one of them who came to him, helping them with advice, with his money and in every possible way. An ardent patriot who yielded to none in his love for his country with a heart tender and yet stern and unbending. I wish he had been among our midst at the present moment for Bengal hath need of him. We want his sincerity. We want his courage, we want his love for truth. Let his sacrifice ennoble us.

What is Jitendralal Bannerjee? I ask the students of Calcutta to realise the truth of his life. Words cannot convey it. The work that he did, the life which he lived, the qualities of his head and heart all culminating in the

grand sacrifice which he had the courage to make—these are more eloquent than any words that I can employ.

I ask again: what is Jitendralal Bannerjee? I wish with all the craving of my heart that the students of Calcutta knew how to answer this question! He gave up his life for the well-being of his dear and devoted students. Are there none now to tell us the meaning of his sacrifice not by speaking angry words, nor by shedding idle tears, but by taking up the cause which he loved so well and by strengthening that cause by their own sacrifice?

Merely existing is not living. I wish I could say as the students of Calcutta were living as men should live. Jitendralal Bannerjee lived. Now that his body is imprisoned is there no one amongst the students of Calcutta who has the heart to hear the call of his soul?

C. R. DAS.

APPEAL TO CALCUTTA STUDENTS.

The arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai has opened a new chapter in the history of our movement. To my mind the meaning of this arrest is significant. The bureaucracy is impatient of our success. It has lost its temper and naturally it has commenced to strike. Hitherto the attack of the bureaucracy has been more or less indirect. This is direct. Lajpat Rai is one of the pillars of the Congress movement. Through him the Congress itself has been struck. I welcome this direct attack. It means an open trial of strength between the bureaucracy and the Congress, and as the Congress year is about to close, it is time for the result to be proclaimed.

In Bengal the arrests have been equally significant. They took away Pir Badsa Mian and Doctor Suresh hand

cuffed and chained together as the most eloquent symbol of the bondage and unity of the Hindus and the Musalmans. Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta is in jail, proving the worth and triumph of Chittagong. Nripendra, one of the most popular Professors, has shared the same fate. Professor Birendra Nath Mukherji of Rungpur has already led a thousand volunteers to prison, leaving twenty thousand more awaiting the glory of arrest. Brihmanbaria in Commilla is ready with more victims than our masters want.

But what of Calcutta? That is the question which distresses me to-day. Only five thousand workers have volunteered, only five thousand in this great City with so many schools and so many Colleges! To-day six of these volunteers were arrested. They were doing Congress work, selling Khaddi and introducing Charkas. So the bureaucracy has made up its mind to stop the work of the Congress. Only five thousand in this great City and the work of the Congress about to be stopped! Have the students of Calcutta nothing to say? Is this the time for study? Art and Literature, Science and Mathematics:—O the shame of it all when the Mother calls and these have not the heart to hear.

I feel so desolate in this great City. I see thousands and thousands of young men all around me wherever I go, but their faces are old with worldly wisdom and their hearts are cold and dead. I wish God had given me the strength to rekindle the fire of life in their hearts so that the young men of Calcutta may be young again. It is the young who fought the battle of freedom in every age and in every clime. It is the young who are purer in spirit and are ever ready for sacrifice.

I am growing old and infirm and the battle has just commenced. They have not taken me yet but I feel the

handcuffs on my wrist and the weight of iron chains on my body. It is the agony of bondage. The whole of India is a vast prison. What matters it whether I am taken or left.

One thing is certain. The work of the Congress must be carried on whether I am dead or alive. Only five thousand in this great City and the work of the Congress about to be stopped ! I ask again, have the students of Calcutta no answer to make ?

C. R. DAS.

Mr. DAS'S MESSAGE.

The arrest of Mr. Das was quietly effected. Two Deputy Commissioners of Police, with a small force, arrived in the afternoon at his residence in Bhowanipore when he was in his study. He was arrested under Section 17 of the Criminal Amendment Act XIV of 1918. Mr. Das received the order calmly. There was a minor demonstration outside. Mr. Das was taken to the Presidency Jail.

Just after his arrest Mr. Das issued the following message:

This is my last message to you, men and women of India. Victory is in sight, if you are prepared to win it by suffering. It is in such agony as that through which we are passing that nations are born; but you must bear this agony with fortitude, with courage and with perfect self-composure ! Remember that so long as you follow the path of non-violence, you put the bureaucracy in the wrong; but move by a hair's breadth from the path which Mahatma Gandhi has mapped out for you, and you give away the battle to the bureaucracy. Swaraj is our goal, Swaraj not in compartments, not by instalments; but swaraj whole and entire ! Now it is for you, men and women to say whether we shall attain the goal for which we are striving !

To my Moderate friends I say this : Survey the history of the world from the beginning of all time; has any nation won freedom by pursuing the path which you are pursuing ? If the appeal should reach any waverer amongst you, I ask him to consider whether he will now stand on the side of India in her conflict or with the bureaucracy ? There may be compromise in the matter of details, but there can be no compromise in the essential question that divides us from the bureaucracy. And if you do not stand by for India, you assuredly stand for the bureaucracy.

And to the students, I say this: You are at once the hope and the glory of India. True education does not consist in learning to add two and two to make four ; but it lies in the service which you are prepared to give to the Mother of us all. There is work to be done for the Mother. Who, amongst you, is prepared to answer the call ?

Mrs. C. R. DAS' MESSAGE.

“Awake ! Arise ! Hear ye not your mother's call ? Oft, in days gone by, she came to you and spoke to you and you heard her not. She stands before you again to-day—and speaks in accents clear and irresistible. And should she speak in vain ? Would you still hide your face in fear or would you, a free being as you are, rise and respond to her stern and imperious call ?

“The National Congress sits on the 26th of December. Many of its trusted leaders and workers, young and old, will be absent from its deliberations for reasons which are known to you. These high-souled and selfless patriots, though absent, will be present there in spirit. Would you not be there to be cheered and inspired by their presence ? The President's chair will remain vacant. What then ? His message to the Congress he has left with me and on

the eve of his arrest, he charged me, his wife, with the sacred duty of delivering it to you. Poor and unworthy as I am, I shall try to discharge that sacred duty. That is my husband's wish. That is Mahatma Gandhi's wish. Will you not come and stand by me in this my solemn hour of trial? Remember that for the last 40 years or more the Congress has been the only national institution and its pandal, the chosen field of our action. Here it is that our fathers decided to give battle to the powers that be. Here it is that the Swaraj Flag was hoisted and kept flying by those who have gone before us. Shall we abandon the flag at this critical moment and allow it to be captured by our opponents to be trampled on to our eternal shame? I know you will not suffer it. Forget your differences. Come in your thousands. Rally round the Congress and keep the Swaraj Flag flying; sacrifice yourselves if need be on its sacred ramparts. The last call sounds: Hark--
 "Arise"! "Awake."

"Men and women of Bengal: I am proud of what you have achieved during the course of a week. I glory in your sacrifices unstintedly and ungrudgingly made for the cause. Who can read the long roll of arrests and imprisonments, but with a thrill of joy and hope? Who can witness the cheerful march of the pilgrims to the Swaraj Asram but with tears of admiration in his eyes? The fight has just begun. The fight will be long and arduous. If soul-force counts for anything in the world, the victory is ours. See you not the powers that be already quake and tremble.

"The Congress has decided that a Hartal should be observed in Calcutta on the 24th of December. In this, no insult is intended to the Prince. I, as a mother, should be the last person to hurt the feelings of one, so young and tender withal so brave. But the nation has decided that

it is unable to extend to the Prince any welcome as a nation. It is your solemn duty to observe the Hartal. But remember that the Hartal is an expression of our national mourning. Observe it in a spirit of reverence and humility above all, non-violence.

“To you my younger brothers and sisters I say you are your Mother’s hope, her pride, her joy. March onward to victory and to glory.”

BASANTI DEBI,
(Mrs. C. R. Das.)

Dr. P. C. RAY’S TRIBUTE TO Mr. DAS.

Dr. P. C. Ray has addressed the following letter to Mrs. C. R. Das:—

My Dear Sister,

I am so much choked up with feelings that I can scarcely give vent to them. Ever since his historic defence of Aurobindo Ghosh, which will always rank as one of the classics in the State trials your husband has loomed large before the public. His unbounded charity, his lofty patriotism his high idealism, his heroic and chivalrous defence of the weak have always evoked our admiration. Although I do not see eye to eye with him in some matters I have always felt attracted to him, and I do not at all wonder that his striking personality should capture the imagination of Young Bengal, or for the matter of that of Young India. Even those who differ from him in political matters cannot withhold their admiration for the unparalleled self sacrifice he has made. Our hearts go out to Chittaranjan in this hour of his trial. I know the limitations of the expert, and from my position of

isolation and detachment, I am afraid, I fail to realise the full significance of his life's mission. Has not the poet said—

The man of Science is fond of glory and vain."

An eye well practised in Nature but a spirit bounded and poor."

Possibly, exclusive lifelong devotion to my favourite subject has blurred my vision and my spirit has become circumscribed. I can assure you, however, dear sister, that in serving my favourite science I have only one idea in my mind, namely, that through her I should serve my country. Our aspirations are the same. God knows, I have no other object in my life.

Cheerfully and heroically you have been bearing your tribulations, and you have set an example to modern Bengal and her womanhood which has been rarely met with since the days of Rajput glory.

I sincerely hope that the dark clouds which have overshadowed our dear Motherland will soon be dispelled and your husband restored to us.

Yours sincerely,

P. C. RAY.

LALA LAJPATRAI.

TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Countrymen—The Provincial Congress Committee meets to-day at 2 p. m. This meeting has been convened under my instructions. This meeting is in every sense a private meeting, according to the law and cannot be termed a public meeting. The object of this meeting is that the

Provincial Congress Committee, after taking into consideration the present situation might draw up the programme or work and devise means to maintain peace and order in the Province in the present crisis. The Deputy Commissioner has prohibited the meeting under the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, and in the meantime, I have received orders from Mahatma Gandhi that, as far as possible, I should save myself from arrest. The meeting is highly important. The order of the Deputy Commissioner is illegal and "*ultravires*," and it seems that the Punjab officials do not care much for law. Under these circumstances, my conscience does not allow me to stop the meeting or to allow it to be held and myself not attend it. I have therefore, decided to attend the meeting and get myself arrested, if the District authorities desire to take me into custody, I believe that had he been in that position, Mahatma Gandhi himself would have acted in that manner, and that, had he known the later developments he would not have advised me, as he has done. I quite realize that I might perhaps have rendered you better service by avoiding arrest at the present stage of our national struggle, but I also believe that for me to save myself from arrest under the present circumstances would be improper. I am sure, you would not like me to act in a manner that might render my conduct liable to be misunderstood. I am not deliberately courting arrest on account of the weakness of my heart. My faith, my conscience, my desire to do my duty—all compel me to attend the meeting. If, under these circumstances, I am committing a blunder, I believe that you, my countrymen, and Mahatmaji will forgive me.

We have decided, that in my absence, Agha Mohamed Safdar Sahib, would act as the President of the Provincial Congress Committee. The patriotism and high intel-

lectual attainments of Agha Mohamad Safdar are well-known to you; and I believe that under his guidance and leadership all the Congress Committees and all Congressmen in the Province would fulfil their duties loyally and bravely.

When I left the shores of America, I knew that I would not be allowed to remain outside the jail for a long time; and on my departure from there, I had told my friends that I would be satisfied if I were allowed to work amongst my people even for six months. But now through the grace of God I have been enabled to work with you for about 19 months, and I go to jail with a glad heart and with the firm belief that whatever we have done we have done according to our conscience and our God. I have no misgivings or fears in my mind. I am convinced that the path we have chosen is the right path, and our success is sure. I also believe that I shall soon return amongst you and resume my work; but even if that is not to be, I assure you that I shall have nothing to be sorry for when I return to my Creator. I am a weak and frail man, and do not claim to possess the splendid spirituality of Mahatma Gandhi. Sometimes I am not able to control my anger, nor can I say that I have never harboured feelings which I ought not to have entertained. But this I can truthfully assert that I have always kept the interests of my country and nation before my mind and my actions have been directed with a sole eye to the interests of my country. I know that I have made many mistakes in the discharge of my duties, and have sometimes indulged in criticism which might have given offence to some of my countrymen. For all that I beg for forgiveness. I hope that they will forgive me, especially my Moderate and Arya Samajist brothers.

The position of those of my countrymen who are Government servants is peculiar; and I quite realise their difficulties. I regret that the question of livelihood compels them to act in a manner which is repugnant even to their own feelings. I wish that no non-co-operator should regard those Government servants with contempt or disdain, nor needlessly use a harsh word against, them.

The success of our movement requires that:—

(1) There should be complete unanimity between different communities and denominations. It is a sin to disturb that mutual goodwill and concord even for a religious object.

(2) There should be no violence in the country. The Government officials are provoking the people in many ways. Courage, patriotism and regard for duty all demand that we should remain non-violent even in the face of the gravest provocation. There is every danger that at the present moment violence might lead to internal dissension, which is bound to ruin us. I, therefore, with the utmost respect and sincerity of purpose, urge on my countrymen to restrain their feelings. They should not have hartal or hold meeting over the arrests, nor should they go to the courts. Every person should continue his everyday work with a calm and cool mind, should not disobey the order of the Congress and should regard it his duty to carry out the orders of the local and provincial leaders. To maintain non-violence and to keep the movement of non-co-operation free from that taint are essential for our success.

(3) There should be no break in the work of the Congress. The "khaddar" propaganda should be carried with increasing vigour and the boycott of foreign cloth should be made complete. On the occasion of the forth-coming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of

Wales there ought to be no public decorations or rejoicings, and no one should participate in the processions or other functions held in his honour. And, above all, you should act in accordance with the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi.

TO PUNJAB YOUTHS.

Young men of the Punjab—I want to address a word to you. To pass a university examination is not the "*summum bonum*" of your life. Any man who models his course of life on a selfish basis is not a human being; and if in our young age we curb our nobler ambitions and finer emotions and in their place plant baser passions and a desire for luxurious living in our breasts, then also our life is worse than death. I do not wish that you should act in a state of undue excitement. But you should at least do two things; wear *khaddar* and boycott the visit of the Prince.

TO PUNJABI WOMEN.

Women of the Panjab:—I know that you, too, are imbued with a spirit of patriotism and a desire to serve your country, and that you would not care if in that service you lose your liberty. Many of you are prepared to go to jail. But the Indian jails are hells upon earth; vice and corruption reigns there supreme. I, therefore, request you to give up the idea of courting imprisonment; and direct your energies towards the preaching of Swadeshi clothes. There is one other thing which you can do. You can take care of the young children who are left behind by those who go to jail in the country's cause.

My countrymen, I now bid you good-bye. I go to jail in the firm belief that the honour of my beloved country and nation is safe in your keeping. The "Bande Mataram"

and the Tilak School of Politics are my two children; and these also I leave in your keeping.

Those of my brothers who are in Lahore and have not attended to-day's meeting have done so at my request, so that our work may not be interrupted.

Your well-wisher,
LAJPAT RAI.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU.

CONTINUE NON-VIOLENT NON-COOPERATION.

To my comrades and countrymen :—

Having served you to the best of my ability while working amongst you it is now my high privilege to serve the Motherland by going to jail with my only son. What shall I say of him to you, who know him so well? I am fully confident that we shall meet again at no distant date as free men. I have only one parting word to say. Continue non-violent non-co-operation without a break until Swaraj is attained, and enlist as volunteers in your tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands. Let the march of pilgrims to the only Temple of Liberty now existing in India, which has escaped sacrilege at the hands of the bureaucracy, viz., the jail, be kept up in uninterrupted stream, swelling strength and volume as each day passes. Adieu!

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL TO HIS COLLEAGUES.

“KEEP THE FLAG FLYING”

To my colleagues of the U. P. Congress Committee: Some days ago, you did me the high honour of appointing me General Secretary of the Committee. I have not been able to serve in that capacity for long. To-day, a higher

honour and a greater service await me ; and I welcome it with the conviction that you will carry on the work of the Committee more vigorously and successfully than my co-secretaries and myself were able to do. It has pleased Providence to give this Province a chance of leading the fight for Liberty. May you, the representatives, of the people, prove worthy of this high trust. The work of the Provincial Committee must on no account suffer. Workers from the districts must come to the head-quarters and keep the flag flying at the citadel. I trust that there will be a full attendance of members at the General Meeting on the 13th in Allahabad.

Theirs will be a great responsibility. May God guide their deliberations and give them strength and wisdom. One thing I would have you remember. There can be no compromise or parleying. This struggle must end and can only end in complete victory for the people. Any weakening, any giving up of the principles, will be a betrayal of the thousands who have given of their best for the cause. "An revoir." We meet again, I hope, as free men.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL TO THE CITIZENS OF ALLAHABAD.

Friends.

I go to jail with the greatest pleasure and with the fullest conviction that therein lies the achievement of our goal. Forget not that there is a complete hartal on the 12th instant, and that it is the duty of every man to enlist as a volunteer. The most important thing is to preserve complete peace and an atmosphere of non-violence. In your hands is the honour of Allahabad and I hope it is

quite safe therein. I trust you will always be in the firing line in the battle of Swaraj and make the name of our city immortal in our annals.

I am your friend.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

PANDIT MOHANLAL.

In a short Urdu message to the citizens of Allahabad the Pandit says :—

I go to jail with the greatest pleasure. The only answer to repression is to choke up the jails. In your duty to make the hartal of the 12th an unprecedented success, fail not. No gari should be plying on hire no shop should be open.

WHISPERING OF ATMA.

Mrs. MOTILAL NEHRU'S MESSAGE.

Dear brothers and Sisters,

I rejoice in the great privilege that has been vouchsafed to me of sending my dear husband and my only son to jail. I will not pretend that my heart is entirely free from wrench of separation from my dear ones. My heart is full of it because love is a trying thing after all. The knowledge that theirs is not a life which can stand the hardships of jail makes my heart weep. And yet my Atma whispers to me that I should rejoice with my husband and my son over their arrests. I will not disgrace them by sorrowing over the very happenings they had set their hearts upon.

JOY OF SUFFERING.

I have seen it in my life that those who sleep on feather beds hardly ever know true happiness. Suffering and penance have a joy and happiness all their own. My heart trembles to think of the life of hardships that Jewaharlal has been leading, but my soul rejoices in the fact that great capacity to lead a life of suffering is a fortune which rarely falls to the lot of the greatest of men.

THE ANCIENT WAY.

That is the ancient way. Ramchandraji, Nalraja and others found happiness by treading that path of suffering, and made the world also happy. Was Sita ever out of Rama's heart? And yet apparently for her, but for the good of mankind, God chose to enforce a life of penance on Rama. These reflections bring me joy and peace. Let them bring the same to you.

MY HOPE.

And how may I sorrow over the imprisonment of my only son? Mahatma Gandhi told me once that others in the world have also their only sons. And a time is coming when whole families will have to march to jail. I have just heard of the arrest of the whole family of Deshbandhu C. R. Das. I hope the same good fortune may come to me and my daughter-in-law.

MY HUSBAND'S MESSAGE.

What message can I give you but the one my husband has given "Go and do likewise"? Let those that remain behind turn their spinning-wheels and work for peace. If we could answer the present repressive policy with firm and determined Satyagraha for just a short while, I have no doubt that Swaraj would be at our door before the month is out.

A RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE.

I may say again that my heart prays that my son's and husband's life in jail may be a bed of roses. I have faith that this is a religious struggle, and suffering religiously endured must bear its fruit. God has shown us an easy way of winning our goal—Swaraj. If we but follow it cheerfully, we may never have to be confronted with the far more difficult task of laying down our lives therefor. I trust you will not fail to seize this golden opportunity. For as Tulsidas has well said, 'What boots repentance, once a great opportunity has ben frittered away' ?

SARUPRANI NEHRU.

U. P. LEADERS.

MESSAGE FROM JAIL.

The following message was given to the "Independent's" representative by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, during his trial, on behalf of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Srijut Purushotam Das Tandon, Syed Kamaludin Ahmad Jaffri and Srijut Ranendra Nath Basu:—

"Men and Women of the United Provinces:—We are in Jail but we are most happy for we know that you are carrying on the great fight. We know that you have responded to the great call. The great cities of Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares have demonstrated your determination. You are to-day making history which your children and your children's children freed for ever from a foreign yoke, will glory in and unborn generations will bless your name. We pray for you. May the Lord bless you and give you strength to fight on till victory crowns your sacrifices."

"To our own city of Allahabad what shall we say? How shall we, who are of it, congratulate it or of us? Brave citizens! The great and peaceful hartal, the march of hun-

dreds of its children to jail and the enrolment of thousands in the army of Swaraj fill us with joy and hope. Our hearts are too full for many words. We can but offer our prayerful thanks for the Giver of all strength. May the flag of freedom that Allahabad has unfurled ever fly and the sons and daughters of our city come forward in an unending stream to sacrifice themselves at the altar of Swaraj."

HOPE AT LAST.

BY SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHAR.

"But things are shaping themselves beautifully without our having to force the pace" so, writes Mahatma Gandhi on 10th instant. When otherwise, in December, men would have doubted whether we had done well or failed, when we were anxiously thinking how to shape our programme in order that we might get greater momentum, Providence has led our rulers into a policy which if met by a little courage on our part and a little sacrifice will surely take us to the promised land in less than a month.

Civil disobedience was inevitable, but the danger of disorder made us draw a distinction between mass and individual disobedience. We were striving to find out what law or orders were best fitted for civil disobedience. We laid down conditions, moving most cautiously. When we were thus anxiously feeling our way our rulers have come to our help. The hand of God is clearly seen in recent events. Clean simple Civil Disobedience, with all the advantages of individual as well as of mass disobedience, with the risks of violence reduced to a minimum, has been rendered possible by the wholesale prohibition of Congress executive work, which is now being promulgated as law in province after province.

We made the mistake of giving our honorary Congress Workers a bad English name. We called them *Volunteers* and the government is taking full advantage of the word. "Volunteer" suggests guns, sticks or at least some amount of drill. Under the pretence of supressing a potential army of revolutionaries, which in European countries would call itself by such a name, Government is trying to make illegal all congress work, such as Swadeshi or temperance or organisation of branches and even to make it practically impossible to see to the physical needs of our meetings and gatherings. To such a wide prohibition, no nation with a future before it, can submit. The young men of this province have tarried too long. A chance is now offered to them. In hundreds and thousands, I expect them now to come forward, give their names as congress volunteers and go to prison if the government is resolved to send to prison, men whose main and only object is to make men peaceful, non-violent, industrious, brave and godly.

There is no more time to be lost. God has taken away wisdom from our rulers and guided them into the path of folly, so that we might have our birth-right. Only, we should purify ourselves with a little sacrifice and a little courage. The Criminal Law amendment Act will bring us Swaraj within the year, if our young men wake up now.

BABU SHYAM SUNDER CHAKRABUTTY.

OUR STUDENTS.

Students of Bengal ! You have ever been her hope and strength. It is you who have always felt, worked and suffered for her; you have obeyed her call, regardless of consequences; you have held your country dearer than

prospects in life; you have been shadowed, spied on, insulted, imprisoned and exiled with hardly a word of love, sympathy or commiseration breathed for you. You have been misunderstood, misrepresented and maligned, but you have not swerved from your duty. You have fed the famished, relieved the flood-stricken, regulated the rush of pilgrims during festivals, furthered the cause of peace and progress, received encomiums of the guardians of law and order, but at the next moment been handed over to the tender mercies of the police as criminals and culprits of the basest type. You have known many ups and downs, but have never been unduly elated or depressed. I am one of those who have an intimate knowledge of what you had to pay for your self-less devotion to your country. I am one of those who drained with you the bitter cup to the dregs. I know the stuff that is in you, I feel the pulse that beats in you, I dream the dream that sustains and inspires you on your dreary march. Will you then fail the country in this supreme crisis when she has just begun to go your way? The stern discipline of suffering, the salutary schooling of experience, the example and precept of the greatest living Indian have at last set you on the right road to salvation. Bring therefore to the altar of the Mother the offering of your holy ardour and enthusiasm. What is your education and instinct worth if interested cry is suffered to pass for public opinion, if sycophancy is suffered to masquerade as citizenship, if tales of petty personal inconveniences are suffered to flaunt themselves as correct reports of national happenings, if an honest appeal to national self-respect is suffered to be stigmatised as coercion and intimidation, if the proud man's *ipse dixit* are suffered to be elevated to the rank of facts and truths, if the most unwarranted restriction of your commonest right—the right to speak, write, associate and

serve—is suffered to assume the sanctity and majesty of law? Will you allow the God in you to be thus insulted? If not, then accept this challenge to your divinity; if not, then call up the spirit in you, if not, then meet hatred with love, misrepresentation with becoming silence, and persecution with noble self-suffering. You are out to teach how wrong ought to be righted, how the very germ of evil is to be killed by goodness, how to make the creed of suffering and sacrifice the established creed of the world, in short, to vindicate the innate dignity and majesty of your soul. One supreme effort is called for. Think and act.

BABU BHAGVAN DAS.

MESSAGE TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Suffering for the sake of an ideal is good for the soul. The opportunity for such suffering has been sent to me also by Providence and I am thankful. The achieving of true Swaraj, true Self-Government, the Government of the Higher Self over the lower in the individual as well as the communal life is a high ideal. I have tried to express my idea of its nature and form in various writings. I hope the Congress authorities may accept it and publish it to the people in order to guide and steady the people's enthusiasm by clear vision of the goal. I hope that friends in Benares and elsewhere will help to keep alive the Kashi Vidya Pitha, my last effort with the most generous help of my dear goldhearted friend Shivaprasad Gupta and others to establish a new centre of reformed education the foundation of reformed: individual and communal life. I hope that the leaders of the various creeds will teach their followings to [distinguish] between the heart essentials which are common to all and the external rites and cere-

monies which are special to each and accidental and thereby bring about the mutual understanding and peace between the races and the nations. I express my deep gratitude to my brothers the English gentlemen who constitute the Government of India for making themselves the instruments of Providence to test the capacity of the Indian people for self-sacrifice which is the only foundation of true Self-Government—the self-sacrifice of suffering for truth and right without retaliation which is specially becoming to the soul of India and will help to re-establish the universal religion of peace on earth and good will among men. I hope that all to whom I may have caused any hurt will forgive me. I send greetings to all Theosophist friends personally known and unknown in all countries.

MOULANA ABDUL KALAM AZAD.

HIS MESSAGE TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

SIR—After Moulana Abdul Kalam's arrest I found the following message with some other notes among Moulana's papers, and I send it to the press as desired by him.

Yours faithfully,
F. D. AHMAD,

Private Secy.

to Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

BEFORE THE ARREST.

To-day is the morning of the 8th instant. Last evening I received information from some reliable sources that the Government of Bengal has after consulting the Viceroy decided to arrest me and Mr. C. R. Das. As for me, the

Government seems to have decided to prosecute me if I do not happen to go out of Calcutta by the 11th instant and thus a great burden of responsibility will have been taken away from their shoulders, were I to leave Calcutta for the Jamiatul-Ulema Conference at Budaon and in that case Mr. Das will only be arrested.

My time was invariably being spent out of Bengal in the service of the Nation. I was as well busy at present with certain important affairs in connection with the movement and had accordingly drawn up my programme up to the 25th, of this month. All of a sudden, however, the Government of Bengal began wholeheartedly to contemplate plans of a new policy which the other provinces readily followed. I was at Bombay on account of the meeting of the All India Congress Committee. I consulted Mahatmaji and he advised me to proceed to Calcutta for a few days as he thought it absolutely necessary. Consequently I arrived here on the 1st December. I found that Government had contemplated some desperate measures against the movement and that there was nothing unlawful that was not being done to prevent the *hartal* of the 24th. The people on the other hand were perfectly firm and peaceful and thus they will continue to be upto the end.

My first duty was that I should ascertain the capacity of the people to maintain peace and forbearance and by the 5th instant I felt perfectly sure of this. I now began to consider the desirability of leaving Calcutta or otherwise. My presence at the Jamiatul-Ulema Conference at Budaon was absolutely necessary. I could not decide anything up to the 6th. I wrote to Mahatmaji saying that Mr. C. R. Das would look up to the affairs at Calcutta and that I was coming to Bombay *via* Budaon. In the

evening of the 6th however matters took a different turn. I felt that the Government had concentrated all their strength on Calcutta which was going to be the field of our final battle and therefore it was necessary for me to give up all other work and devote myself solely to the affairs here and I decided accordingly.

I also found that Government was bent upon crushing the Congress and the Khilafat Committees one by one. The workers were being arrested and prosecuted. The national papers were also likely to be gagged. Mr. Das is now the only person left to work and in this case it was impossible for me to leave Calcutta.

It is true that the Government wanted to avoid the risk of arresting me and they awaited my departure from Calcutta. A friend sent to me by the Government gave me a timely warning to this effect. But I regret that I had to disappoint the Government in this respect also as well as another as my creed at the present moment is not to obey but to disobey.

I decided this on full consideration. For many reasons my presence here was indispensable. By reasons I mean that any time that is available should not be wasted. By the grace of God the opportunity now given to Calcutta is much more valuable and important than anything else and I am sure I am not wrong in this belief. The Government has very kindly relieved me of the great responsibility by deciding on my arrest. God alone knows how much it pained me to have remained outside the jail so far. Those who go ahead scarcely know the feelings of those left behind. Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Motilal Nehru have completed their journeys while I am still lagging behind in the way. I have now begun to feel that I am coming to the end of my

journey and my heart is full of joy and happiness because I am leaving the last but a successful field behind.

I have called the present field of activity in Calcutta "the last and successful field" and that is what I fairly believe it to be. In a short time the country will see what could not be accomplished in the last three years by the whole country, will be done by Calcutta within a few days. Of course to bring all this to a final issue only one further step was necessary but I am not now anxious on this score as I believe that the Government of Bengal will complete our work by its own actions. If both myself and Mr. C. R. Das are arrested within the next two or three days the incident will bring a new life and awakening not only to Calcutta but to the whole of Bengal. The last three years of my Liberty could not arouse Bengal from its profound sleep but I hope our arrest would do that in a moment.

In my arrest I see a new turn on the part of the Mussalmans of India and I especially look upon my brothers in the Punjab and N. W. Frontier and Behar. My Muslim brothers of these provinces have always given a willing and an affectionate ear to my words and have always believed in and relied upon them. For the last ten years they have been the centre of all my hopes. I believe that my arrest will prove for them my last message. By my silence after my arrest they will understand fully what I could not explain to them by my continuous speeches and writings during the last three years. Thus the Government of Bengal is rendering a valuable service not only to Bengal but to the whole of India.

FIRST CONGRATULATIONS TO MAHATMAJI.

If I am arrested the following message be sent Mahatmaji on my behalf :—

I take the opportunity to congratulate you on your success. I hope you will not accuse me of being hasty in this respect. I am looking forward to that much longed-for moment and I would not like others to surprise me in tendering the congratulations. You are every day running short of human aid as your colleagues are being frequently arrested but Divine Aid is on the other hand increasing. The recent disturbance in Bombay had caused you great pain and I felt much aggrieved to see you so unhappy and restless on that account. But Calcutta is now aroused in order to present to you the pleasant fruits of success in place of your sorrowful feelings of the past.

We had last had a talk about Calcutta on the 25th November and I am glad that the assurance given to you then has proved to be right. I am working in Calcutta for the last 15 years and my family have been residing here for about 50 years and therefore the assurance given was based on my personal knowledge and belief. The Musslims of Calcutta have done most important work in connection with the Khilafat movement during the last three years, and in this last stage also Calcutta will take the lead. It has understood the moral of peaceful sacrifice. It will neither flare up nor extinguish but the fire will continue to burn on. It appears that the share of completing the stage of peaceful civil disobedience has fallen on Calcutta, to which it has a right.

My first message of ten years ago is also my last message of to-day *i. e.*, "Be neither harassed nor sorrowful. If you can cultivate the real faith in you, you can predominate all". The foundation of our success is based upon the following four principles—*viz.*

- (1) Complete unity among Hindus and Mussalmans,
- (2) Peace, (3) Organization, (4) Sacrifice and firmness.

TO MUSSALMANS.

I will particularly appeal to my Muslim brothers to keep in mind their religious traditions and truths and to get ahead of their Hindu brethren in these present critical times. If they lag behind it will be for them an act of utter shame and disgrace in the eyes of the forty crores of Musalmans of the world. I will also particularly ask them to be faithful to their Hindu brothers and even if one or a few of them were to do something unpleasant they would excuse them for it but not in any way hurt their feelings. They should also see that they do not commit an act which would give cause to friction in their sacred unity. Secondly they should place complete confidence in the Mahatmaji and act up to his instructions with full sincerity and firmness unless he asks them to do anything against Islam (which, I know, he would never do).

TO CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE.

As for the work done by the above Committee, I am fully satisfied. The presence of its courageous and ardent President, Saith Chhotani is in itself a guarantee of its success. My friend, Dr. Sayed Mahmood, is already working vigorously as Secretary. Mr. M. Saddiq Khatri is also there to help him. I trust the office-bearers and officials have not forgotten what I told them while last at Bombay and their united life and activities will not let our absence be felt.

TO HAKIM MOHOMMED AJMAL KHAN SAHIB AND DR. ANSARI.

The present circumstances have thrown on your shoulders the burden of our duties in addition to those of yours. It seems to have been destined that all the work in the outside should be done by you. It would be well if you go to Bombay and leave Delhi to itself.

ANGORA FUND.

I regret I could not get time to finish the programme of the above fund. Presumably ten lakhs have been collected by now. Formerly, the time for these collections was fixed up to the end of this month but I think it should be extended for a month more and collections continued up to the end of January. I was thinking of fixing a date at the middle of December for the purpose and work on the lines of census work. I was to notify before hand that the collectors of this fund will go out on a particular day or days, that everybody should remain indoors on that particular day and give their little mite to the fund. It should be arranged at least once for all that the Muslims of India should make some sacrifice for the protection of Islam and the Khilafat. But when I reached Calcutta I found that the times were not suited for such a step. I now wish that a declaration to this effect be made at the Ahmedabad Khilafat Conference and date fixed for the purpose in the month of January.

JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA.

The body of the Jamiat Ul-Ulema is at present very important with a big responsibility. This is a Council of Ulemas and there is none besides them to guide the Muslims in their religious and worldly matters. The Jamiat have before them an important religious item. May God give them strength and guide them to arrive at a better conclusion with due concurrence. At the present moment I respectfully beg to remind them of the following points:—

(1) Unity among your members is the fundamental principle of our success. (2) You are not far from looking into the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity and its importance from a religious point of view. It should be

preserved at all costs, and it is entirely in your hands. (3) All the Ulemas, and specially, members of the Jamiat should attend the Ahmedabad Congress and this should be arranged by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. (4) Action be at once taken on the Resolution passed at Lahore, for enlisting members and bring it to the fixed number as early as possible.

TO GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

I would also like to say a word or two to Sir Henry Wheeler and Mr. Clarke, Commissioner of Police Calcutta, and that is that there shall be a "complete and successful *hartal*" on the 24th and the work of the Congress and Khilafat Committees will continue with re-doubled zeal and energy after we are arrested.

TO MY COUNTRYMEN.

After four years' of my internment I was set at liberty in December 1919 and now after two years I am again going to jail. May God help and guide you and keep you all firm in the path of truth and the cause of the country.

ABDUL KALAM AZAD.

Calcutta, 8th December, 1921.

LALA LAJPAT RAI'S LAST MESSAGE.

The following article was handed over to the editor of the *Bande Mataram* by Lala Lajpat Rai after judgment had been pronounced.

My dear countrymen,

Upto to-day I was an under-trial prisoner but now I am a convict. Most probably, till the expiry of my term, I shall have no opportunity of exchanging ideas with you, so I present to you the following few thoughts on the current events.

At the outset, I desire to assure you that I am perfectly happy. I am grateful to God for the opportunities of performing moral *Sadhans* (practices) afforded to me through the grace of the present Government. I am trying so that those elements of pride, vanity, selfishness and self-love which may still form part of my character may be destroyed in the forage of jail life, thus enabling me to come out of this place purified. Last time when I was imprisoned, I had no experience of jail life and I had no opportunity of witnessing the spectacle wherein human beings are degraded from humanity. The experience that I am having this time has taught me that it is not possible to increase the dignity inherent in being a mere man by means of wealth, riches, learning and position. There were very few *men* in the world and therefore my only desire is to become a *man*. Around me there are innumerable men, many of them are prisoners and some officials. In my judgment a large majority of those people who are outside jails and owing to the possession of wealth, riches, learning or position are looked upon with respect by society, are not better than these prisoners. They are outside jail because Society as at present constituted punishes Poverty and Helplessness and not Crime. There is hardly any man within the jail who does not commit an "offence" (*Badmashi*). But while the poor and helpless prisoner is cruelly degraded from the pedestal of humanity, others get the reward for this *Badmashi* in the shape of increment and prosperity. A prisoner is deprived of treatment deserving of a man, merely because he is a prisoner so much so that gradually all the finer qualities in him are wiped away and he becomes a quadruped. Their warders or guards become quadrupeds or beasts because society tolerates or encourages them. The result in both cases is the same. I have felt that it is necessary

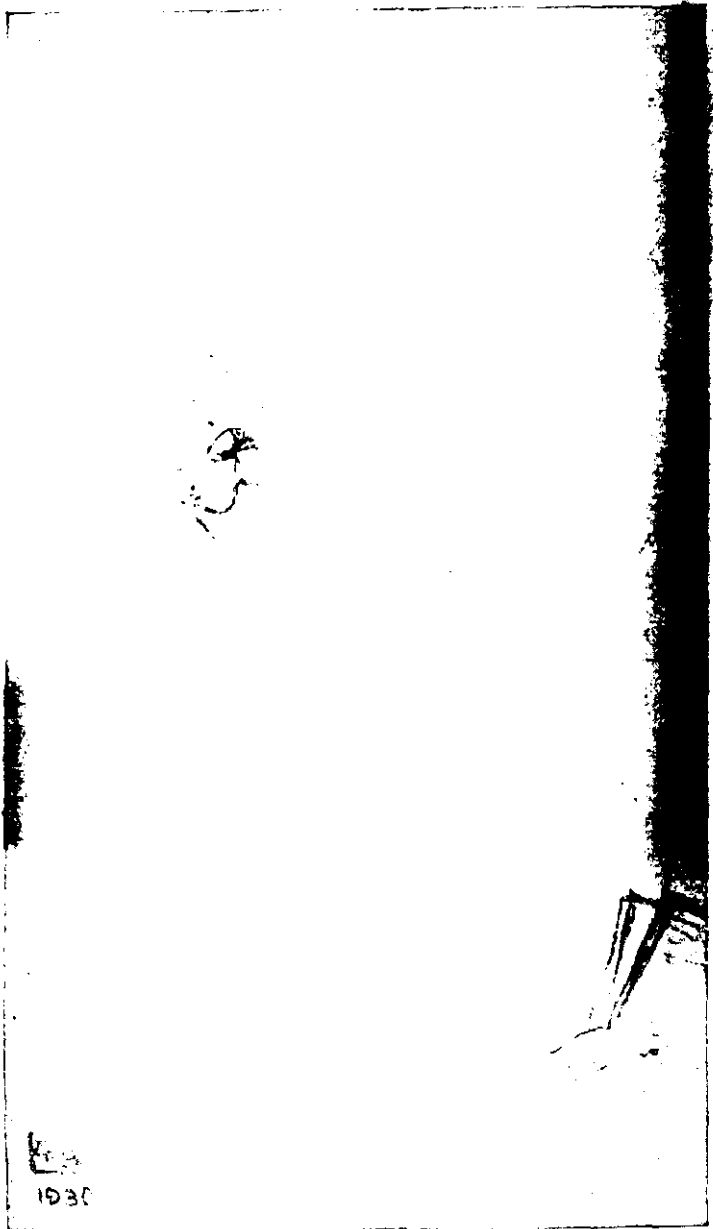
for us to love men merely because they are men and not because of their wealth, riches, learning or position. Jails are the Satan's home. Within these there is no end of dirt, both outward and inward. Within them there is also dishonesty and mischief not fit to be described. But my heart longs to love more and more, these dirty, mischievous, misery-stricken "Criminals." They are wicked and criminals because society by its inhuman treatment has made them so, otherwise every one of them possesses within himself the same priceless gift with which Mahatma Gandhi is endowed. These jails have not been made for reform purposes but in order that certain persons, who are in possession of power, may find an opportunity of fostering their pride. These people are themselves helpless. Their education and training are responsible for their helplessness. That is why they are themselves deserving of pity. I am trying to make my mind free (from any unkind thoughts) towards them also so that there may remain in my mind no trace of any feeling of grudge or anger against them. Owing to these reasons I look upon my imprisonment as an unequalled blessing. There is no better school than this for practising self-control and learning humility, provided one can adapt one's nature to practise these. So far about my jail life.

Now I wish you to understand clearly why we have been imprisoned. The act for which we have been punished was not an act of Civil Disobedience. We have not till now started Civil Disobedience. It is our faith that freedom of speech and writing is our birthright. There can be only one limitation to it and it is this, that by that freedom we may not encroach upon the natural rights of others and we may not do anything against morality. Similarly it is our birthright to confer together and to

benefit by association with one another. There is one limitation to this also, and it is this, that we should not use this right to injure another. If we act contrary to these principles, society is entitled to punish us. But no society has the right to punish the whole society for our mistake and deprive it of these birthrights. Whatever I did on the 3rd December, I did in defence of these birthrights of myself and of society. I believe that in prohibiting our meeting and arresting us: Government has broken its own law. But I do not wish to enter into a verbal discussion."

Proceeding further Lala Lajpat Rai emphasizes the fact that they had not yet embarked on civil disobedience which was to commence from the 15th January.

LIVING EMBODIMENT OF SOUL FORCE.



etch By K. W. DESAI.

India's Case for Swaraj

BY MAHATMA GANDHI.

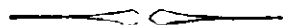
BEING
SELECT SPEECHES, WRITINGS, INTERVIEWS
ETCETERA OF MAHATMA GANDHI
IN ENGLAND IN 1931.

Foreword by

MRS. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA.

Introduction by

SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI.



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Fighting Out of Love

"I am glad to be returning to India, but sorry to have to leave England. That is my happy condition." These were Mahatma Gandhi's last words before leaving England, uttered to Reuter's special representative in a farewell message to the country as he was embarking.

"The English people should believe me," continued Mahatma Gandhi, "when I say that if it falls to my lot to fight them, I will be engaged in the fight never out of hatred, but most surely out of love, even as I have fought some of my dearest relations. Hence I am determined to make every effort to continue co-operation as far as it is consistent with national self-respect."

Foreword.

From Yerawada to St. James' is a far cry, but Gandhiji remains the same enigmatic and mythical figure to the ordinary man, whether he sits silently at his charkha in the dim light of the prison or amidst the ancient haunt of a Palace.

With an unswerving directness of speech and an almost incredible simplicity of action he has baffled the complex World over and over again, for man has so long been wandering in a vain quest along bye-paths and side lanes that he has nearly forgotten the straight road of Truth.

When Gandhiji picked up a handful of salt on the sands of Dandi with almost childlike playfulness, some did scoff and scorn at his queer pranks, for the mud-streaked grains of salt were a poor enough weapon to be arrayed against the superb might of the British Empire. But "magical his fingers burn" and the common salt turns to an invincible spiritual force that shakes not merely the might of the British Empire but even the very solid foundations of a crude old fortress of a World entrenched securely behind the ostentatious protection of armaments, naval bases, aerodromes and poison gases. For, here was a new force, an inexplicable force, that chose to defy them and yet refused to touch them. Vanquished, yet loth to admit it, he is challenged to a wordy warfare on a combating ground situated in the very heart of the enemy's citadel.

History has often painted pictures of rebels at the thrones of Kings, brave and defiant, flushed with self-righteousness. But, history will have to use a new brush and dreamily paint in soft pastel shades a picture that imagination can capture but one which will elude the most skilful of fingers. A frail figure sits scantily clothed in the biting English winter pierced on every side by keen doubting eyes, and pleads for those long forgotten truths of old. Each word is an echo, a memory, a haunting melody stirring up strange emotions, emotions that had been hidden away lest they should disturb. His words are not the traditional reverberations that thunder and peal and shatter the atmosphere. Fresh and vigorous, they drop clothed in graceful dignity. They are the eternal silences eloquent by virtue of their very quiet. Gentle yet terrible, soft yet unyielding, peaceful yet dynamic, his speeches have poured forth, as do floods of light when dawn sings out her purples and golds and scarlets, all merging ultimately white glow, smiling on the high and the low alike, blessing both the foe and the friend with the same divine beatitude.

Unique in their utterances, matchless in their simplicity, Gandhiji's Speeches create a new technique in political art. In the words of a young Indian writer he has demonstrated to the World "what the West with its Indian diplomacy and political manoeuvring forgets and what India with its slave mentality has not yet grasped, that truthfulness is the best tactics and sincerity the supreme strategy."

Gandhiji has prepared a case not merely for India's Freedom but for a vaster and more comprehensive morality.

In his own inimitable way he has shown that there cannot be two moral codes, one for the individual and one for the nation. His heart feels as much for the tyrant as for the victim, since the tyrant is but a greater victim of his own tyranny. And therefore, is there never a tinge of bitterness or sting in his speeches. Like the fresh waters of a spring they renovate all who come to drink of them. Equally free from arrogance are they, authoritative utterances as they are of the Sole Representative of the one-fifth of the human race, for it is their lowliness that renders them so magnificent. They have recast into newer moulds ideals of patriotism, nationalism and life itself, introducing a more correct perspective of things and values.

Gandhiji sums up his mission when he says "My goal is friendship with the World. Having flung aside the sword there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me. It is by offering that cup that I expect to draw them close to me. I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man,"

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

Introduction.

Before Mahatma Gandhi left for England, the decision of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to send him as the sole representative of the Congress to the Round Table Conference was adversely criticised in non-Congress circles. The fear was expressed that Gandhiji would be no match for the British politicians, who were recognised to be the world's most masterful diplomats, and that he would be hoodwinked by them into accepting a compromise which, while securing for the country the shadow, would deprive it of the substance, of Independence. But, the critics failed to realise the true inwardness of the decision of the Working Committee and they certainly did not know Gandhiji.

The Congress had decided to co-operate with the Government in the work of the Round Table Conference not to wage a battle of diplomacy, much less to cajole and flatter them into making concessions, but to assert the right of the Indian people to be masters of their destiny and secure a re-adjustment of Indo-British relations on terms honourable to India as well as England. The Congress when it decided to co-operate had no mental reservation. It was prepared to go to the utmost limit of concession consistent with its fundamental demand for Freedom to enable both the countries to have a safe passage over the bridge which the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement had built. The co-operation it offered was genuine

because it was the co-operation of an equal—of a body that was prepared successfully to demonstrate its ability to win its object by non-co-operation. The work, therefore, which the representative of the Congress had to do at the Conference was simple. It was at once to test whether England was ready to implement the Gentleman's Agreement which had brought about the Truce in India, whether, in short, she was prepared to relinquish control over the Indian Army, Foreign Relations and Finance—subject to safeguards demonstrably in the interests of India,—and to warn her that the only consequences of her refusal to do so would be a parting of the ways and the revival of the Satyagraha Campaign. Who was better fitted to accomplish this work than Gandhiji ?

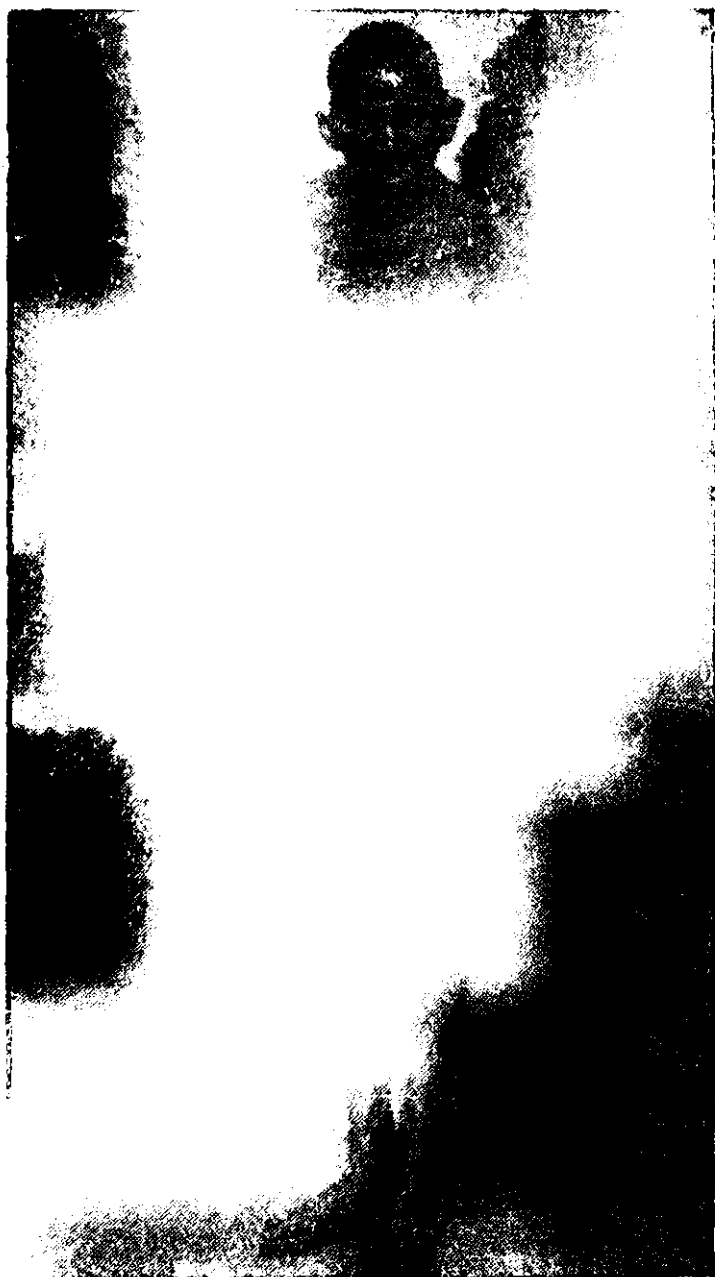
How well he has accomplished it is now known to the world. Attempts were made, in the first instance, to discredit him and to damage the cause of India because a carefully packed Conference did not do what it could not do, namely, settle the communal problem. But, the attempts failed and the Premier, in his speech adjourning the Conference, had to declare that the framing of the Constitution should not depend upon a previous settlement of the communal question. How skilfully Mahatmaji compelled the masterful British diplomats to acknowledge defeat was, however, best demonstrated by his frustration of their cunning plan regarding Provincial Autonomy.

No single individual was honoured more than Gandhiji when India sent him as her sole plenipotentiary to England. No country was better and more nobly served by its pleni-

potentiary than India by Gandhiji. The speeches which he delivered in England while carrying out his mandate will remain among the historic documents of the world and priceless possessions of India—a source of constant inspiration to her sons and daughters. They have been brought together in the present volume,

SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI.

INDIA'S SPOKESMAN



“My loin cloth is the dress of my Principals—
the people of India.”

GANDHIJI'S FAVOURITE HYMNS.

Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom
Lead Thou me on ;

The night is dark and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on ;

Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to see
The distant scene ; one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Shouldst lead me on ;

I loved to choose and see my path ; but now
Lead Thou me on ;

I loved the garish day, and spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will : remember not past years.
So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on,

O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent till
The night is gone,
And with the morn, those angel faces smile,
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.

Amen.

(२)

भजन की धुन.

रघुपति राघव राजाराम । पतितपावन सीताराम ॥

धारमना स्वामीनी लीला, ते रत्नार्दन निरखे जौने ॥
 राम अमलमां राता माता, पूरा प्रीती परखे जौने ।
 मदी पद पाया ते मरजावा, मुकी मननो मेल जौने ॥
 माया साट मावी वरुन, सापडवी नहिं रहैल जौने ।
 माही पड्या ते मही सुख माण, देखनारा दाखे जौने ॥
 प्रमथ्य पावकनी ज्वाळा, माळी पाज माण जौने ।
 तीरे ज्यो जूवे तमासा, ते काडी नव पासे जौने ॥
 मरण आगळे ते मरे मूर्ती, दिलनी दुखा वासे जौने ।
 सिन्धु मय्य मोती लेवा, माही पड्या मरजावा जौने ॥
 सुत विन दारा शीश मय्य, ते पासे रस पोवा जौने ।
 प्रथम पहेलुं मस्तक मुकी, बळनी लेवुं नाम जौने ॥
 हरिनी मारण हे शरानी, नहिं कायरेन काम जौने ।

राम लीला खमाल-तीन ताल.

(४)

मण नरसैषो तेनुं दरशन करनी, कुळ एकोतिर ताया रे ॥
 वणलमां न कपटद्वित हे, काम काय निवग्या रे ।
 रामनाम शू ताळा लगी, सकळ तीरथ तेना नमसा रे ॥
 साहे माया ज्योप नहिं जेन, दह ब्रह्मण जेना मनसा रे ।
 जिह्वा थकी असत्य न बोल, परधन नव झाले द्याय रे ॥
 समदष्टि न गज्या लागी, परकी जेन मात रे ।
 वाच काळ मन निश्चळ राखे, धन धन जेनी तेनी रे ॥
 सकळ लंकायां सहने बंद, निदा न करे कर्ना रे ।
 परदुःखे उपकार करे तोंय, मन आश्रमान न आण रे ॥
 बलवचन ती तेने कहीय, जे पाह पराई जाण रे ।

राम खमाल-दुसऱाळा.

(३)

A BIRTH DAY PRESENT

Old English Charkha.

Dr. Dey (Vice-President) and Mr. Puri (Asst. Sec.) of the Gandhi Society, London called at Kingsley Hall on November 8, early in the morning to meet Mahatma Gandhi. The object of the visit was to make over the spinning wheel, which was presented to him on Oct. 2nd at Westminster Palace Rooms as his birthday present by the Gandhi Society.

The name of the original donor who presented the charkha to the Society) was kept in secrecy at her request at the time Mahatma had expressed desire to meet her if she were present at the gathering. But she was not. The Swedish lady who is still in Sweden with her parents has requested Mr. Brockway (President) and Mr. Dara (Secretary) to depute Mr. Puri (Asst. Secretary) and her husband Dr. Jatindra Nath Dey (Vice-President), a practising doctor in London, to wait upon the Mahatma and present the charkha with her respects. For, she finds, she would not be able to get back to London before Mahatma sails for India.

Mahatma was taken by a very agreeable surprise at the sight of the charkha. "Ah! charkha. Is it from Mr. Dara" (and he smiled as he came out for his customary walk) "I have been waiting for it. I was wondering whether it will ever come to me", said he and laughed. "I am very glad to know it," he remarked, when he was told that Mrs. Dey was very keen in handing over this old English charkha to him herself. She is in fact trying hard now to get a Swedish model for the Mahatma.

The most sensational part of the episode was the amazement which captured the Police detectives stationed at the

Mrs. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA.



Who as chief organiser of the Hindustani Seva
Dal is recruiting Women Soldiers
for the National Army.

Kingsley Hall. During the short hours of the morning, when they saw two brown faces jumping off the car and taking an old wooden wheel out, they evidently took it for something resembling an Indian machine-gun. The "charkha" soon became the centre of the Police electric torches. And they were not satisfied with the nature of this queer instrument, until they had read the tablet stamped on it; once, twice, thrice reading:

This Spinning-wheel is presented to Mahatma Gandhi at his 63rd birthday by the Gandhi Society, London.

GIFT OF POPPIES TO MAHATMA.

British Weather Makes Gandhiji Optimistic

On November 11, two women poppy sellers were waiting at Knightsbridge for a long time, as they were anxious that Mahatma Gandhi should receive presents of poppies from them. As he was getting into his car to drive to Lady Astor's house amidst fine sunshine, Mahatma Gandhi's English friend paid two shillings for each poppy. Mahatma Gandhi accepted the gift with an expression of thanks.

Lady Astor also later presented him with another poppy. Mahatmaji talked with her at great length on the Indian communal issue. She showed concern about the Minorities and the Depressed classes. Mahatma Gandhi, it is understood, explained to her how the Congress was working for the depressed classes. He told his English companion, "I believe that there is still a silver lining to the cloud somewhere, and a solution of the Indian problem is still possible, because I find even in November, the sun is shining so gloriously in London. I am amazed at it."

His companion replied: "Because you are in London."

DREAMING!



PEACE OR WAR?

PREMIER'S "OFFER" TO INDIA AT A GLANCE.

The British Premier at the Plenary session of the Round Table Conference, in his announcement, which was endorsed by the Cabinet, repeated the assurance that the declaration of January 1931 remains.

The Government reaffirms belief in an All-India Federation and intends to persist unsparingly in order to surmount the difficulty. The statement has been issued as a White Paper.

It is intended to ask for the Parliamentary approval immediately. Federation still holds the field. Provinces will be responsibly governed and will enjoy the greatest freedom.

The N. W. F. P. will be constituted immediately into a Governor's province with due regard to the Frontier's requirements.

Sind will be separated if Finances were safe. A conference will be called for this purpose.

A Working Committee of the R. T. Conference in India is proposed to keep in touch with both the countries, and a Franchise Committee, a Fact-Finding committee and a Finance Committee with British statesmen as Chairmen will be set up.

Central Government will be responsible to the Legislature subject to Defence, and Foreign Affairs as reserved subjects under the control of the Governor-General and Financial safeguards are to remain.

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PART II.

**SPEECHES, WRITINGS
AND
INTERVIEWS.**

“NO ROOM FOR ME IN A SUBJECTED INDIA.”

Mahatmaji Interprets Federation In Terms Of Congress Mandate.

In his maiden speech at the Federal Structure Committee, Mahatma Gandhi indulged in some plain-speaking regarding the unrepresentative character of the Indian Delegation which led to hopeless uncertainty and endless delay. Regarding the exclusion of the Nationalist Muslims, he dropped a significant hint: “I feel that there has been a notable gap. So I am oppressed at the sense of unreality of the composition.”

“Lodging a humble complaint” against His Majesty’s Government, he challenged them to place their cards on the table, instead of playing for time and juggling with momentous issues.

Discussing the details of Federation, item by item, he interpreted them in terms of the Congress mandate and concluded with a solemn declaration: “If it is to be a subjected India, then I have no place there.”

The following is the full text of Mahatma Gandhi’s speech at the Federal Structure Committee, on the first day of his participation :-

Not without great hesitation I have taken part in the debate, and before I proceed to deal with the several points that are noted for discussion, I must say that I have to disburse myself from cer-

tain oppressive feelings that have overcome me since Monday last. I have watched with great attention the discussion of the last three days and have also made a great study of the list of delegates.

My first feeling of oppression is due to the fact that these delegates are not the chosen representatives of the nation as they should have been. But they have been chosen by the Government. I saw, as I studied the list, and I knew from my experience of my country that there are different parties and groups in India and I feel that there has been a notable gap. So I am oppressed at the sense of unreality of their composition.

The second feeling of oppression is the unreality of the proceedings which seem to be interminable, leading them to nowhere.

If they go on at this rate I do not know if the proceedings would pass beyond the points raised before that Sub-Committee threadbare. I would therefore tender my deepest sympathy to the Chairman for the very great patience and unfailing courtesy with which he is handling the members of the Committee and would congratulate him upon great pains that he is taking. I hope at the end of our task it would be possible for us to tender him our congratulations for enabling us or compelling us to show some tangible results.

At the same time may I lodge a humble complaint against His Majesty's advisers? Having brought the Committee from the overseas and knowing, as they did know, they were all of them without any exception busy people as the advisers themselves, and had left their respective posts of duty, was it not possible for His Majesty's advisers to give the Members of the Committee a lead? Can I not, through the Chairman, appeal to them to let the

Committee know their mind.

R. T. C. OR DEBATING SOCIETY?

I would be personally delighted at it. I personally feel that it would be a proper procedure if they would bring forward some concrete proposals for taking the opinion of the Committee. If such a thing is done, I have no doubt that we would come to some conclusion—good or bad, satisfactory or unsatisfactory. But if members resolve themselves into a Debating Society, each member of which gives eloquent discourses upon points already severally raised, I do not think we would be serving or advancing the purpose for which we have been brought together. It seems to me that it might still be possible for the chairman to appoint a Sub-Committee to give us some points for consideration, so that the proceedings might terminate in fair time. I am simply mentioning this and making a suggestion to the Chairman to bring it to the notice of His Majesty's advisers.

Lord Sankey : --Oh, yes, I shall.

I want them to guide the committee by leading and placing their own cards on the table. I want them to say what they would do supposing the members of the Committee appointed them as arbitrators of their destiny. If they would be good enough to seek advice of the Committee, then the Committee would give them. That in my opinion, would really be better than this state of hopeless uncertainty and endless delay.

IN TERMS OF CONGRESS MANDATE.

I now venture to offer a few remarks upon Head 2. In this connection, I share the same difficulty that faced Sir Tej Baha-

dur Sapru. I too feel embarrassed, in that, I am called upon to deal with several "sub-heads" when I do not know what the franchise actually is. An additional difficulty is also staring me in the face. I have already placed before the Committee the mandate of the Congress, and I have to discuss every one of the subjects in terms of this mandate. Therefore, on certain of the sub-heads, I would have to offer suggestions or opinion in the terms of that mandate, and if the Sub-Committee did not know what it was sitting for, naturally in that case, I might really offer no value to that Committee. Their opinion would be of value only in terms of that mandate. My meaning would be clearer after the examination of the sub-heads.

PLEA FOR STATES PEOPLE.

On the sub-head 1, whilst my sympathy goes with Dr. Ambedkar, my reasons go wholly with Mr. Gavin Jones and Sir Sultan Ahmed. If the Committee was homogenous, whose members were entitled to vote and come to conclusions, I would sail up to a large distance with Dr. Ambedkar, but such was not the case. We are a group. Each member, being perfectly independent entitled to give his or her opinion. In my opinion, it is therefore, not right to tell the States what they should do or should not do. The States have generously come to our assistance by consenting to federate with us. Perhaps, thus, they are even prepared to part with some of their own rights. Therefore I cannot but support Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Gavin Jones. I am here to plead with the States and to show them their own difficulties. We have on our part to recognise our special difficulty also. I therefore venture to suggest to the Princes to have a sympathetic consideration for the people who represent the lower

class of society by finding them a place also in any scheme that we might evolve and present to the Conference for acceptance. The States have the interests of their ryots at heart and they rightly claim jealously to guard their interests. Coming more and more in contact with the popular India, British India had common cause at heart with that of popular India and "vice versa". After all there is no real vital division between these two Indias. As we can divide a living body in two parts, we might divide India in two parts. But after having lived together from time immemorial, no artificial bondage can divide us now.

PRINCES AND PEOPLE.

The Princes have frankly and courageously declared in favour of the Federation and claim to be of the same blood--kith and kin. How can they do otherwise? There is really speaking no difference between us and the Princes, except that we are common people and the princes are God-made men,—who had made them noblemen. I wish them all prosperity and pray that their prosperity will be utilised for the advancement of their people and their subjects. I cannot go beyond that. I cannot even appeal to them. It is open to them either to come in or not to come in the Federation. Without a spirit of give and take I know we cannot come to any definite scheme of Federation and ultimately we may quarrel and break up. As a matter of fact, we need not embark upon any scheme of Federation without having full heart in the scheme. If we at all do so, let us do so whole-heartedly.

I have considered the sub-head in connection with the question of disqualification. Although I claim to be a full-fledged democrat, I have no hesitation to say that it is not inconsistent

PRICKING THE BUBBLES!



MAHATMA SPOILS BIG BOYS' PLAY

with one's principle with regard to the right of a voter to attach some disqualification for any member or some such other thing when it is necessary to unseat such a member. I whole-heartedly endorse the idea and principle of disqualification. Now with regard to the word "Moral Turpitude" used by so many members: Frankly speaking, the words have not frightened me. On the contrary, I think they are very good words. We need judges to surmount difficulties and their judgment must be acceptable. If perchance persons like me were to offer civil disobedience and were condemned guilty of "moral turpitude", then I shall not mind being disqualified by any judge. But on this account, I am not disposed to say there should be no disqualification or encroachment upon the rights of voters. Some have suggested the test of age limit. I should suggest character limit as well.

PLEGDED TO ADULT SUFFRAGE.

As regards sub-head 3—Direct and Indirect Elections, I am in substantial agreement with Lord Peel, so far as the principle of indirect election is concerned. I am talking simply as a layman and do not know if the word's "indirect elections" had any technical meaning. I am personally going to say what I mean. If that is also called indirect elections I would plead for it—with probably a large body of public opinion in favour of that method. So, the expression "Indirect Elections" does not frighten me.

I am wedded to the principle of Adult Suffrage. Somehow or the other the Indian National Congress swears by it. We want adult suffrage for more reasons than one. One decisive reason to me is it enables me to satisfy all reasonable aspirations not only of Mussalmans, Christians, Jews, Untouchables, Parsis

and the labourers but also of all kinds of classes. I cannot conceive of a principle, that because a man has got wealth, he should have vote, whereas, though a man may have got character, he may not get vote, because of want of wealth or literacy. A labourer works honestly, sweats his brow day in and day out, but he is after all a poor man. It is an unbearable thing to me, having lived amongst the poorest of people and having prided to be their friend. I have seen that some of the finest specimens of humanity come from amongst the poorest people and untouchables.

I am not enamoured of the doctrine of literary voters; they must have the knowledge of the three R's. I, of course, want for my people the knowledge of the three R's., but I also know that if I have to wait before my people are thus qualified to vote, I shall have to wait until the Greek Calends. I am not prepared to wait. I know millions of these men who are quite capable of voting, but it is absolutely impossible to bring them on the Voters' List. I share Lord Peel's fears that if there are unweildy constituencies, it will not be possible for the candidates to come in personal contact or keep with them from time to time. Although I have never aspired to Legislative honours, I have had to do something or the other with the elections and had learnt something from the experience of those who had been members of the legislatures.

The National Congress has evolved a scheme. Though the Government in India accused them of insolently setting up a parallel Government, I subscribe to the charge in my own fashion. Though we had not set up any parallel Government, we did aspire to displace the present Government, and in the course of the evolution to take charge of the Government.

NO DISTINCTION OF SEX.

Having been for the last 15 years a draftsman of the Indian National Congress and having been for nearly 20 years a draftsman for a similar body in South Africa, I hope the Committee will share with me my experiences. In the Congress constitution, there is adult suffrage and a nominal fee of annas four. I will not mind imposing that fee. In a poor country like India we cannot afford to run the risk of spending my wealth in elections. I would avoid that. Even to me, four annas is much. We have also another distinguishing feature in our constitution. So far as I know the working of the legislature all those who are entitled to vote are on the list. Hence whether a man wanted to vote or not he would find his name on the register. That was my experience many years ago. One fine morning in Durban (Natal), though I never cared to place my name on the roll, a candidate who wanted my vote drew my attention to the fact and since then that was how a Voters' List is prepared. I would want some alternative in the matter of vote. And subject to the conditions regarding Age, etc., and any other conditions applicable to all to have their names on the list, I should welcome them without distinction of sex. I want a scheme of that character.

A. I. C. C. AS CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

In my opinion, something is also needed to link the villages with the Central Legislature. We have also in the Congress constitution provincial bodies analogous to the Provincial Legislatures. We have our tin pot legislatures and also administrations with their own executives. Of course, we have no bayonets to back them. But the backing behind them is infinitely decisive. By exacting obedience fully, the Congress during the last 45

had grown from height to height year after year, on the cornerstone—that is the qualification of voters. We cannot change that at all. I would, as an illustration, take only one province. Villagers elect their own Committee—what are called the Taluka Committees. These Taluka Committees elect the Provincial Councils and these latter Councils send men to the Central Legislature—I might so dub it—the A. I. C. C. I have visualized humbly that in 700 thousand villages, there are 500 thousand little more in popular India. These units elect their own representatives.

If adult suffrage is accepted, then we will have to fall back upon somewhat on lines suggested by me. It has worked with excellent results, and we have no difficulty in establishing contact with the villagers to march smoothly with us.

ONE CHAMBER WILL DO.

Regarding the Bi-cameral Legislatures: If it does not offend the susceptibilities of the Committee, I find myself in Mr. Joshi's legislature, nor am I afraid of popular legislature running away hastily passing Acts. I will not give the popular legislature a bad name and then hang it. In my opinion, popular legislature will take care of itself. On the contrary, though I have no fear, I would notice a state of affair when there would be a battle royal between the popular chamber and the upper chamber. I cannot, however, take any decisive attitude. I think we can do with one chamber with great advantage.

NO SPECIAL REPRESENTATION.

Regarding sub-head 5, Representation: Congress has reconciled itself with the special interests of Hindus, Muslim

and Jews, etc. I listened to the list of Special Interests. So far as untouchability was concerned, I could not grasp what Dr. Ambedkar had to say. He represents the interests of the Untouchables. Their interests are dear to the Congress, as are the interests of any other human being. I, however, strongly resist any special representation. With adult suffrage, labour etc. does not require any special interest. Then there has been no desire on the part of the Congress to dispossess the landlords of their possession, but to act as the trustees of their tenants. I pride so much that the landlords should be their candidates or representatives. In doing so they will have to make common cause with their ryots. If landlords, therefore, insist on special interest, they would, I am afraid, be throwing an apple of discord in our midst. I hope they will not do such a thing. My friends, the Europeans, whom Mr. Gavin Jones represents, I suggest that hitherto they have been the privileged class receiving protection—liberally—from the foreign Government. If they make common cause with the masses of India, then they need not be afraid of anything.

If Mr. Gavin Jones was prepared to make common cause throughout the length and breadth of India, I am sure he would be elected, even in preference to an Indian.

Take for instance my friend Mr. Charlie Andrews. He can be a delegate in any constituency in India without the slightest difficulty and will be received with open heart. I therefore appeal to Europeans to live on the good-will of the people—not safeguarded or protected. That would be the wrong way to go about the business. I would want them to live—beseech them

to live—as one of the Indians. There is no room for protection of special interests.

Regarding oath of allegiance. That is a delicate point. I will not be able to give any opinion just now. If it was to be complete freedom, complete independence of India, the Oath of Allegiance can naturally be of one character. But if it was to be a subjected India then I have no place there. It is, however, not possible for me to give any opinion upon the subject of Oath of Allegiance.

NO ROOM FOR NOMINATION.

With regard to the provision of nominated members in the Chambers, the Congress scheme has no room for nominated members. It does not see the slightest justification for it. We want votes by popular electorate—an undiluted democracy. Women, Christians, Untouchables, and even any other large minorities if not chosen by the Constituencies, then the elected members can nominate them to elect those who should have been elected, As an illustration, in one Provincial Congress Council there is a rule that a certain number of women, Musalmans and Untouchables must be elected from that body. I therefore welcome some such saving clause. The Congress mentality is wholly and absolutely against caste, against doctrines of superiority and inferiority. It lives and works in the spirit of absolute equality.

Answering Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar, Mahatmaji stated that by nomination he meant co-option by those who were elected of those who did not get elected. He remarked: "As a layman I have no accurate language".

Answering Mrs. Subbaroyan Mahatmaji said : "If to the Central Legislature women were not elected, I would boycott that legislature. If the electorate do not elect proper share of women, I shall refuse to sit in that legislature. Do you suppose women do not care enjoying the honour of being elected by elected legislators?"

NO CO-OPERATION IN BANKRUPTCY MEASURES.

WHY IS LEGISLATURE FLOUTED ?

A surprise attack on the Indian Government's Emergency Currency measures was made by Gandhiji at the Federal Structure Committee on September 22, when he made a statement in reply to Sir Samuel Hoare's announcement made the previous day. Gandhiji expressed his definite disapproval of the Government method and declared that he was unable to extend to them the support which the Secretary of State had asked.

Gandhiji said :

“ Whilst every thoughtful Congressman must sympathise with the British Nation in this hour of crisis, I must express my surprise and my sorrow at the manner in which action seems to have been taken in India. “What pains me,” he continued, “the fact that the decision has been taken over the heads of the Legislatures, which, in my view, is a striking proof of the unbending attitude of the Government of India. Evidently on matters of the most vital importance, Indians are not yet considered fit to be consulted, much less to decide what is good for them.

“ I repudiate that view as far as Congress is concerned and therefore I am unable to give my support to the measure for which the Secretary of State for India had asked.”

EXPLOITATION NOT OUR GOAL!

INDIA'S HAND OF FRIENDSHIP.

Mahatma Gandhi delivered his expected address when the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference were resumed at St. James' Palace. For the first time in the Conference the case for the Congress party—the biggest, best organised, and mightiest of the Indian political parties—was directly put.

Mahatma Gandhi who sat again on the left of the Lord Chancellor, was the first speaker. It is usual for members to speak seated. The Mahatma expressed his point of view in slow sentences: it was not a prepared speech, but from time to time he referred to notes.

Mahatma Gandhi confessed at the outset that he was not a little impressed in having to state to the Committee the position of the Indian National Congress. "I have come to London," he said, to attend the Committee and the Round Table Conference when the proper time comes absolutely in the spirit of co-operation, and to strive my utmost to find points of agreement." He continued:

"I should like to give this assurance to his Majesty's Government, at no stage is it or will it be my desire to embarrass authority, and I should like to give the same assurance to my colleagues, that however much we may differ about our points of view I shall not obstruct them in any shape or form.

My position is, therefore, dependent entirely upon their good will, as also on the good will of his Majesty's Government. If at any time I find that I cannot be of any useful service to the Conference I shall not hesitate to withdraw myself from it.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES.

He could also say to those who were responsible for the management of the Federal Structure Committee and the Conference that they had only to give a sign and he would have no hesitation in withdrawing. He was obliged to make these remarks because he knew there were fundamental differences of opinion between the Government and the Congress and it was possible that there are vital differences between his colleagues and himself. There was also the limitation under which he would be working.

"I am but a poor, humble agent," said Gandhiji, "acting on behalf of the Indian National Congress and it may be as well to remind yourselves of what the Congress stands for and what it is. You will then extend your sympathy to me because the burden that rests upon my shoulders is really very great. The Congress is, if I am not mistaken, the oldest political organisation in India. It has had nearly fifty years of life, during which it has, without any interruption, held its annual session. It is what it means—national. It represents no particular community, no particular class, no particular interest. It claims to represent all Indian interests and all classes."

It was a matter of the greatest pleasure to him, Gandhiji said, to state that the Congress was first conceived in an English brain: Allan Octavian Hume they knew as the Father of the

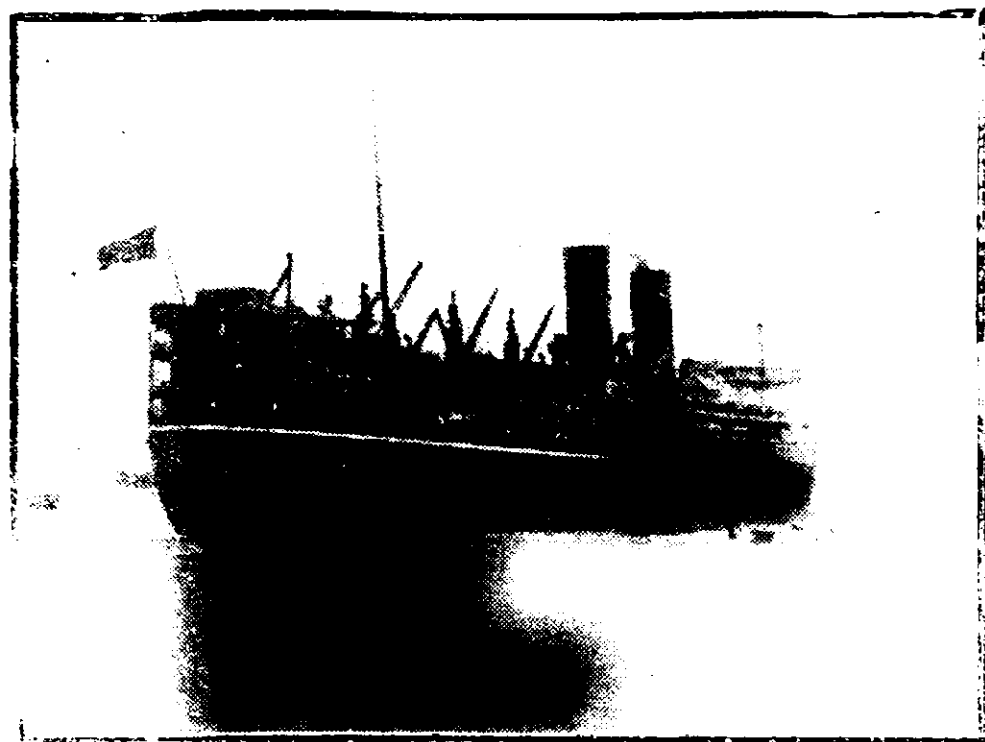
Congress. It was nursed by two great Parsees. From its very commencement the Congress had Moslems, Christians, Anglo-Indians—he might say all the religious classes and creeds—represented upon it more or less fully.

HISTORY OF CONGRESS.

Mahatma Gandhi then gave details of the early history of the Congress, mentioning the names of some of its presidents and officials. He recalled that they had had women as their presidents, Mrs. Annie Besant being the first. The Congress from its very beginning had taken up the cause of the so-called “Untouchables.” Congress always stood, and still stood for the removal of the curse of untouchability. Congress was national in every sense of the term. Congress had endeavoured to serve the Princes of India by refraining from any interference in their domestic and internal affairs. Congress had succeeded, and had more often succeeded than failed, but it had failed at times, he had to admit.

Congress represented in its essence the dumb semi-starved millions concentrated over the length and breadth of the land in its 700,000 villages, no matter whether they came from what was called British India or Indian India. Every interest which in the opinion of Congress was worthy of protection had to subserve the interests of those dumb millions. Congress was essentially a peasant organisation. Even the Indian members of the Committee would be astonished to find that Congress through its All-India Spinners’ Association was finding work for nearly 50,000 women in 2,000 villages, and those women were possibly 50 per cent Mussalman and thousands of them belonged to

THE LUCKY SHIP!



S. S. Rajputana which Carried Mahatmaji to London.

the "untouchable" class. It was a superhuman task for Congress to cover all the villages and bring in to them the message of the spinning wheel.

THE KARACHI MANDATE.

Gandhiji then read the Karachi mandate, adding:

"I want to put forward the claim of Congress in the gentlest manner possible, and yet firmly. If you can convince me to the contrary and show me that the Congress claim is inimical to the interest of the dumb millions, I will personally revise it. I am open to conviction, but even so I have to ask my principals to consent to that revision before I can usefully act as agent of the Congress."

He then read the Karachi resolution as follows:—

"This Congress, having considered the provisional settlement between the Working Committee and the Government of India, endorses it, and desires to make it clear that the Congress goal of complete independence remains intact. In the event of a way remaining otherwise open to the Congress to be represented at the Conference with the representatives of the British Government, the Congress Delegation will work for this goal, and in particular so as to give the national control of the army, external affairs, finances, fiscal and economic policy, and to have a scrutiny by an impartial tribunal of the financial transactions of the British Government in India, and to examine and assess the obligations of the undertaking by India or England, and the right to either party to end the partnership at will. Provided, however, that the Congress Delegation will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India."

Mahatma Gandhi said that in the light of that mandate he had studied the provisional conclusion arrived at by the Federal Sub-Committee appointed by the Round Table Conference. He had also carefully studied the Prime Minister's statement giving the considered policy of His Majesty's Government. He stood subject to correction, but as far as he had been able to understand, that document fell far short of what was aimed at and claimed by the Congress. It was true that it took liberty to accept such adjustments as might be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India, but they had all to be consistent with the fundamentals stated in the Karachi Mandate.

THE DELHI SETTLEMENT.

He reminded himself of the terms of what was to him a sacred settlement--the settlement arrived at Delhi between the Government of India and the Congress. In that settlement, Congress had accepted the principle of Federation, the principle that there should be responsibility at the centre, and had accepted also the principle that there should be safe-guards in so far as they might be necessary in the interests of India. It had been said yesterday that India did not want a merely political Constitution. It was true Congress could not be and he himself would never be--satisfied with a political Constitution, which in reality would give her nothing.

If they were intent upon complete Independence, it was not from any sense of arrogance, not that they wanted to parade before the universe that they had severed all connection with the British people. It was nothing of the kind. On

the contrary they would find in the Karachi mandate itself that the Congress contemplated a partnership. The Congress contemplated a connection with the British people, but that connection was to be such as should exist between two absolute peoples.

“ASPIRE TO BE A CITIZEN.”

Gandhiji continued :

“Time was when I prided myself on being called a British subject. But I have ceased for many years to call myself a British subject. I would far rather be called a rebel than a subject, but I have aspired and still aspire to be a citizen, not in the Empire, but in a Commonwealth, in a partnership, possibly an indissoluble partnership, but not a partnership superimposed by one nation on another. Hence you find that the Congress claims that either party should have the right to sever the connection, to dissolve the partnership. It has got to be necessarily, therefore, of mutual benefit.”

Referring to the fact that responsible British statesmen were busy with domestic affairs, Mahatma Gandhi said that he wondered even as he was sailing towards England, whether they in the Committee at the present moment would not be a drag on British Ministers, whether they would not be interlopers. Yet he said to himself it was possible that British Ministers might consider the proceedings of the Round Table to be of primary importance.

“I do not for a moment minimise the ability of Britain to hold India in subjection under the sword. But what would

conduce to the prosperity of Great Britain and the economic freedom of Great Britain - an enslaved but rebellious India, or an India as an esteemed partner with Britain, to share her sorrows and take part side by side with her in her misfortunes, an India that if need be of her own will, can fight side by side with Britain, not for the exploitation of a single race or a single human being, but it might be for the good of the whole world. If I want freedom for my country I ask you to believe me that I don't want that freedom in order that I may belong to a nation counting one-fifth of the human race that may exploit any other race or any single individual. If I want that freedom, I should not be deserving of it if I do not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom. So I said to myself while nearing the shores of the beautiful island of England 'Perchance it may be possible for you to convince the British Ministers that India is a valuable partner, not held by force but by the silken cord of love.' An India of that character may conceivably be of real assistance to you in balancing your Budget."

"What could not two nations do—one a handful but brave, a nation noted for having fought slavery, and that has claimed times without number to protect the weak, and the other a very ancient nation counted in millions, with a glorious past representing at the present moment two great cultures—Islam and Hindu, and also containing a large Christian population, and absorbing the whole of the splendid Zoroastrian stock in numbers almost beneath contempt, but in philanthropy and enterprise almost unsurpassed."

HIS DREAM OF HOPE.

They had got all those cultures concentrated in India. And supposing that God endowed both the Indians and the British with proper understanding, he again asked himself and the committee whether with an India free and completely independent, as Great Britain is, an honourable partnership between these two could not be mutually beneficial. And so in that dream of hope he had approached the British Isles and he would still maintain that dream.

When he had said that, perhaps he had said all, and they could ask him to dot the i's and cross the t's, not expecting him to fill in all the details and tell them what he meant by control over the army, control over external affairs, finances, fiscal and economic policies, and even financial transactions. He did not take that view. If there is a stocktaking between incoming and outgoing partners their transactions are subject to audit and adjustment, and the Congress was not guilty of any dishonourable transaction or any crime in saying that the nation should understand what it was taking over and what it should take over. That audit, that scrutiny, was asked for not merely in the interests of India. It was asked for in the interests of both.

He was positive that the British people did not want to settle upon India a single burden that it should not legitimately bear, and he was there on behalf of the Congress to declare that the Congress would never think of repudiating a single claim or burden that it should justly discharge. If they were to live as an honourable nation worthy of commanding credit from the whole world they would pay every farthing of legitimate debt with their blood. He did not think he could

take them any farther through the clauses of the mandate and analyse all the meanings of the clauses. If it were God's will that he should continue to take part in these deliberations as they proceeded he would be able to explain the implications of the clause. As the deliberations proceeded he would have his say in connection with the safeguards.

"I would love to go away," Gandhiji said in conclusion, "with the conviction that there is to be an honourable and equal partnership between Great Britain and India. I cannot do anything more than say it will be my fervent prayer during all the days I live in your midst that that consummation may be reached."

FULLEST FREEDOM FOR THE MASSES.

No need for Communal Votes.

The following is the full text of Mahatma Gandhi's Speech at the Minorities Committee on October 8 :

Prime Minister and Friends :- It is with deep sorrow and deeper humiliation that I have to announce utter failure on my part to secure an agreed solution of the communal question through informal conversations among and with the representatives of different groups. I apologise to you, Mr. Prime Minister, and the other colleagues for the waste of a precious week. My only consolation lies in the fact that when I accepted the burden of carrying on these talks I knew that there was not much hope of success and still more in the fact that I am not aware of having spared any effort to reach a solution.

CAUSES OF FAILURE.

But to say that the conversations have to our utter shame failed, is not to say the whole truth. Causes of failure were inherent in the composition of the Indian Delegation. We are almost all not elected representatives of the parties or groups whom we are presumed to represent ; we are here by nomination of the Government. Nor are those whose presence was absolutely necessary for an agreed solution to be found here. Further, you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. It lacks the sense of reality in that we do not know what it is that we are going to get.

If we knew in a definite manner that we were going to get the thing we want, we should hesitate fifty times before we threw it away in sinful wrangle, as it would be if we are told that the getting of it would depend upon the ability of the present Delegation to produce an agreed solution of the communal tangle. The solution can be the crown of the Swaraj constitution, not its foundation—if only because our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen by reason of the foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of Freedom.

ADJOURNMENT PROPOSED.

I therefore venture to suggest that the Minorities Committee be adjourned “sine die” and that the fundamentals of the Constitution be hammered into shape as quickly as may be. Meanwhile, the informal work of discovering a true solution of the communal problem will and must continue; only it must not balk or be allowed to block the progress of Constitution building. Attention must be diverted from it and concentrated on the main part of the structure.

HOPE YET.

I hardly need point out to the Committee that my failure does not mean the end of all hope of arriving at an agreed solution. My failure does not even mean my utter defeat; there is no such word in my dictionary. My confession merely means failure of the special effort for which I presumed to ask for a week's indulgence, which you so generously gave.

WHAT CONGRESS MEANS.

Lastly, in as much as the only reason for my appearance at these deliberations is that I represent the Indian National Congress, I must clearly set forth its position. In spite of appearances to the contrary, especially in England, the Congress claims to represent the whole nation, and most decidedly the dumb millions, among whom are included the numberless Untouchables who are more suppressed than depressed, as also in a way the more unfortunate and neglected classes known as Backward Races.

Here is the Congress position in a nutshell. I am reading the Congress resolution on the subject. However much it may have failed in the realisation, the Congress has, since its inception, set up pure nationalism as its ideal. It has endeavoured to break down communal barriers.

The Congress is precluded from setting forth any communal solution of the communal problem but at this critical juncture in the history of the nation it is felt that the Working Committee should suggest for adoption by the country a solution, though communal in appearance, yet as nearly national as possible, and generally acceptable to the communities concerned.

PREPARED TO COMPROMISE.

If, however, a national solution is impossible and the Congress scheme proves unacceptable I am not precluded from endorsing any other reasonable scheme which may be acceptable to the parties concerned. The Congress posi-

tion on this question therefore is one of the greatest possible accommodation. Where it cannot help it will not obstruct.

Needless to say the Congress will whole-heartedly support any scheme of private arbitration. It seems to have been represented that I am opposed to any representation of the Untouchables on the Legislature. This is travesty of the truth. What I have said, and what I must repeat, is that I am opposed to their special representation. I am convinced that it can do them no good, and may do much harm; but the Congress is wedded to adult franchise. Therefore millions of them can be placed on the Voters' Roll. It is impossible to conceive that, with untouchability fast disappearing, nominees of these voters can be boycotted by the others; but what these people need more than election to the legislatures is protection from social and religious persecution. Custom, which is often more powerful than law, has brought them to a degradation of which every thinking Hindu has need to feel ashamed and to do penance. I should, therefore, have the most drastic legislation rendering criminal all the special persecution to which these fellow-countrymen of mine are subjected by the so-called superior classes. Thank God, the conscience of the Hindus has been stirred, and untouchability will soon be a relic of our sinful past.

THE MINORITIES PROBLEM.

Cannot Overshadow the Question of Swaraj.

The following is the full text of Mahatma Gandhi's Speech at the Federal Structure Committee on October 9, on the proposal that the committee be adjourned for three days:

Well, Lord Chancellor, I know that I have been somewhat instrumental in postponing the deliberations of this Committee, and being in that unfortunate position I now feel some diffidence when I say that we cannot afford to waste a single minute. We have come, as you very properly say, all these several thousand miles in order to work, and not in order to seek recreation or holiday, so I would certainly say that if it is at all possible we should go through the work of the Federal Structure Committee without waiting for a single minute.

If at the back of our minds, individually or collectively, the thought is lurking that even though we might be sitting over the deliberations of the Federal Structure Committee we would be really marking time until the Minorities question is settled that really is the feeling which we would not or we dare not express—then I would suggest that we express that feeling and come to a decision.

THE PLACE OF MINORITIES QUESTION.

I myself endeavoured to express my own deliberate opinion yesterday, that there is not that absolutely vital connection with the work of this Committee. The Minorities question is un-

doubtedly a very important, if not the most important question. It has always occupied in my own mind its natural place but it has never overshadowed the other equally important consideration, and after having laboured at this question for seven days, I saw more clearly, than I had seen before, that probably the minority question would not be satisfactorily settled unless the great fundamental questions were settled, and that being my conviction, I should like the proceedings of this Committee to be clothed with reality, and that on several heads which you, with your amazing industry, have been piling upon us from day to day and week to week we should come to summary decisions.

The Chairman: Hear, hear.

Mahatma Gandhi: Instead of making speeches, therefore, if I may give my opinion without any mental reservation whatsoever. I would suggest that if we really feel, as I feel that we should consider and face the questions that are before this Committee on their merits, irrespective of what may happen in connection with the Minorities question, then I say that we shall get the strength to go through this work without coming to grief if we mean serious business.

The Chairman: I agree.

Mahatma Gandhi: But I repeat, as I conclude, that if at the back of our minds the impression is that we should continue to work and yet not work, I think that it would not be just to India, it would not be just to ourselves, and it would not be just to the British Ministers either. Therefore I feel most strongly that we do not need any holiday; every minute

that we have is really pledged to this work and no other.

The Chairman: Thank you. I am very much obliged to Mr. Gandhi. I do not think there is any disagreement between us.



Shawl presented to Mahatmaji by his Egyptian admirers. It was specially woven for him out of camel's hair.

THE MINORITY TANGLE.

A Rejoinder to Premier.

Though deeply distressed over the unfortunate results of the communal negotiations, Mahatma Gandhi still retained his usual optimistic outlook, and had no reason to believe that he could not succeed.

"Though it is a matter for deep sorrow that the negotiations for a communal settlement have failed, I have not given up hopes of success," he said in a statement issued immediately after the Premier's announcement of the failure of the "Minority problem".

"In spite of the Premier's energetic disclaimer, I still hold that the causes of the failure were inherent in the composition of the conference. I am also more than ever convinced that the framing of a constitution should not depend upon a previous settlement of the communal question.

It was, therefore, wrong for the Premier to suggest that further progress in constitution-making largely depended upon the settlement of this question.

In judging the events in England, the public in India will do well to bear in mind these two defects in the Government position. They will then not become nervous, each time they hear of a failure of negotiations.

As to the merits of the controversy, I have had several protracted conversations with the Muslim delegation, but we could not come to any final conclusions. I have felt the absence of Dr. Ansari as a severe handicap, but it would not be of real use, unless the Muslim delegation desire or approve of his selection as a delegate.

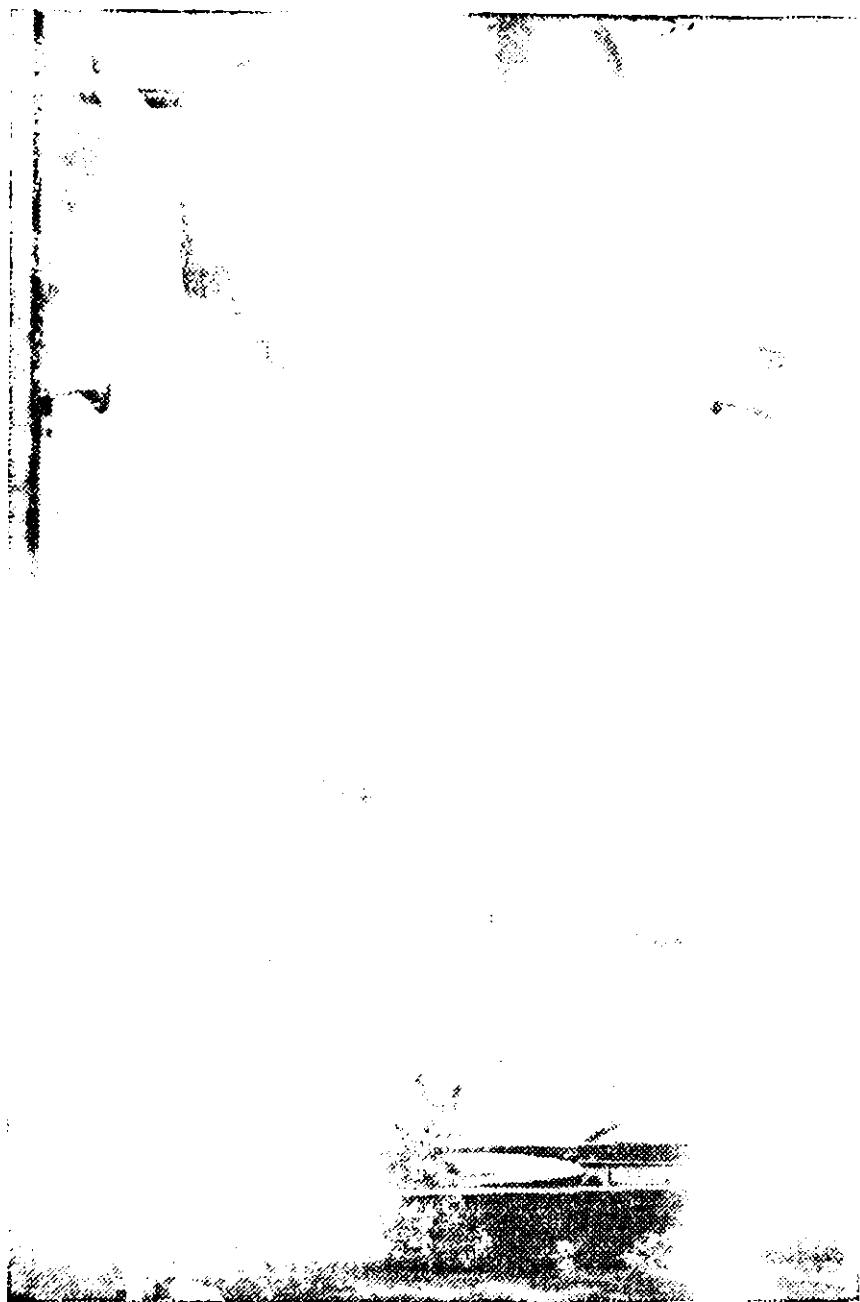
The position I have taken up, is, therefore, of a double character.

In my individual capacity, I have retained my original position, namely, to concede all to all parties. But as the Congress delegate, I have endeavoured to act as an intermediary up to now without success. I have made it clear that I should have to receive the sanction of the Working Committee, before I could accept any scheme.

I have made no reference to the Working Committee, as I have nothing definite before me. At the same time, I am keeping myself in touch with all the parties, and the moment I have anything on which I will take action, I shall ask for instructions.

Meanwhile, I would warn the public against being affected and agitated over newspaper reports."

MAHATMA DISTURBS PANDITJI ?



An intimate scene from the journey to London. Mark Pandit just got up from nap, evidently by the intrusion of the Mahatma.

“NOT THE CROWN, BUT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.”

The Supreme Judicial Authority in India.

On October 23, Mahatma Gandhi put before the Federal Structure Committee the Congress view on a Federal Court in India.

“In my opinion,” said Mahatmaji, “the Supreme Court has to be, if we are responsible, under the responsible Government, and, therefore, the process of carrying out the writ has also to be made good by the responsible Government.”

“I must confess,” said Gandhiji explaining the position of the Crown, “that according to the conception of the Congress, there is no question of the Crown. India is to enjoy complete independence, and if India enjoys complete independence, whoever the supreme authority there may be, that supreme authority will be responsible for the appointment of judges and several other matters which belong to the Crown.”

Lord Chancellor and Fellow Delegates:—I feel considerable hesitation in speaking on this subject which has been rendered so highly technical by the course that the discussion has taken; but I feel that I owe a duty to you and a duty to the Congress which I represent. I know that the Congress holds some decided views on the question of the Federal Court, views which would be, I am afraid, very distasteful to a

large number of the Delegates here. Whatever they are, seeing that they are held by a responsible body, it is, I suppose, necessary that I should at least present them to you.

I see that the discussions are based if not upon utter distrust, upon considerable distrust of ourselves that the National Government will not be able to conduct its affairs in an impartial manner. The communal tangle also is colouring the discussion. The Congress, on the other hand, bases the whole of its policy on trust and on the confidence that when we have come to power we shall also come to a sense of our responsibility, and all the communal bias will drop out. But should it prove otherwise, then too the Congress would run the boldest risks imaginable because without running those risks we shall not be able to come to exercise real responsibility. So long as we have the mental reservation that we have to rest upon some foreign power for our guidance and for conducting our affairs at a critical juncture, so long, in my opinion, there is no responsibility. One feels also embarrassed by the fact that we really are trying to discuss this thing without knowing where we shall be. I should give one opinion if defence was not under the control of the responsible Government, and another opinion if Defence was under our own control. I proceed upon the assumption that if we are to enjoy responsibility in the real sense of the term, Defence will be under our control, under National control in every sense of the term.

AMBEDKAR'S DIFFICULTY.

I entirely sympathise with Dr. Ambedkar in the difficulty that he raised. It is all very well to have a judgment

of the highest tribunal, but if the writ of that tribunal does not run beyond the confines of its own court that tribunal will be a laughing stock of the nation and of the whole world. What is then to be done in connection with that writ? What Mr. Jinnah said, of course, came home—that the military would be there but it will be the Crown that will run the writ. Then, I would say, let the High Court also, or the Federal Court, be under the Crown. In my opinion, the Supreme Court has to be, if we are responsible, under the responsible Government, and therefore, the process of carrying out the writ has also to be made good by the responsible Government. Personally, I do not share the fears that actuate Dr. Ambedkar, but I think that his objection is a reasonable objection and that a court which gives judgments should also have perfect confidence that its judgments, will be respected by those who are affected by its judgment, and hence I would suggest that the judges should have the power of framing rules in order to regulate matters in connection with those judgments. Naturally the enforcement will not rest with the Court; the enforcement will rest with the executive authority, but the executive authority would have to conform to the rules that might be framed by the Court. Somehow or other we fancy that this constitution is going to give us every detail in connection with the composition of this Court. I respectfully differ from that view in its entirety. I think that this constitution will give us the framework of the Federal Court, will define the jurisdiction of the Federal Court, but the rest will be left to the Federal Government to evolve. I cannot possibly understand that the constitution is also going to tell us how many years the judges are to serve, or whether



they are to resign or retire at the age of 70, or 95, or 90, or 65; I think that these will be matters to be taken up by the Federal Court, and hence, I propose a drastic method, for what it may be worth, that the constitution will give us, to start with, the judges and these judges will serve for a fixed, definite period, so that the responsible Government might not have to shoulder the burden of sheltering the Federal Court or the Supreme Court, whatever we choose to call it. Of course, we bring in the Crown at the end of almost every sentence. I must confess that, according to the conception of the Congress, there is no question of the Crown. India is to enjoy complete independence, and if India enjoys complete independence, whoever the supreme authority there may be, that supreme authority will be responsible for the appointment of judges and several other matters which to-day belong to the Crown.

OUR OWN PRIVY COUNCIL.

It is a fundamental belief with the Congress that, whatever the course the Constitution takes, there should be our own Privy Council in India. The Privy Council's portals, if it is really to give relief to the poor people in matters of the highest importance, should be open to the poorest people in the land, and I think that is impossible if the Privy Council here is to decide our fate in matters of the greatest importance. There, too, I would guide ourselves by implicit trust in the ability of our judges to pronounce wise decisions and absolutely impartial decisions. I know that we run always very great risks. The Privy Council here is an ancient institution, and an institution which justly commands very great regard and

IN FREE FRANCE.



Mahatmaji landing from the Boat at Marseilles.

respect; but in spite of all the respect that I have for the Privy Council I cannot bring myself to believe that we also will not be able to have a Privy Council of our own which will command universal esteem. Because England can boast of very fine institutions, I do not think that therefore we must be tied down to those institutions. If we learn anything whatsoever from England, we should learn to erect those institutions ourselves; otherwise there is a poor chance for the nation whose representatives we claim to be. Therefore, I would ask us all to have sufficient trust and confidence in ourselves at the present moment. Our beginning may be very small, but if we have strong, true and honest hearts to give decisions it does not matter in the slightest degree that we have not got the legal traditions which the judges in England claim, and very properly boast of in the face of the whole world.

WIDEST JURISDICTION.

That being my view, I feel that this Federal Court should be a court of the widest jurisdiction possible, and not decide cases only that arise from the administration of Federal Laws. Federal Laws of course will be there, but it should have the amplest jurisdiction to try all the cases that may come from the four corners of India.

It is, then a question where the subjects of the Princes will be and where they will come in. Subject to what the Princes may have to say, I would suggest, with the greatest diffidence and with equal hesitation, that there will be, I hope, at the end of it, if we are going to make something out of this Conference, something, which will be common to all India, to

the inhabitants of India, whether they come from the rest of India.

If there is something in common between all of us, naturally the Supreme Court will be the guardian of the rights that we may consider to be common to all. What those rights should be I am totally unable to say. It is entirely for the Princes to say what they can be and what they cannot be. In view of the fact that they represent here not only their own Houses but have taken on themselves the tremendous responsibility of representing their subjects also at this Conference, I would certainly make a humble but fervent appeal to them that they would of their own accord come forth with some scheme whereby their subjects also may feel that though they are not directly represented at this table their voices will find adequate expression through these noble Princes themselves.

NO BIG SALARY.

So far as the salary is concerned, you will laugh, naturally, but the Congress does believe that it is an impossible thing for the Congress, which represents a Nation of dwarfs, to vie with the English nation, which represents to-day giants in wealth. India, whose average income is 3d. per day, can ill-afford to pay the high salaries that are commanded here. I feel that it is a thing which we will have to unlearn if we are going to have voluntary rule in India. It is all very well so long as the British bayonet is there to squeeze out of these poor people salaries of Rs. 10,000 a month or salaries of Rs. 5,000 a month or salaries of Rs. 20,000 a month. I do not consider, however, that my country has sunk to such an

extent that it will not be able to produce sufficient men who will live somewhat in correspondence with the lives of the millions and still serve India nobly, truly and well. I do not believe for one moment that legal talent has to be bought if it is to remain honest.

C. R. DAS AND PANDIT MOTILAL.

I recall the names of Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, Manmohan Ghosh, Badruddin Tyabji and a host of others, who gave their legal talent absolutely free of charge and served their country faithfully and well. The taunt may be flung in my face that they did so because they were able to charge princely fees in their own professional work. I reject that argument, for the simple reason that I have known everyone of them with the exception of Manmohan Ghosh. It was not that they had plenty of money and therefore gave freely of their talent when India required it. It had no connection with their ability to have ease and luxury. I have seen them living the life of poor people and in perfect contentment. Whatever may be the position at the present moment, I can point out to you several lawyers of distinction who, if they had not come to the national cause, would to-day be occupying seats of the High Court benches in all parts of India. I have, therefore, absolute confidence that when we come to frame our own rules and so on we will do so in a patriotic spirit and taking account of the miserable state that the millions of India occupy.

One word more, and I have finished. Seeing that the Congress holds the view that this Federal Court or Supreme Court—which you call it will occupy the position of the highest

JUST BEFORE LANDING.



Mark the happy stewardess and the boy looking curiously at Mahatmaji.

tribunal beyond which no man who is an inhabitant of India can go, its jurisdiction in my opinion, will be limitless. It will have jurisdiction, so far as Federal matters are concerned, to the extent that the Princes are also willing, but I cannot possibly imagine that we shall have two Supreme Courts, one in order to deal with merely Federal Law and another to deal with all the other matters that are not covered by the Federal administration or the Federal Government.

Because, at the present moment, I suppose, as things go, the Federal Government will concern itself with the minimum of subjects; matters of the highest moment will be extra-Federal. Who is to adjudicate upon these extra-Federal matters if not this very Supreme Court? Therefore this Supreme Court or Federal Court will exercise double jurisdiction, if necessary, treble jurisdiction. The greater the power that we give to this Federal Court, I think, the greater the confidence we shall be able to inspire in the world and also in the nation itself.

"MY HANDICAP."

I am sorry to have taken up these precious minutes of the time of the Conference, but I felt that, in spite of my great reluctance to speak to you on this question of a Federal Court, I must give the views that many of us in the Congress have been holding for a large number of years, and which, we would, if we could, spread throughout the length and breadth of India. I know the terrible handicap under which I am labouring; all the most distinguished lawyers are arrayed against me, the Princes also are probably arrayed against me

so far as the salaries and jurisdiction of this Court are concerned. But I would be guilty of neglect of duty to the Congress and to you if I did not give you the views that the Congress and I hold so strongly on the matter of the Federal Court.

Chairman: We are so very much obliged to Mahatma Gandhi for so very frankly and so very fearlessly expressing his view. We are here to exchange views and to hear arguments upon them; that is the object of the Conference. If he will allow me to say so, when you know what a man wants, you can do your best to meet him, and he will no doubt do his best to meet you. The difficulty is to negotiate with a man who does not know what he wants. I am very much obliged to Mr. Gandhi for putting his views before us like that. It will always be my ambition to try and go as far as possible to meet them, and indeed as far as possible to meet anybody's views. I am sure, we shall have that spirit of accommodation all round the Federal Structure Committee. Meanwhile, let me express my personal thanks to Mr. Gandhi for putting before us so very frankly and so very fearlessly what his views upon this subject are.

“ YOU CRIPPLED OUR WINGS : GIVE THEM BACK.”

An Impassioned Plea for Defence Control.

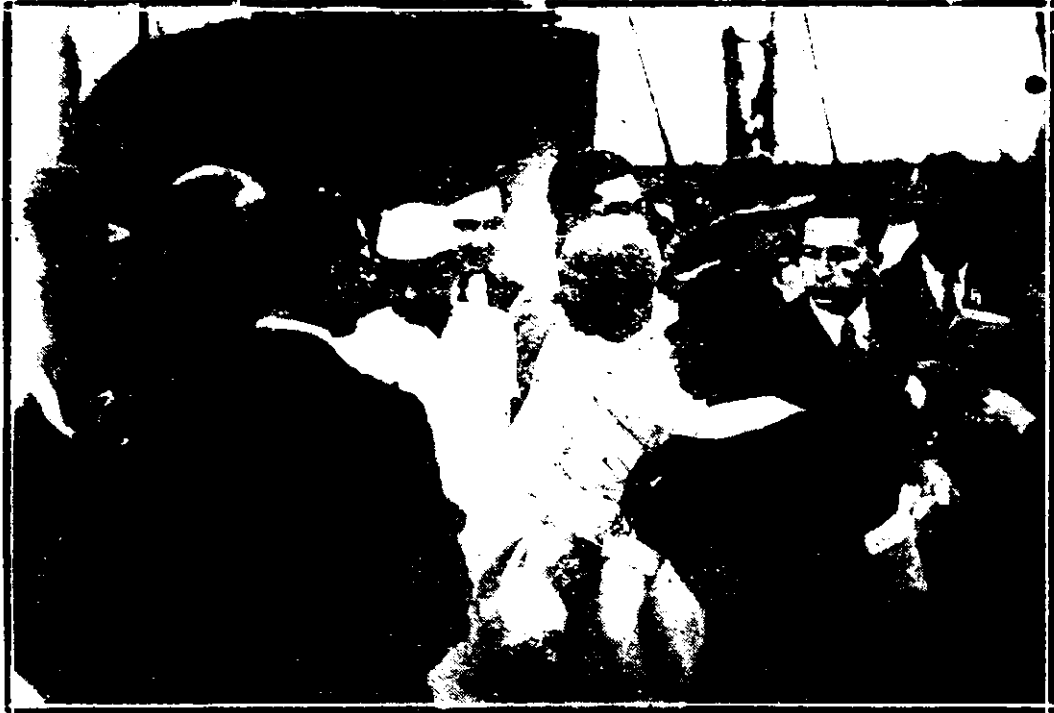
On November 17, Mahatma Gandhi put before the Federal Structure Committee the Congress view on the questions of Army and External Relations.

“The Congress Case,” said Mahatmaji, “is that complete responsibility should be transferred to India. That means that there should be complete Control of Defence and External Affairs but it also contemplates adjustment. The nation that does not control its Defence forces and External policy,” asserted Gandhiji, “is hardly a responsible Nation.”

The Congress view was put by Gandhiji, who said that he realised that he was undertaking a tremendous responsibility. “I intervene at this stage because I am in one of these November fogs. I do not know whether there will be a report upon this discussion or not. I do not know whether we are going summarily to close these deliberations or extend them.

“As far as I am concerned I came here intending, if necessary, to winter in England, and therefore, time is of no consequence if perchance, my purpose can be obtained through friendly negotiation and consultation. I have been sent here with the deliberate intention of exploring every possible avenue to

THOSE SLEUTH HOUNDS !



Mahatmaji with his Son Devidas, beseiged by international journalists as he landed at Marseilles.

achieve an honourable settlement, whether by open discussion at this table or by private conference with Ministers and public men who influence public opinion here and with all those who are interested in questions vitally affecting India. Therefore I am under obligation not to leave a single stone unturned in order to arrive at a settlement, if only because the Congress is wedded to the policy which is known to you all.

“ The Congress is intent on reaching its goal as early as possible, and holds also very decided views on all these matters. What is more to the purpose, it is to-day or considers itself to-day, capable of shouldering all responsibilities that flow from Responsible Government. I thought therefore, that I could not possibly allow the discussion on this most important matter to close without placing, as humbly and briefly as I could the Congress view.”

COMPLETE RESPONSIBILITY.

“ The Congress case is that complete responsibility should be transferred to India. That means that there should be complete control of Defence and External Affairs, but it also contemplates adjustments.

“ We ought not to deceive ourselves or the world into thinking that we would be getting Responsible Government, although we may not ask for Responsibility in this vital matter. The nation that does not control its Defence forces and External policy can hardly be a responsible Nation. Defence and its Army is to a Nation the very essence of existence, and if a Nation's Defence is controlled by an outside agency, no

matter how friendly it is, that Nation certainly is not responsibly governed.

“ This is what our English teachers have taught us times without number, and, therefore, some Englishmen twitted me when they heard some of us talk that we would have Responsible Government but not have, or not claim, control over Defence forces. Hence I have very respectfully to claim on behalf of the Congress, complete control over the Army, Defence Forces and External Affairs.

“ I put in this also so as to avoid having to speak on it when that subject comes up. To this conclusion we come with the greatest deliberation, that if we do not get this control at the time of embarking on Responsibility, I cannot conceive of a time when, because we are enjoying Responsibility in other matters, we would be suddenly found fit to control our own Defence forces.

A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY.

“ The Army at present, in my opinion, whether Indian or British, is really an army of occupation. It does not matter to us or me—I speak from experience—that here are Sikhs, Gurkhas, Pathans, men from Madras, Rajputs, no matter who they are, they are foreigners to me whilst they are in the Army. I cannot speak to them. Soldiers have come to me stealthily and have been afraid even of speaking to me, because they felt that they might be reported.

“ It is not possible for us ordinarily to go to places where soldiers are kept. They are also taught to regard us not as their countrymen. Unlike any other country in the world

there is absolutely no correspondence between them and the ordinary civil population. This I give as my evidence before this Committee, as a man who endeavoured to come into touch with every part of Indian life, and this is not my personal experience alone, but the experience of hundreds, and thousands of Congressmen, that there is an absolute wall between them and us.

“ I am, therefore, quite aware that it is a tremendous thing for us, at once, to shoulder that responsibility and have control of this Army, say, less British Officers. That is our unfortunate and unhappy position created for us, I am sorry to have to say, by our rulers.

“ Then there is the British Army. What is its purpose? Every Indian child knows that the British Army is there including the Indian Army, for the defence of British interests and the avoiding of and resisting foreign aggression.

“ I am sorry to have to make these remarks, but that is precisely what I have learned and experienced, and it would be unjust even to my British friends if I did not give expression to truth as I have seen it, and as I hold it.

“ Thirdly, it is an Army intended to suppress rebellion against constituted authority.

“ These, then, are the main functions of that Army. Hence it does not surprise me that Englishmen should take the view they do. If I were an Englishman, and also had the ambition to rule another nation, I would do precisely the same. I would take hold of Indians and train them as soldiers

“ MANI BHUVAN ” (London)



Kingsley Hall, where Mahatmaji was putting up in London. Large crowds of eager people used to wait for hours together to have his “ Darshan.”

and train them to be loyal to me, so loyal that they would, at my command, shoot anybody I desired them to shoot. Who was it that shot people at Jallianwala Bagh if not their own countrymen? It is therefore not a matter for surprise, but a fact which stares me in the face. The existence of British troops there is also intended to serve this very purpose. It holds the balance between these different soldiers evenly. It undoubtedly protects British Officers and British lives. Again I would not complain if I would assume the premise that it is right for Britain to occupy India and that it is right for Britain to hold India to-day and continue to hold India, no matter under what altered conditions. That being so, I have no difficulty in answering the question which Sir T. B. Sapru would not face and which Pandit Malaviya also would not face. Both of them said that, not being experts, they were unable to say to what extent this Army could or should be reduced.

“ I have no difficulty in saying what should happen. I would say emphatically that the whole of this Army should be disbanded, if it does not pass under my control before I could possibly shoulder the burden of running the Government of India under the terrible handicaps under which we labour as a legacy of alien rule. Therefore, that being my fundamental position, I say that if British Ministers and the British people really wish well by India, if you will transfer power now to us, then regard this as a vital condition, that the Army should pass under our control in entirety.

THE SAFEGUARDS.

“ That is my fundamental position. I do not want to enter

into detail. I put the case as forcibly as I am capable. But if this one thing is admitted I am resourceful enough to submit and frame safeguard after safeguard which will commend themselves to any unbiassed mind provided it is a common cause that those safeguards must be in the interests of India. But I want to go further and endorse what Lord Irwin has said that although the safeguards in the Pact are stated to be in the interests of India they must be considered—I believe Lord Irwin used my name and said that Mr. Gandhi also said that they must be considered—as in the mutual interests of India and England. I endorse that.

“ I do not conceive of a single safeguard that will be only in the interests of India, not a single safeguard that will not be also in the interests of Britain providing that we contemplate partnership, partnership at will but partnership on absolutely equal terms.

ABLE TO SHOULDER BURDEN.

“ The very reasons I have given you to-day for demanding complete control of the Army are also the reasons for pleading and for demanding control of External affairs. Not being well versed in what is really meant by External Affairs and having to plead my ignorance of what is stated in these reports of the Round Table Conference on the subject, I asked my friends Mr. Iyengar and Sir T. B. Saprú what was meant by External Affairs and Foreign Relations. I have got their reply before me. They state that the words mean relations with the neighbouring Powers, with Indian States, with other powers in international affairs and with the dominions.

“ If these are external affairs, I think we are quite capable of shouldering the burden and discharging our obligations. We can undoubtedly negotiate terms of peace with our own kith and kin, our own neighbours, our own countrymen, with the Indian Princes. We can cultivate very friendly relations with our neighbours, the Afghans, and across seas with the Japanese, and certainly we can negotiate with the Dominions also. If the Dominions will not have our countrymen live there in perfect selfrespect we can negotiate with the Dominions. It may be I am talking out of folly but you should understand that the Congress has thousands and tens of thousands of foolish men and women like me, and it is on behalf of these that I respectfully register these claims, again saying that with the safeguards we have conceived we shall literally fulfil our obligations.

FEELING OF GOODWILL.

“ Pandit Malaviya has sketched the safeguards. With much of what he has said I entirely associate myself.

“ But then, I told you that I know the attendant risks. That the Army will not accept my command, I know that very well. I know that the British Commander-in-Chief will not accept my command, nor would the Sikhs nor the proud Rajputs—none of them would accept my command. But I expect even so to exercise that command with the good will of the British people, that they would be there at the time of transferring command to teach a new lesson to these very soldiers and tell them that they would after all, be serving their own countrymen if they do so. British troops may also



Gandhiji walking along London road, in his loincloth, bare-headed and with uncovered legs.

be told " Now is the time for you not to remain here and protect British interests and lives, but you are here to protect India against foreign aggression, even against internal insurrection, as if you were defending and serving your own countrymen." That is my dream.

"I know that I shall not realise that dream here. The evidence before me, and of my senses, tells me that I am not going to realise that dream to-day, and here, as a result of the deliberations of this Conference.

"But I shall still cherish that dream. It is a dream I should like to cherish to the end of my time, but seeing the atmosphere here, I know that I cannot possibly infect British statesmen or the public with the idea or with the ideal that this is their cherished mission. That is how I would interpret the Prime Minister's declaration; that is how I would interpret Lord Irwin's wishes. It should be the proud privilege, the proud duty of Britain now to initiate us in the mysteries of conducting our own defence. Having clipped our wings, it is their duty to give us wings whereby we can fly even as they fly. That is really my ambition and, therefore I say I would wait till eternity if I cannot get control of Defence.

"I refuse to deceive myself that I am going to embark on Responsible Government, although I cannot control Defence. After all, India is not a nation which has never known how to defend herself. All the material is there. There are Mussalmans standing in no dread of foreign invasion. Sikhs will refuse to think that they can be conquered by anybody. The Gurkha, immediately he develops a national mind, will say, "I alone can defend India."

COMMUNAL PROBLEM.

“Then there are Rajputs who are supposed to be responsible for one thousand Thermopylaes, and not one little Thermopylae in Greece. Are you going to teach these things to the people of India who have never known how to wield arms? I follow that if I shoulder the burden of responsibility, I mean that all these people are going to join hands. I am here writhing in agony to see that we have not yet come to terms on the communal settlement. But whenever the communal settlement comes, that communal settlement pre-supposes that we are going to trust each other. Whether the rule is predominantly Mussalman, Sikh or Hindu, they will not rule as Hindus, Mussalmans or Sikhs. They will rule as Indians.

“If we distrust one another, then we want the British people there if we do not want to be killed by one another. Then we must have British people. Then let us not talk of responsible government.

“I at least cannot possibly think that we have got responsible government and therefore I feel deep down at the bottom of my heart that if we are to have responsible government and the Congress wants responsible Government the Congress has faith in itself, in the masses of the people in all those brave military races, and what is more, the Congress has faith also in Englishmen some day doing their duty and transferring complete control to us—we must infect the British with that love for India, that love for enabling India to stand on her own feet.

FIERY ORDEAL.

“If the British people think that we shall require a century before that can be done then for that century the Congress will wander in the wilderness and the Congress must go through that terrible fiery ordeal. It must go through the midst of storm, distress, misrepresentation and through the midst - if it becomes necessary, and if it is God's will - of a shower of bullets. This comes because we cannot trust one another, because Englishmen and Indians must look askance at one-another.

“If Englishmen and Indians put their heads together, sailing in the same direction with no mental reservation whatsoever, it is possible, I submit with every confidence, that we would bring into being safeguards which would be honourable alike to India and England and which would be a guarantee for the safety of every British life and every British interest to which India pledges her honour.

“Lord Chancellor, I cannot go further. I tender a thousand apologies for taking up the time of this meeting. But you will understand the feeling swelling up in me sitting here day after day, thinking day and night how these deliberations can come to a successful issue.

“You will understand the feeling actuating me, a feeling of absolute goodwill towards Englishmen and a feeling of absolute service to my countrymen.”

NEGOTIATING WITH THE "REBEL"!



A Scene from the Round Table. Gandhiji is seated next to Lord Sankey, Britain's Lord of

LORD SANKEY'S SYMPATHY

The Chairman said : Mr. Gandhi, I have listened with the greatest interest to your appeal. I want you to be good enough to help me personally. I am very much impressed firstly by what you call your dream—I cannot, of course, share it—and then I am very much impressed by your ideals. Those I can—perhaps, not to the height that you entertain them—share to a very great extent. I am just as anxious to secure the peace and happiness of India as you. I am just as anxious as you and Lord Irwin to carry out those conditions which he and you arrived at the beginning of the year and which in paragraph 2 read as follows :

“Of the scheme there outlined Federation is an essential part ; so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India for such matters as, for instance, defence, external affairs, the financial credit to India and the discharge of obligations.”

“I will ask you to assume that I am just as anxious as you to carry out that programme. I do not doubt your good faith. I ask you not to doubt mine. You said you hoped we should be able to teach you a lesson in self-defence. Nobody doubts the bravery of your fellow-countrymen. It has been manifested through centuries on many a stricken field. But, supposing it is right, as I think it is, that what you say is correct, namely that at the present moment Indians have to learn this lesson of self-defence, I agree with you.

A TERRIBLE RISK

“I think that is right. Now let me tell you my trouble. If it is right that at the present moment an Indian army is not ready, for that you are asking me and us to take a terrible responsibility when you ask us either to withdraw the army or reduce it to such a size as to make it not consistent with safety. With much of what you say, I have the greatest sympathy, but if you will forgive me saying so, Mr. Gandhi, the difficulty I feel is the responsibility that I should incur if I were a dictator and said “To-morrow I will withdraw every British soldier.” It would be a terrible risk and if anything happened to the peace and prosperity of India, I for one could never forgive myself for taking a decision to do that when, upon admission, the lesson has to be learned how Indians can conduct their own defence.

“THE TIME MAY COME”

“It is because I feel that responsibility, that although, I share your ideals, I feel it is asking me at any rate to go beyond what I really ought to agree to. I agree with Mr. Gandhi that what we have to consider here are the interests of India, but give me any way the same credit that I give you, when I tell you that honestly, I do not think it would be in the interests of India to comply with the immediate request to withdraw the army. It is a responsibility that I think no statesman, who has real regard for the interests of India--forgive me putting it that way--could satisfy himself in assuming. The time may come--I hope it will.

MAHATMA GANDHI EXPLAINS.

Mahatma Gandhi interrupting said :

“May I just correct you? I have not asked for the withdrawal of the British troops. I do not think there is one sentence in my remarks to that effect and if I did utter a sentence of that character, I should like to withdraw it.”

The Chairman asked : “Will Pandit Malaviya withdraw it also.”

Pandit Malaviya replied : “I have not asked for the withdrawal of all troops. I said that the removal of internal security British troops should be considered and that the removal of the rest of the troops should be carried out progressively over a series of years.

The Chairman said : “I should like to ask Pandit Malaviya whether he agrees with the safeguards. There was general agreement in the Sub-Committee that the assumption by India of all the powers and responsibilities which have hitherto rested on Parliament cannot be made at one step and that during the period of transition the Governor General should be responsible for defence. Do you agree with that?”

A RESPONSIBLE ARMY MEMBER

Pandit Malaviya said: “I have said, my Lord, that I would reserve emergency powers to the Governor-General, but I would make the Indian Army Member in charge of the army responsible to the legislature. I think the two can be combined.

" I have not suggested the withdrawal of all British troops at once. I suggested that the internal security troops should be withdrawn and that the scheme for reducing the rest should be drawn up in consultation with experts and public men.

" I also mentioned that the Indian army will remain at 158,000 Indian soldiers, officered mainly by Englishmen."

" NOT A CAUTIOUS MAN "

The Chairman asked : "Do I understand you to say that it is impossible at present to have a complete withdrawal of the British Army ?"

Pandit Malaviya replied : I do not say it is impossible. I think it is perfectly possible, but we have not asked for it. If I could persuade my English friends that the whole of the British troops should be withdrawn to-day, I would do so, but I have not asked for it because I want to carry my English friends with us as far as we can.

The Chairman remarked : Well, my final reply to you is that if you would take that responsibility, you are a braver man than I and forgive me for saying so you are not such a cautious man as I.

“ DISCRIMINATE IN FAVOUR OF FAMISHING INDIANS.”

“ Swaraj Can Tolerate No Racial Discrimination.”

At the meeting of the Federal Structure Committee on November 19 Mahatma Gandhi placed before it the Congress view regarding the claim of British Merchants in India for financial safeguards in the future Indian Constitution. He dissented emphatically from the resolution arrived at by the Round Table Conference last year and emphasised that the only discrimination desired was one “ in favour of famishing Indians”.

The following is the full text of his speech. —

Mahatmaji said :—

Lord Chancellor and Friends:—I would like to tender my congratulations to Mr. Benthall on his very temperate statement and I wish that he could have seen his way not to spoil that admirable statement by importing two sentiments. One sentiment expressed by him was practically that Europeans or Britishers claimed what they are claiming because of their having conferred certain benefits on India. I wish that he could have omitted this opinion, but having expressed it there should have been no surprise expressed, as was expressed by Lord Reading, that there was a courteous retort from Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, and now, as we have heard, reinforced by Sir Phiroze Sethna. I wish also that he could

WITH HIS FAITHFUL DISCIPLES.



Mahatmaii with Mira Ben and Sjt. Pyarelal.

have omitted the threat that has been used in that statement on behalf of the great Corporation that he represents. He said that the European support to the national demand was conditional upon Indian nationalists accepting the demands of the European community expressed by Mr. Benthall, as also not stated in this statement but we had it unfortunately a few days ago---the separatist tendency expressed in the demand for a separate electorate, and their joining that separatist combination about which it was my painful position to speak the other day.

LAST YEAR'S RESOLUTION.

I have endeavoured to study the resolution passed at the last Conference. I want to read that resolution again, although you are familiar with it, because I shall want to say a few things in connection with that resolution. "At the instance of the British commercial community the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British commercial community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects". The rest I need not read.

EMPHATIC DISSENT.

I am extremely sorry, in spite of the great regard and respect I entertain for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, to have to dissent from this sweeping resolution. I was therefore delighted yesterday when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru readily admitted that it was vague and that it was susceptible of improvement. You will see the general character of this resolution if you will carefully study it. There is to be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights

of Indian born subjects. If I have interpreted this correctly I think that it is a terrific thing, and for one could not possibly commit the Congress to a resolution of this character, much less commit the future Government of India.

There is here no qualification whatsoever. The rights of the British commercial community are to stand on exactly the same footing as those of Indian born subjects. Therefore it is not as if there is to be any racial discrimination, or anything of that kind ; here the British commercial community enjoy absolutely the same rights as Indian born subjects. I want to state, with all the emphasis that I can command, that I could not even endorse the formula that the rights of all Indian born subjects themselves could even be guaranteed or equal. I shall show you the reason presently.

I think that you will readily grant that the future Government of India would be constantly obliged (to use the admirable phrase used just now by Sir Phiroze Sethna) in order to equalise conditions to do what the existing Government has neglected to do, namely, continually to discriminate in favour of the famishing Indians against those who have been blest by nature or by the Government themselves with riches and other privileges. It will be necessary for the future Government, perhaps, to provide quarters free for labour, and the monied men of India might say " If you provide quarters for them you should give corresponding grants to us although we do not require quarters of that nature." It would undoubtedly be discrimination in favour of the poor people, and the monied men might then say, according to this formula, that it would be discrimination against them.

I, therefore venture to suggest that this sweeping formula cannot possibly be accepted by us in this Conference when we are trying to assist His Majesty's Government—in so far as they will accept our assistance—in shaping the future Constitution of India.

NO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

But having said this I want to associate myself completely with the British merchants and European houses in their legitimate demand that there should be no racial discrimination. I who had to fight the great South African Government for over 20 years in order to resist their colour bars and their discriminating legislation directed against Indians as such could be no party to discrimination of that character against the British friends who are at present in India or who may in future seek entry. I speak on behalf of the Congress also. The Congress too holds the same view.

SUGGESTED FORMULA.

Therefore, instead of this I would suggest a formula somewhat on these lines, a formula for which I had the pleasure and privilege of fighting General smuts for a number of years. I would suggest therefore this formula. It may be capable of improvement but I simply suggest this for the consideration of this Committee and especially for the consideration of European friends.

“No disqualification not suffered by Indian-born citizens of the State shall be imposed upon any persons lawfully residing in or entering India merely”—I emphasise the word “merely”—on the ground of race, colour or religion.”

GREETINGS !



the greetings from the

fall

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I think that this is an all-satisfying formula. No Government could possibly go beyond this. I want to deal briefly with the implications of this and the implications of this are, I am sorry to say, different from the deductions that Lord Reading drew or sought to draw from last year's formula. There would be no discrimination in this formula against a single Britisher or for that matter against a single European. I propose here to draw no distinction whatever between Britishers or other Europeans or Americans or Japanese. I would not copy the model of the British Colonies or the British Dominions which have, in my humble opinion, disfigured their Statute Books by importing legislation essentially based upon distinctions of colour and race.

WHAT FREE INDIA CAN DO.

India free, I would love to think, would give a different kind of lesson and set a different kind of example to the whole world. I would not wish India to live a life of complete isolation whereby it would live in water-tight compartments and allow nobody to enter her borders or to trade within her borders. But having said that, I have in my own mind many things that I would have to do to repeat that expression, in order to equalise conditions. I am afraid that for years to come India would be engaged in passing legislation in order to raise the down-trodden, the fallen, from the mire into which they have been sunk by the capitalists, by the landlords, by the so-called higher classes, and then, subsequently and scientifically, by the British rulers. If we are to lift these people from the mire, then it would be the bounden duty of the National Government of India, in order to set its houses in order, continually to give preference to these people and even

free them from the burdens under which they are being crushed. And if the landlords, Zamindars, monied men and those who are to-day enjoying privileges— I do not care whether they are Europeans or Indians— if they find that they are discriminated against, I shall sympathise with them but I will not be able to help them, even if I could possibly do so because I would seek their assistance in that process, and without their assistance it would not be possible to raise these people out of the mire.

THE UNTOUCHABLES.

Look at the condition, if you will, of the untouchables, if the law comes to their assistance and sets apart miles of territory. At the present moment they hold no land; at the present moment they are absolutely living at the mercy of the so-called higher castes, and also, let me say, at the mercy of the State. They can be removed from one quarter to another without complaint and without being able to seek the assistance of law. Well, the first act of the Legislature will then be to see that, in order somewhat to equalise conditions, these people are given grants freely.

From whose pockets are these grants to come? Not from the pockets of Heaven. Heaven is not going to drop them for the sake of the State. They will naturally come from the monied classes, including the Europeans. Will they say that this is discrimination? They will be able to say that this is no discrimination against them because they are Europeans. It will be discrimination against them because they have got money and the others have got no money. It will be, therefore, a battle between the haves and the have-nots; and if that

what is feared, I am afraid the National Government will not be able to come into being if all these classes hold the pistol at the heads of these dumb millions and say: "You shall not have a Government of your own unless you guarantee our possessions and our rights."

I think I have given sufficiently an indication of what the Congress stands for; of the implications of this formula that I have suggested. On no account will they find that there has been discrimination against them because they are English or because they are Europeans or Japanese or anything.

The grounds that will be applicable to them for discrimination will be also the grounds for discrimination against Indian-born citizens, and therefore I have got another formula also, hurriedly drafted because I drafted it here as I was listening to Lord Reading and as I was listening to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

ANOTHER FORMULA.

The second formula that I have got with me is in connection with existing rights:

"No existing interest legitimately acquired, and not being in conflict with the best interests of the nation in general, shall be interfered with except in accordance with the law applicable to such interests."

Here, too, I would explain shortly what I have in mind. I certainly have in mind what you find in the Congress resolution in connection with the taking over by the incoming Government of obligations that are being to-day discharged by the

British Government, just as we claim that these obligations must be examined by an impartial tribunal before they are taken over by us. There is no question, therefore, of repudiation but merely of taking over under examination, under audit. Similarly, we have, some of us here, some of us who have made a study of the privileges and the monopolies enjoyed by Europeans, but let it not be merely Europeans, there are Indians I have undoubtedly several Indians in mind— who are to-day in possession of land which has been practically given away to them not for any service rendered to the nation but for some service rendered,—I cannot even say to the Government because I do not think that the Government has benefited,— but to some official.

THAT WHITE ELEPHANT—“NEW DELHI”

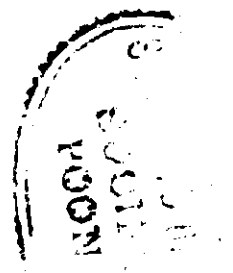
Then you have, “not being in conflict with the best interests of the nation.” I have in mind certain monopolies, legitimately acquired undoubtedly, but which have been brought into being in conflict with the best interests of the nation. Let me give you an illustration which will amuse you somewhat but which is on neutral ground. Take this white elephant which is called New Delhi, (Laughter). Crores have been spent upon it. Suppose that the future Government comes to the conclusion that this white elephant, seeing that we have got it, ought to be turned to some use. (Laughter). Imagine that in Old Delhi there is plague or cholera going on, and we want hospitals for the poor people. What are we to do? Do you suppose the National Government will be able to build hospitals, and so on? Nothing of the kind. We will take charge of those buildings and put these plague-stricken

people in them and use them as hospitals, because I contend that those buildings are in conflict with the best interests of the nation. They do not represent the millions of India. They may be representative of the monied men who are sitting at the table; they may be representative of His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal or of Sir Purshotamdas or of Sir Phiroze Sethna or of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but they are not representative of those who lack even space anywhere to sleep and have not even a crust of bread to eat. If the National Government comes to the conclusion that that place is unnecessary, no matter what interests are concerned they will be dispossessed, and they will be dispossessed, I may tell you, without any compensation (Laughter), because if you want this Government to pay compensation it will have to rob Peter to pay Paul, and that would be impossible.

THE BITTER PILL.

I am trying to humour you in order to present this bitter pill, for it is a bitter pill which has got to be swallowed if a Government, as Congress conceives it, comes into being. I have no desire to deceive you; I have no desire, in order to take away something from here, to deceive you into the belief that everything will be quite alright. I want, on behalf of the Congress, to lay all the cards on the table. I want no mental reservation of any description whatsoever; and then if the Congress position is acceptable, nothing will please me better; but, if that position is not acceptable, if to-day I feel I cannot possibly touch your hearts and cannot carry you with me, then the Congress must continue to wander and must continue the process of proselytisation until you are all converted and allow

THREE CHEERS!



Mr. [Name] [Name] [Name]

ing his visit to [Name] [Name]

the millions of India to feel that at last they have got a National Government.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT AT TRIALS.

Up to now, no one has said a word in connection with the two lines which appear at the end of this resolution, namely, "It was agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India, in regard to criminal trials should be maintained."

I must confess that I have not been able to study all the implications of it. I am glad to be able to say that for some days I have been engaged in carrying on friendly—absolutely friendly—and private conversations with Sir Hubert Carr, Mr. Benthall and some friends. I was discussing this very theme with them and I asked them to tell me what these two things meant and they said it was the same thing for the other communities. I have not ascertained what is the meaning of the same thing for the other communities. It means, I suppose, that the other communities also may demand their own jury. This refers to trial by jury. I am afraid I cannot possibly endorse this formula.

Mr. JINNAH: May I correct you, Mr. Gandhi? It refers not only to juries but to the tribunals, the tribunals which will try Europeans and Indians, and there are many other distinctions. It is not merely the jury.

GANDHIJI: I did not know that. That is why I said I had not studied it. If there is something more you will pardon my ignorance but I could not possibly be a party to

such reservations. I think that a National Government cannot possibly be shut in by these restrictions. All the communities to-day who will be the future Indian nation must start with good-will, must start with mutual trust or not at all. If we are told that we cannot possibly have responsible government that will be a state of things understandable. We can all understand that. But we are told there must be all these reservations and safeguards. It would not be liberty and responsible government but it would be all safeguards. Safeguards would eat away the whole of the Government. I was trying this morning to find something analogous and I came to the conclusion that if all these safeguards are to be granted and all the talk here takes concrete shape and we are told that we are to get responsible government, it will be almost on a par with the responsible government that prisoners have in their jails. They too have complete independence immediately the cell door is locked and the jailor goes. The prisoners inside that cell about 10 ft. square or 7 ft. by 3 ft. have complete independence. I do not ask for that kind of complete independence with the jailors safeguarding comfortably their own rights.

AN APPEAL.

Therefore I appeal to our European friends that they should withdraw this idea of safeguarding their rights. I venture to suggest that the two formulas that I have put forward should be adopted. You may cut them about in any manner you like. If the wording is not satisfactory by all means suggest some other wording. But outside these formulae of a negative character whereby there is no bar sinister placed against

you I venture to say you may not—shall I say dare not—ask for more. So much with reference to existing interests and future trade. Mr. Jayakar was talking yesterday about key industries and I propose to associate myself entirely with the sentiments that he expressed. I do not think that I need take up your time by talking of what importance Congress attaches to key industries. The Congress conception is that if the key industries are not taken over by the State itself the State at least will have a predominant say in the conduct and administration and development of the key industries. A poor undeveloped country like India is not to be judged as a highly developed individualist Island like Great Britain may be. What is good for Great Britain to-day is in my opinion in many respects poison for India, India has got to develop her own economics, her own policy, her own method of dealing with her industries and everything else. Therefore, so far as the key industries are concerned, I am afraid that not merely the Britishers but many will feel that they are not having fair-play. But I do not know what is the meaning of “fair-play” against a State.

COASTAL SHIPPING.

And then about Coastal trade too, the Congress undoubtedly has the greatest sympathy with the desire to develop coastal trade, but there if, in the Bill or in any approach to this proposition about the coastal trade, there is any discrimination against Europeans as such, I will join hands with the Europeans and fight that Bill or the proposal which discriminates against Englishmen because they are Englishmen. But there are

these vast interests that have come into being. I have travelled fairly frequently up the great river ways of Bengal and I have travelled years ago up the Irrawady. I know something of that. By concessions, privilege, favours, whatever you call them, these huge corporations have built up industries, built up companies and built up a trade which does not admit of any opposition whatsoever.

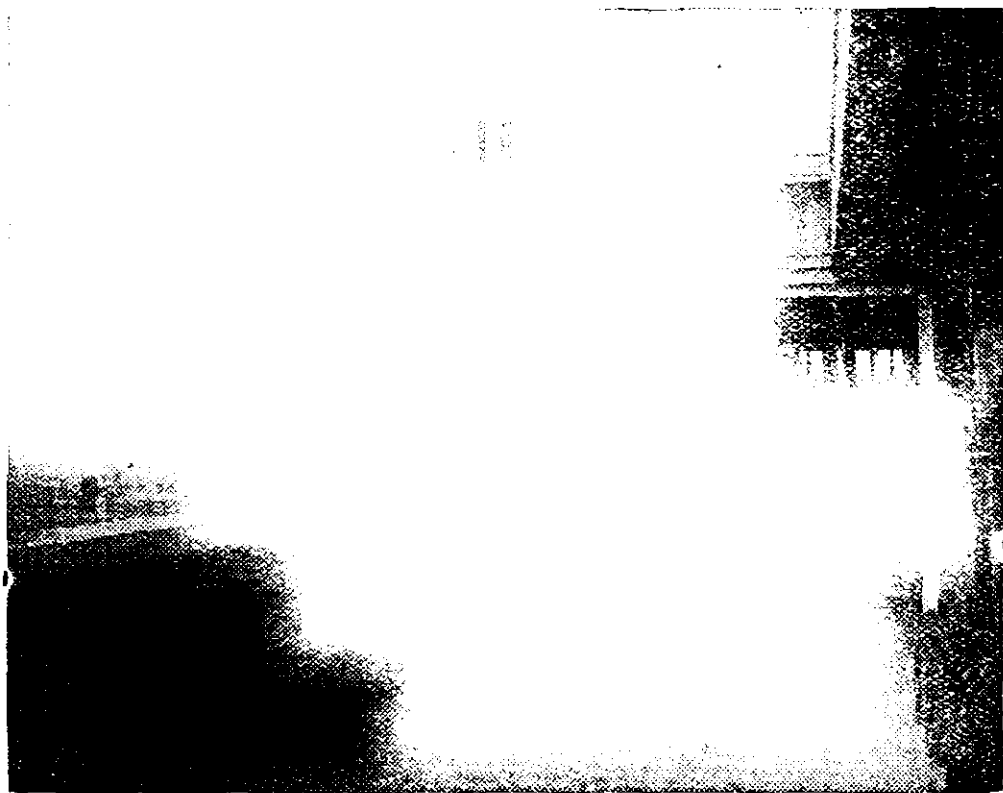
Some of you may have heard of a budding company between Chittagong and Rangoon. The Directors of that Company, poor struggling Mussalmans, came to me in Rangoon and asked me if I could do anything. My whole heart went out to them, but there was nothing to be done. What could be done? There is the mighty British India Steam Navigation Company simply underselling this budding company and practically taking the passengers without any passage money at all. I could quote instance after instance of that character. Therefore it is not because it is a British company. If it were an Indian company that had usurped this thing it would be the same. Supposing an Indian company was taking away capital, as to-day we have Indians who instead of investing their capital in India invest their capital or invest their monies outside India. Imagine that there was a huge Indian Corporation that was taking away all its profits and investing them in some other parts of the world, fearing that the National Government was not going along a correct policy, and therefore in order to keep their money intact they were taking away that money outside. Go a little step further with me and say that these Indian Directors in order to organise in a most scientific and finished and perfect manner brought all the European skill that they

could bring there and did not allow these struggling corporations to come into being, I would certainly have something to say and have legislation in order to protect the companies like the Chittagong company. They could not even float their ships along the Irrawaddy. They gave me chapter and verse in order to assure me that it became utterly impossible; they could not get their licenses, they could not get the ordinary facilities that one is entitled to. Every one of us knows what money can buy, what prestige can buy, and when such prestige is built up which kills all the saplings it becomes necessary then to use the expression of Sir John Gorst which he used 42 years ago--that it then becomes necessary to lop off the tall poppies. Tall poppies ought not to be allowed to crush these saplings. That is really the case on behalf of the coastal trade. It may have been clumsily worded, the Bill. That does not matter, but I think the essence of it is absolutely correct.

DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP.

About the citizenship, that is the last thing. Well, you have the definition from the Nehru Report. Naturally the Nehru Committee had to consider situations as they arose, and therefore there were several changes rung on the original description; but I would like this Committee to realise that the Nehru Report is—I am sorry to have to say it but it is so—today a back number. Even the late Pandit Motilal Nehru was obliged to say that, not because we wanted to treat that Nehru Report as a back number. The Nehru Report is undoubtedly a compromise between several positions. Though not a member of the Committee I knew

UNDER THE CANOPY OF FOGGY SKY!



Mahatmaji almost religiously slept in the open on this terrace of his abode in London.

exactly what was happening, because I happened at that time to be in India, to be in touch with the members of the Committee, and therefore I know something of the history of that Report and how that Committee also came into being. I am not going to weary you with the details of the history of that compromise, but, as you will see, that Report is based upon the idea that we were to have Dominion Status. Well, the Congress has taken several strides further. The Congress had to forget that Report in connection with the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh formula, as it has been obliged to forget that Report about many other things. Although the Nehru Report is a creation, or the Nehru Committee is in the first instance a creation of the Congress. I am not able, therefore, to say that we will be able to-day to swear by everything that appears there. Beyond that I do not want just now to go.

The definition of a citizen is a terrific job. I could not possibly undertake on the spur of the moment to present, as I understand the Congress mentality of to-day, what will commend itself to the Congress or what will commend itself to me. It is, as I say, a matter on which I would like to confer with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other friends and try to understand what is at the back of their minds, because I must confess that out of this discussion I have not been able to reach the heart of the thing. I have made the Congress position absolutely clear, that we do not want any racial discrimination, but after having cleared that position I am not called upon now to give a summary decision for the opinion of the Congress in connection with the definition of the word "citizen". Therefore I

would simply say in connection with the word "citizen" that I reserve my opinion as to the definition entirely for the time being.

Having said this, I want to close with this remark. I do not despair of finding a common formula that would satisfy the European friends. The negotiations in which I was privileged to be a party are, I think, still to continue. If my presence is required I will still attend that little Committee meeting.

The idea is to enlarge it and give it a little less informal share and find out a common basis.

In spite of what I have said, I do not despair of finding a common formula, but having expressed that hope, I would again hark back to the point that, so far as I can understand it, I cannot think of any detailed scheme which could be incorporated in the Constitution. What can be incorporated in the Constitution is some such formula as this, round which all kinds of rights can arise.

FEDERAL COURT.

There is no conception here, as you see, of doing anything administratively. I have expressed my own hope in connection with the Federal and Supreme Court. To me the Federal Court is the Supreme Court; it is the final Court of Appeal beyond which there would be no appeal whatsoever; it is my Privy Council and it is the palladium of liberty. It is the court to which every person who is at all aggrieved can go. A great jurist in the Transvaal—and the Transvaal and South Africa generally have undoubtedly produced very great

Jurists—to whom I used to go for assistance when I was a youngster, once said to me, in regard to a very difficult case. “Though there may be no hope just now, I tell you that I have guided myself by one thing, or else I should not be a lawyer; the law teaches us lawyers that there is absolutely no wrong for which there is no remedy to be found in a court of law, and if judges say there is no remedy then those judges should be immediately unseated.” I say that with all deference to you, Lord Chancellor.

I, therefore, think that our European friends may rest assured that the future Federal Court will not send them away empty handed, as we expect to go away empty handed if we do not have the favour of the Ministers who are the present advisers of His Majesty. I am still hoping that we shall have their ear and get round their better side, and then we may hope to go away with something substantial in our pockets; but whether we go away with anything substantial in our pockets or not, I hope that if the Federal Court of my dreams comes into being then the Europeans and everybody—all minorities—may rest assured that that Court will not fail them, though a puny individual like myself may fail them.

SANKEY'S THANKS.

CHAIRMAN: We are very much obliged to Mr. Gandhi for that speech. If you will allow me to say so, everybody must be impressed by the earnestness and sincerity with which he advocates his ideals, and I thank him very much indeed. Perhaps he will be good enough to give me those two formulas.

TWO SAINTS.



... the Dean of Canterbury. Gandhiji stay

SAPRU'S QUERIES.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU : I should like to ask Mahatma Gandhi to explain one part of his speech, in regard to which there is some doubt in my mind. Does he propose that the National Government of the future should examine and investigate the title to property of everyone, and if so, would it be any title acquired within a certain period of time or not ? What is the machinery he proposes to bring into existence for the examination of that title and does he propose to give any compensation at all, or that the National Government should simply expropriate property which according to his view or the view of the majority seemed to have been wrongfully acquired ?

CHAIRMAN : You said you wanted to ask one question, and you have asked about twenty !

GANDHIJI : If you will give me permission I will certainly answer those questions, which are very legitimate questions. I have really given my view. So far as I understand, it is not intended that the administration should do the thing ; everything that is done will be above board.

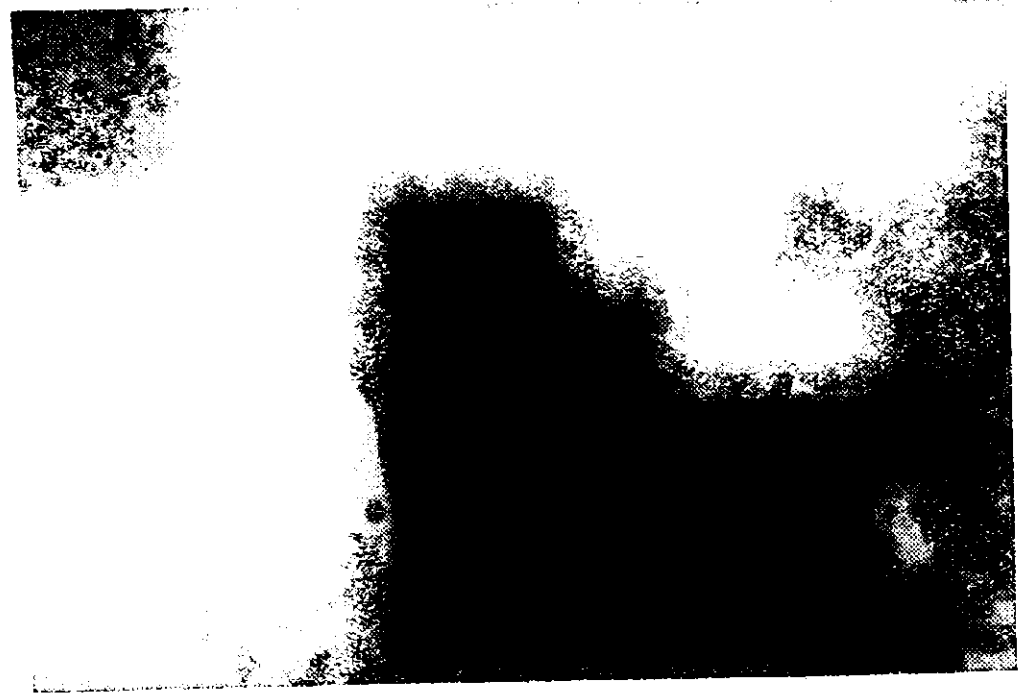
It will be done by legal machinery. All these claims—

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU : That is what I want to know. What is that legal machinery to be ?

GANDHIJI : I have not at the present moment thought of any limitation. I think that there is no limitation running against a wrong.

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WITH THE COMEDIAN.



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The world-renowned screen hero Charlie Chaplin was delighted to have an interview with Mahatmaji.

" NO TITLE SAFE."

Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU. Under your National Government therefore no title in India is safe ?

GANDHIJI : Under our National Government the Congress will decide these things and if there is any undue fear about these things I think it is possible to satisfy every legitimate doubt. I have no hesitation in saying that generally speaking this is a formula which should be accepted. Where complaints are made and there are legitimate rights acquired it should be open to the court of law to examine those rights. I am not going to say to-day in taking over the Government that I shall examine no rights whatsoever, no titles that have been acquired.

CHAIRMAN : I think each of you will consider what the other has said and we will consider what both of you have said.

“DISSECTING A CARCASS”

Premier's Fallacies Exposed.

On behalf of the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi entered a vehement protest against the Premier's god-fathering of the fallacious scheme drawn by the pseudo-leaders who imagined that they represented the minorities mentioned against their names.

“I have no hesitation in saying to His Majesty's Government.....and, indeed, to the whole world that the scheme is not one designed to achieve responsible Government, but is undoubtedly a scheme designed to share power with the bureaucracy.

“If that is the intention—and it is the intention running through the whole document,—I wish them well and the Congress is entirely out of it,” declared Mahatmaji.”

Mahatma Gandhi at the outset confessed that it was not without considerable hesitation and shame that he participated in the discussion of the Minorities. He said that before commenting on the Minorities Memorandum which he had not been able to read with care and attention that it deserved, he desired with all deference and respect due to the Premier, to dissent from the view that inability to solve the communal question was hampering the progress of constitution-building and that the solution was an indispensable condition prior to building any such constitution.

“ At an early stage of the sittings of this Conference I said that I did not share that view. Experience I have since gained confirms my view and if you will pardon me for saying it so it was because emphasis laid last year was repeated this year upon this difficulty that different communities were encouraged to press with all vehemence at their command their own respective views. It would have been against human nature if they did otherwise. All of them thought that this was time to press their claim for all they were worth and I suggest again that this very emphasis has defeated the purpose which I have no doubt it had in view.

WHY THEY FAILED IN REACHING AGREEMENT.

Having received that encouragement we failed to arrive at an agreement. I, therefore, associate myself entirely with the view expressed by Sir C. Setalvad that it is not this question which is the fulcrum but the central act is constitution building.

WE CAME FOR FREE CONSTITUTION.

I am quite certain that you did not convene the Round Table Conference and brought us all 6000 miles from our homes and occupations to settle the communal question but you convened us and you made deliberate declarations that we were invited to come here to share the process of constitution building and that before we went away from your hospitable shores we should have certain conviction, that we had built up an honourable and practicable framework for the freedom of India and that it awaited only the imprimatur of the approval of the Commons and the Lords.



We at present face wholly a different situation, namely, that because there is no communal settlement agreed to by us there is to be no building of the constitution and that as the last resort and as the last touch you will announce a policy of His Majesty's Government in connection with the constitution and all matters that may arise therefrom. I cannot help feeling that it would be a sorry ending to the Conference which was brought into being with so much trumpeting and so much hope excited in the minds and breasts of many people.

Coming to this document I accept thanks that have been given to me by Sir H. Carr. Had it not been for the remarks that I made when I shouldered that burden and had it not been for my utter failure to bring about the solution Sir, Hubert Carr rightly says he would not have found the very admirable solution, that he has been able in common with other minorities to present to this Committee for consideration and approval of His Majesty's Government.

DISSECTING THE CARCASS.

I will not deprive Sir H. Carr and his associates of the feeling of satisfaction that evidently actuates them, but in my opinion what they have done is to sit by the carcass and they have performed the laudable feat of dissecting the carcass.

As representing the predominant political organisation in India I have no hesitation in saying to His Majesty's Government and to those friends who seek to represent or think they represent the Minorities mentioned against their names and, indeed, to the whole world that this scheme is not one designed to achieve responsible Government but is undoubtedly a scheme

designed to share power with bureaucracy. If that is the intention running through the whole document, I wish them well and the Congress is entirely out of it.

The Congress will wander, no matter for how many years in the wilderness, rather than lend itself to the proposal under which the hardy tree of freedom and responsible Government can never grow.

I am astonished that Sir H. Carr should tell us that they have evolved a scheme which has been designed only for temporary period with no damage to the cause of nationalism, but that at the end of ten years we would all find ourselves hugging one another and throwing ourselves into one another's laps. My political experience teaches me a wholly different lesson. If this responsible Government, whenever it comes, is to be inaugurated under happy auspices it should not undergo the process of vivisection to which this scheme subjects it. It is a strain which no Government can possibly bear.

There is the coping stone to this structure and I am surprised Mr. Prime Minister, that you have allowed yourself to mention this as if it was an indisputable fact, namely, that the proposals may be taken as being acceptable to well over 115 million people or about 46 per cent of the population of India. You had a striking demonstration of the inaccuracy of this figure. You have had on behalf of the women a complete repudiation of the special representation and as they happen to be one half of the population of India this 46 per cent is somewhat reduced (laughter) but not only that the Congress may be a very insignificant organisation but I unhesitatingly make the claim,

and I am not ashamed to repeat the claim, that the Congress claims to represent 85 per cent or 95 per cent of the population not merely in British India but the whole of India.

Dr. Ambedkar asked: Who are the five per cent that the Congress do not represent?

CONGRESS REPRESENTS PEOPLE.

Mahatma Gandhi proceeded: I repeat the claim with all emphasis that the Congress by right of service claims to represent that population which is called agricultural population of India and I would accept the challenge if the Government were to issue a challenge that we should have referendum in India and you would immediately find whether the Congress represents them or not, but I would go a step further.

CONGRESS HAS MUSLIMS AND " UNTOUCHABLES " ON ITS REGISTER,

At the present moment if you were to examine the register of the congress and the records of the prisons in India you would find that the Congress represented and represents on the register a very large number of the Mussalmans. Several thousands of the Mussalmans went to jail last year under the banner of the Congress. The Congress to-day has several thousand Mussalmans and thousands of " untouchables " on its register. The Indian Christians are also on the register. I do not know that there is a single community which is not represented on the Congress register. With all deference to the Nawab of Chattari even the landlords, even the millowners and the millionaires are represented there.

AU REVOIR !



Mahatmaji, on whose right are Pandit Malaviya, Mrs. Naidu and Mira Ben, acknowledging greetings from the huge mass of humanity that gathered on the Mole to wish him God-speed.

I admit that they are coming to the Congress slowly and cautiously, but the Congress is trying to serve them also. The Congress undoubtedly represents Labour. Therefore this claim that the proposals set forth in this memorandum are acceptable to well over 115 million people needs to be taken with a very great deal of reservation and caution.

You had presented to you the Congress proposal in connection with the communal problem. I submit that of all the schemes that I have seen it is the most workable. I admit that it did not commend itself to the representatives of the communities here but it commended itself to the representatives of these very classes in India. It is not the creation of one brain but of a Committee on which various important parties were represented. You got that scheme on behalf of the Congress but the Congress has also suggested impartial arbitration.

I myself suggested the appointment by Government of a Judicial Tribunal but if none of these things are acceptable to any of us and if this is *sine qua non* of any constitution building it will be much better that we should remain without so-called Responsible Government than accept this claim."

Gandhiji reiterated that while the Congress would always accept any solution acceptable to the Hindus, Mussalmans and Sikhs it would be no party to special reservations and special electorates for any other minority. "The Congress will always endorse the clauses or reservations as to fundamental rights and civil liberty. It will be open to everybody to be placed on the voters roll and to appeal to the common body of electorates.

NEGATION OF NATIONALISM.

The proposition enunciated by Sir H. Carr is the very negation of responsible government and nationalism. If he says that if you want a live European on the Legislature then he must be elected by the Europeans themselves. Heaven help India, if India has to have representatives elected by these several racial set-up groups. That European would serve India as a whole and that European only who commands the approval of the common electorate and not mere Europeans. This very idea suggests that responsible government will always have to contend against those interests which will always be in conflict against national spirit against this body of 85 per cent of the agricultural population.

“ UNTOUCHABLES SHALL NOT REMAIN UNTOUCHABLES FOR EVER.”

“ We do not want ‘untouchables’ to be classified as a separate class. Sikhs may remain such in perpetuity. So may Moslems and Europeans. Will the ‘untouchables’ remain ‘untouchables’ in perpetuity? I would far rather that Hinduism died than “untouchability” lived. Therefore with all my regard for Dr. Ambedkar and for his desire to see ‘untouchables’ uplifted, and for his ability I must say in all humility that here is a great wrong under which he has laboured and perhaps bitter experiences he has undergone have for the moment warped his judgment. It hurts me to have to say this, but I would be untrue to the cause of ‘untouchables’ which is as dear to me as life itself if I did not say it, I will not bargain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world. I am speaking with a due sense of responsibility.

NOT A PROPER CLAIM.

I say it is not a proper claim which is registered by Dr. Ambedkar when he seeks to speak for the whole of untouchables in India. It will create division in Hinduism, which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever. I do not mind "untouchables" being converted to Islam or Christianity. I should tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are two divisions set forth in the villages. Those who speak of political rights of "untouchables" do not know India and do not know how Indian society is to-day constructed. Therefore I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I were the only person to resist this thing I will resist, it with my life.

HIS "SAFEGUARD."



Miraben wrapping Mahatmaji up to protect him from the chilly wind on deck, the steamer, just on arrival at Marseilles.

MAHATMA FEARS FRESH COURSE OF SUFFERING .

**“Children would Dance with Joy when
Bullets would Fly.”**

Mahatma Gandhi in spite of his cold and indisposition made one of the stirring speeches in the Federal Structure Committee on November 25, when he made a frank confession that he was convinced that, from the way the Conference proceedings were going on, the Britishers did not mean the transference of power to India.

“It hurts me, it pains me all the more that this precious time of the British Ministers and of all these Indians should have been wasted and that nothing tangible will result,” said Mahatma.

“The result is, therefore, that nothing is going to come out of this thing, but terrible repression in India. I do not mind repression in right time. I will consider that as a very fine outcome of this Conference.

“Repression has never done harm to a single nation which is sailing for a destined goal with fixed determination, for, repression is really the draught that Mr. Lee-Smith administered.

WILL UNFURL N. C. O. BANNER

“But what I fear is that the slender thread, which I had again built up of co-operation with the British nation, with British Ministers is about to snap and that I should

MAHATMAJI'S BUST.



Mrs. Clare Sherriden giving the finishing touches to her bust of Gandhiji. The sculptress who generally stays in North Africa went specially to London on her "mission".

again declare myself a convinced non-co-operator and a civil resister—that I should redeliver this message of non-co-operation, of civil resistance in India, no matter how many aeroplanes will fly over India or how many tanks will be brought to India. They will have no result.

EVEN CHILDREN WON'T BE COWED DOWN.

“You do not know to-day they bring no result—not even upon tender young children. We teach them to dance with joy when bullets are flying about them. They are like so many crackers. We teach them to suffer for the freedom of their country. I do not despair—not so long as the Congress remains untarnished and goes forward throughout the length and breadth of India undiminished.”

The following is the full text of the speech.

My Lord, (catching the Chancellor's eye) : “ I tender my congratulations to Mr. Lees-Smith for being responsible for the debate. I tender my congratulations to you, Lord Chancellor, for having allowed the debate. I thank Mr. Lees-Smith for having shown his amazing optimism in initiating the debate. He has come as a physician with an oxygen-pump. He is trying to pump oxygen into the dying body. I do not say that we are a dying body, because of this rumour or threat of Provincial Autonomy divorced from Central responsibility. In my humble manner almost from the commencement of these proceedings, I have been uttering words of warning, and I was oppressed, and I said so in so many words, with a sense of unreality which dawns upon Sir

T. B. Sapru only yesterday because he has given me the privilege of taking me into his confidence in common with other friends and comrades (if I can also bracket myself as one of his comrades). Out of his ripe experience of administrative affairs having held high offices in Government he has warned us of the danger of Provincial Autonomy.

“ AN UNREPENTANT SINNER.”

“ I am very often an unrepentant sinner. He had reason for issuing this warning especially—in connection with me because I had dared to discuss the question of Provincial Autonomy with so many English friends who are responsible public men in this country, and he had heard of it, and he gave me ample warning. It was for that reason that you find me as one of the co-signatories not to the document that has been placed before you, Lord Chancellor, but to another similar document that was issued to the Press about ten days ago and was addressed to the Premier. I told him as I say here that both he and others who have spoken against him, and I reached the same goal, though through different routes. Fools walk in where angels fear to tread. Not having had any experience of administration, actually I felt that Provincial Autonomy was Provincial Autonomy of my conception, I for one would not mind handling the fruit before the thing and seeing whether it really answered my purpose.”

MEETING OPPONENTS ON THEIR OWN PLATFORM.

I love to meet friends who may be opponents in politics on their own platform and find out their difficulties and find out also whether what they are offering

is likely to lead one to the same place; and in that spirit and in that sense I ventured to discuss provincial autonomy; but I found at once on discussion that what they meant was certainly not Provincial Autonomy that I meant; and so I told my friends also that I would be quite safe if they left me alone and that I was not going to sell the interests of the country out of foolish conception of provincial autonomy, or out of impatience to get something for the country. What I am anxious to do is that having come all these miles with the greatest diffidence, having come here to tender my whole-hearted cooperation to Government and this Conference without the slightest mental reservation, having applied that spirit of cooperation in thought, word and deed, I have not hesitated even to go into the danger zone; and hence I have dared to talk about and discuss provincial autonomy. But I have come to the conclusion that you or British Ministers do not contemplate giving India that measure of provincial autonomy which would satisfy a man of my mentality, which would satisfy the Congress and which would reconcile the Congress to taking up provincial autonomy, although there may be a delay in getting responsibility at the centre.

LET THERE BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING.

At the risk of taking up little of the time of the meeting, let me make my meaning clear. Because here too I am adopting a somewhat different line of argument, and I am most anxious not to be misunderstood. Let me take one illustration. I want to take for my illustration Bengal, because it is the one province to-day in India which is deeply affected. I know that there is a terrorist school active in Bengal. Every-

body ought to realise by this time that I can have no matter of sympathy with that terrorist school in any shape or form. I am as convinced as I have ever been that terrorism is the worst kind of action that any reformer can take up. Terrorism is the very worst thing for India in a special manner, because India is a foreign soil for terrorism to flourish in. I am convinced those young Indians who are giving their lives for what they consider to be a good cause are simply throwing away their lives and they are not bringing the country by one inch nearer to the goal which is common, I hope, to us all. I am convinced of these things, but having been convinced of them supposing that Bengal had provincial autonomy to-day, what would Bengal do? Bengal would set free every one of the letenus. Bengal would not hunt down terrorists a autonomous Bengal I mean—but Bengal would try to teach these terrorists and convert these terrorists. And I should approach them with every confidence and wipe out terrorism from Bengal,

IF BENGAL GOVT. HAD AUTONOMY.

But let me go a little step further in order to drive home the truth that is in me. If Bengal was autonomous that autonomy itself would really remove terrorism from Bengal, because these terrorists foolishly consider that their action is the shortest cut to Freedom; but having attained that freedom terrorism would cease. To-day, there are a thousand youngmen, some of whom I would dare swear have absolutely nothing in common with the terrorist school, a thousand young men who have not been tried, who have not been convicted. They have all—every one of them—been arrested on suspicion. So far as Chittagong is concerned Mr. Sen-Gupta is

here to-day. He has brought me a report signed by members of all Parties in Bengal in connection with Chittagong. It is a sad reading. It is painful to read this report, but the substance of this report is that there had been an inferior relation of Black and Tans in Chittagong; and Chittagong is not a place of no importance on the Indian map. We now see there has been flag-showing ceremony, and in making this demonstration all Military forces have been mobilised there. In Calcutta these demonstrations have gone through the streets of Calcutta. At whose expense and what will it do? Will it frighten terrorists?

SUFFERING WILL NOT FRIGHTEN TERRORISTS.

I promise you it will not frighten terrorists. Will it then win Congress from Civil Disobedience? It will not do so. Congressmen are pledged to this thing. Suffering is the badge of their tribe. They have determined to go through every form of suffering. It cannot do any such thing. Our children would laugh at this thing. And it is our purpose to show our children that they must not be terrified. They must not be frightened by this display of artillery guns, air force and so on. Thus you see what is my conception of provincial autonomy.

All these things would be impossible. I would not allow a single soldier to enter Bengal. I would not pay a single farthing for the upkeep of the army which I may not command. You do not contemplate provincial autonomy for Bengal, whereby I can set free all these detenus, can remove from the statute book Bengal Regulations.

A SOUTH AFRICAN EXAMPLE.

I can take you to other provinces. You do not contemplate any such thing. If it is provincial autonomy, then it is independence for Bengal. Precisely in the same manner as that responsible government I have seen growing up in Natal. That is a little colony ; but it had its own independent existence. It had its own volunteer force.

WANTED LIVE PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

You do not contemplate that thing for Bengal or any of these provinces. It will be the centre still dictating, still ruling, still doing all these things. That is not provincial autonomy of my conception. That was why I said if you present me with that live provincial autonomy, I shall be prepared to consider that proposition. But I am also convinced that autonomy is not coming, we would not see all these protracted proceedings that have taken place here. Then we would have managed affairs in an entirely different manner. But what really grieves me still more is that we have all been brought here with one single purpose. I have been brought here specially through that very Pact ; and in that Pact it is written, in so many words, that I was coming here to discuss to receive really Centre responsibility. Federation with all its responsibility and safeguards undoubtedly are safeguards in the interests of India. I have said in season and out of season that I would consider every safeguard that is necessary. I personally do not really consider with Mr. Lees Smith or anybody that all this constitution building should take all these long three years. He thinks of provincial autonomy in 18 months.

LONG YEARS NOT NECESSARY.

My folly tells me that all these things are unnecessary, where people have made up their mind. If Parliament has made up its mind, Ministers have made up their minds, and public opinion here, then these things do not take time. I have seen them not taking time where there has been one mind applied. But I do know that there is not one mind applied, but there are many minds, all following their own course, all perhaps with disruptive tendency. That being so, I feel convinced in spite of the debate not only is there going to be no responsibility at the Centre, but no tangible result coming out of the Conference. It hurts me, it pains me to find that all this precious time of the British Ministers, of the nation, and of all these Indians and all of us should have been wasted. But I am very much afraid that in spite of this oxygen pump the result will be nil. I do not say the result is therefore bound to be that Provincial Autonomy will be thrust down our throats. I do not really fear that result.

MAHATMA'S FEAR.

What I fear is something still more dreadful than nothing at all is going to come out of this thing. There will be terrible repression in India.

I do not mind that repression. Repression will only do us good. If we have repression in right time I will consider that also as a very fine outcome from this Conference. Repression has never done harm to a single nation which is sailing for her destined goal with a fixed determination.

REPRESSION REALLY OXYGEN DRAUGHT.

For that Repression is really the oxygen draught though, not the draught that Mr. Lees Smith administered. But what I fear is the slender thread which I had again built up of co-operation with British nation with British Ministers is about to snap, and that I should again declare myself a convinced Non-co-operator and Civil Resister ; that I should re-deliver this message of Non-Co-operation and civil resistance to millions of India, no matter how many air balloons will afloat over India, or how many tanks will be brought to India. They have no result. You do not know to-day that they produce no results even upon tender young children. We teach them to dance with joy when bullets are flying about them. They are like so many crackers. We teach them to suffer for Freedom of their country. I do not despair, not so long as Congress remains untarnished, and goes forward throughout the length and breadth of India undiminished.

I have been told so often that it is Congress that's responsible for terrorism. I take this opportunity of denying that with all the strength at my command. On the contrary I have evidence to show that it is the Congress creed of non-violence which up-to now has kept the forces of terrorism in check. We have not succeeded to the fullest extent. I am sorry but as time goes on, I hope to succeed. It is not as if this terrorism can bring freedom to India. I want Freedom precisely in the same manner, or perhaps little more strongly than Mr. Jayakar.

It is freedom for masses. And I know terrorism can do no good to masses. Masses are silent and disarmed. They

do not know how to kill. I do not talk of individual instances ; but Indian masses have never moved in that direction.

DISILLUSIONED.

Whilst on the one hand Congress will fight the British authority its terrorism legalised, so also will the Congress fight terrorism illegal on the part of the youth. What I feel is that there was this course opened up for British nation, and for me by Irwin. He had built this bridge and I thought I was going to have a safe passage. I had a safe passage. I have come here to tender my co-operation ; but I must confess apart from what Mr. Lees Smith has said, apart from what has been said on this side also by Dr. Sapru, by Mr. Sastri, and other speakers that limited responsibility at the Centre would not satisfy me. I want that responsibility at the Centre that will give me control of Army and Finance. I know I am not getting that here now. I know there is not a British man ready for that.

INVITING NATION TO SUFFERING.

Therefore, I know I must go back and invite the nation to a course of suffering. I have taken part in the debate, because I wanted to make the position absolutely clear. What I have been saying to friends in private with reference to provincial autonomy I have now said openly. Here I have told you what I mean by provincial autonomy—what would really satisfy me. Having opened out this argument, I close by saying that I sail in the same boat as Dr. Sapru and others. I feel convinced that real provincial autonomy is an impossibility,

unless there is Centre responsibility, unless you are prepared to so weaken the Centre that provinces will be able to dictate to the Centre. I know that you are not prepared to-day to do this, I know that this Conference does not conceive a weak Centre, when this Federal Government is brought into being but it conceives a strong Centre. A strong Centre, governed and administered by an alien authority and strong autonomy are contradiction in terms. Hence I feel that provincial autonomy and Central Responsibility, really speaking, go together.

MAHATMA HAS AN OPEN MIND.

But I say again that I have an open mind. If somebody will convince me that there is provincial autonomy, such as I have conceived (for instance for Bengal) available, I would grasp it.

HIS EAST END "PALACE"



Suit of Rooms in Kingsley Hall, where Mahatmaji lodged in London.

I LIVE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS.

“India is Thirsting for Liberty.”

“No Sacrifice Is Too Great For It.”

“The Congress represents the spirit of rebellion,” declared Mahatma Gandhi, “in what may be,” to quote him “the last word on behalf of the Congress”, at the Round Table Conference.

“I live under no illusion . . . I shall strive every nerve to secure a settlement without exposing the millions of India’s men, women and children, to the Terrible Ordeal , but if it has got to be faced, I shall do it with joy.”

Gandhiji strongly protested against the manner in which reports of the Conference were recorded putting down Gandhiji as only one of the dissentient and warned the British Government as to what the Congress organisation really is.

“Do not for a moment differentiate me from the organisation of which I am but a drop in the Ocean. I have no authority save what I derive from the Congress.”

Concluding, India’s spokesman pointedly drew the attention of the British Government to the writing on the wall, to read it and not to be blind to such realities for there are thousands to-day “besides the terrorists who are writing the history of the fight for freedom with their blood, who are sworn not to give themselves peace or the country peace,” till they get the “bread of liberty.”

Mahatma Gandhi delivered his speech at the plenary session seated as he explained to the Premier due to his being a physically incapable man. He said.

" I wish I could have done without having to speak to you, but I felt that I would not have been just to you or to my principles if I did not put in what may be the last word on behalf of the Congress. I live under no illusion. I do not think anything I can say this evening can possibly influence the decision of the Cabinet. Probably the decision has already been taken. Matters of liberty of practically a whole Continent can hardly be decided by mere argumentation or even negotiation. The negotiation has its purpose and has its play but only under certain conditions. Without these conditions negotiations are a fruitless task ; but I do not want to go into all these matters.

REPORTS BEFORE R. T. C.

I want as far as possible, to confine myself within the four corners of the conditions that you as Premier read to this conference at its opening meeting. I would first of all say a few words in connection with the reports that have been submitted to this Conference. You will find in these reports generally stated that it is the opinion of a large majority. Some, however, have expressed the opinion to the contrary and so on. The parties who have dissented have not been stated. I had heard when I was in India—and I was told when I came here—that no decision will be taken by the ordinary rule of majority, and I do not want to mention this fact here by way of complaint that reports have been framed as if the proceedings were governed by a test of the majority.

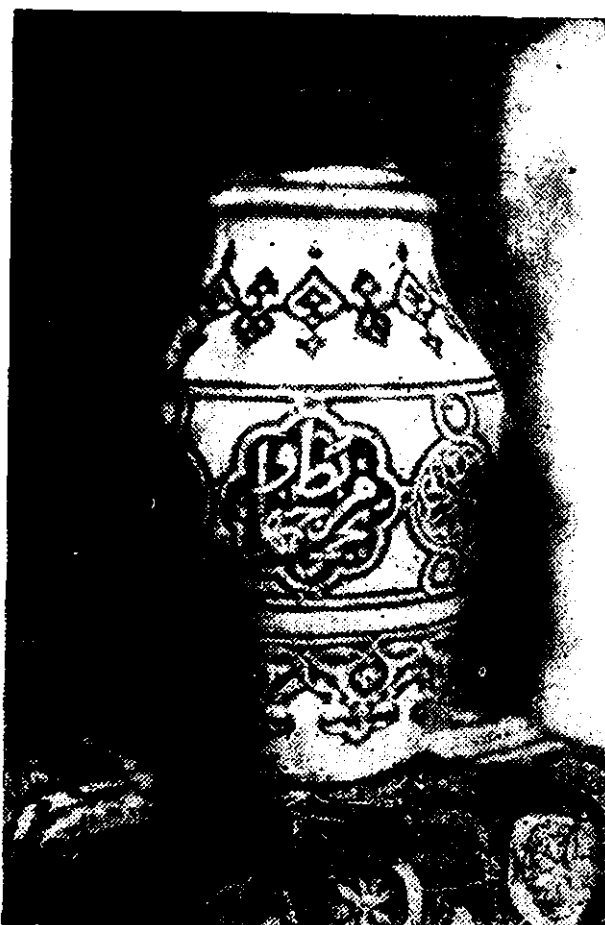
DISSENTING OPINIONS.

But it was necessary for me to mention this fact because to most of these reports you will find there is dissenting opinion, and in most of the cases the dissent unfortunately happens to belong to me. It was not a matter of joy to have to dissent from fellow-delegates, but I feel I could not truly represent the Congress unless I notify that dissent.

There is another thing which I want to bring to the notice of the Conference, namely, what is the meaning of the dissent of the Congress. I said at one of the preliminary meetings of the Federal Structure Committee that the Congress claimed to represent 85 per cent of the population of India that is to say, the dumb toiling semi-starved millions ; but I went further. The Congress also claims, by right of service, to represent even the Princes if they would pardon my putting forth their claims and the land-holders and the educated class.

CONGRESS REPRESENT WHOLE OF INDIA.

I wish to repeat the claim, and I wish this evening to emphasise that claim. All other parties at this meeting represent sectional interests. The Congress alone claims to represent the whole of India and all interests. It is no communal organisation. It is the determined enemy of communalism in any shape or form. The Congress knows no distinction of races, colour or creed. Its platform is universal. It may not always have lived up to its creed. I do not know a single human organisation that lives up to its creed. The Congress has failed very often to my knowledge ; and it may have failed more often to the knowledge of its critics. But even the worst



Egyptians presented to Mahatmaji some honey of which he is very fond in the above casket. A Scripture from the Holy Quoran is inscribed on it.

critics will have to recognise, - as it has already been recognised, - that the Indian National Congress is an organisation that is growing daily, and its message penetrates to the remotest Indian village.

CONGRESS ONLY CAN DELIVER THE GOODS.

And yet here I see that the Congress is treated as one of the parties. I do not mind it. I do not regard it as a calamity for the purposes of the work for which we are gathered together. I wish I could convince the public of Britain as well as the British Ministers that the Congress is capable of delivering the goods, that the Congress is the only All-India organisation bereft of any communal bias, that it does represent all the minorities which have lodged their claim here and which claim I hold unjustifiably - to represent 46 per cent of the population of India. The Congress, I say, claims to represent all these minorities. What a great difference it would be to-day, if this claim on behalf of the Congress was recognised. I feel I have to state this claim with some degree of emphasis on behalf of peace, for achieving which is the common purpose of all of us, - both to you, Englishmen, who sit at this table, and to us, Indian men and women who sit at this table. I say so for this reason. The Congress is a powerful organisation.

ORGANISATION CAPABLE OF RUNNING PARALLEL GOVT.

The Congress is an organisation which has been accused of the desire to run a parallel Government, and in a way I have endorsed that charge. If you could understand the work-

AT THE WHEEL!



Gandhiji having his first motor drive in London.

ing of the Congress you would welcome that organisation which could run a parallel Government, and show that it is possible for an organisation, voluntarily and without any force at its command, to run the machinery of Government even under adverse circumstances. But no. Although you have invited the Congress, you distrust it. Although you have invited the Congress, you reject its claim to represent the whole of India. Of course it is possible at this end of the world to dispute that claim; and it is impossible for me to prove its claim; but all the same, if you find me asserting that claim, I do so because a tremendous responsibility rests upon my shoulders.

REPRESENTING "SPIRIT OF REBELLION".

The Congress represents the spirit of rebellion. I know the word "rebellion" must not be whispered at this Conference which has been summoned in order to arrive at an agreed solution of the Indian problem through negotiations. Speaker after speaker has got up and said that India should achieve her liberty through negotiation by argument; and it will be to the greatest glory of Great Britain if she yields to India's demands by arguments. But the Congress does not hold that view. The Congress has an alternative which is unpleasant to you. I heard several speakers to-day. I have tried to follow every speaker with the utmost attention and with all respect that I could possibly give to these speakers. I have heard them saying what dire calamity it would be if India was fired with the spirit of lawlessness, rebellion, terrorism and so on. I do not pretend to have read history, but as a schoolboy I had to pass a paper in history.

WHAT HISTORY TEACHES US.

I read the pages of history which were soiled with the blood of those who had fought for freedom. I do not know of any instance in which nations have attained their freedom without having to go through an incredible measure of travail.

I HOLD NO BRIEF FOR TERRORISTS.

The assassin, the poison bowl, the bullet of the riflemen the spear of the enemy, all these weapons and methods of destruction have been up to now used by what I consider to be blind lovers of liberty for achieving freedom. And historians have not condemned them. I hold no brief for terrorists.

Mr. Ghaznavi brought in the question of terrorists. When he mentioned the resolution of the Calcutta Corporation regarding Bhagat Singh, I felt hurt. He forgot to mention that the Mayor of the Corporation made handsome reparation for the error into which he himself was betrayed, and the error which the Calcutta Corporation was betrayed through the instrumentality of those members of the Corporation who were Congressmen. I hold no brief for Congressmen who directly or indirectly would encourage terrorism. As soon as the incident was brought to the notice of the Congress, the Congress set about putting it in order.

It immediately called upon the Mayor to give an account of what was done, and the Mayor, gentleman that he is, immediately made all reparations that it was then legally possible.

to make. I must not detain this assembly over this incident. But it is only out of regard for the great Calcutta Corporation, and out of regard for truth and on behalf of those who are not here to put in their defence that I mention this.

“ THOSE TERRIBLE DAYS ”

I do not know that in those terrible days of last year several things were done which we have regretted and for which we have made reparations. If our boys in Calcutta were taught those verses which Mr. Ghaznavi recited, I am here to tender my apology on their behalf. It is again to show that for the sake of liberty, people have fought, have sought death and have lost their lives at the hands of those whom they have sought to oust from their position.

The Congress came upon the scene and devised a new method unknown to history, that is, the method of civil disobedience. But, again, I am against a stone wall. I am told that no Government in the world will tolerate that method. Well of course, Government may not tolerate it. No Government has tolerated open rebellion. No Government may tolerate civil disobedience, but Governments have to succumb even to these forces, as the British Government have done before now, even as the great Dutch Government did after eight years of trial.

I suggest to you, Mr. Premier, it is too late to-day to resist this and it is this thing which weighs one down--this choice that lies before them at the parting of the ways probably.

A DIVINE SMILE!



Mahatma in immeasurable ecstasy in company of a baby
on board S. S. Rajputana.

THIRSTING FOR LIBERTY.

I shall hope against hope, I shall strain every nerve to achieve an honourable settlement for my country, if I can do so without having to put millions of my countrymen, countrywomen, and even children, through this ordeal of fire. It can be a matter of no joy and comfort to me to lead them on again to a fight of that character, but if a further ordeal of fire is to be our lot, I shall approach that with the greatest joy, with the greatest consolation feeling that I was doing what I felt to be right, that the country was doing what it felt to be right, and that the country would have the additional satisfaction of knowing that it was not at least taking lives but it was giving lives, that it was not making thee British people directly suffer, but that they themselves are suffering.

I know your people will also suffer. But I want to suffer because I want to touch your hearts. When your hearts have been touched, then will come the psychological moment for negotiations. Negotiations there always will be and this time I have travelled all this distance in order to enter upon negotiation. I thought your countryman, Lord Irwin, had sufficiently tried us through his many ordinances, that he had sufficient evidence that thousands of men and women of India and even children had suffered, and that, ordinance or no ordinance, lathi or no lathi, nothing would avail to stem the tide that was on and to stem the passions that were rising in the breasts of the men and women of India, who were thirsting for liberty.

COMPROMISE.

Whilst there is yet a little sand left in the glass, I want you to understand what this Congress stands for. My life is at your disposal. The lives of all the members of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee are at your disposal. But remember you have at your disposal the lives of all these dumb millions. I do not want to sacrifice those lives if I can possibly help it. Therefore, please remember I will count no sacrifice too great if by chance I can pull through an honourable settlement. You will find me always having the greatest spirit of compromise if I can but fire you with the spirit that is working in the Congress — the spirit of Liberty, call it by whatever name you like.

You will find the Congress itself always in a compromising spirit, but so long as there is not that one mind, that one definition, not one implication for the same word that you and I and we may be using — so long there is no compromise possible. How can there be any compromise as long as we each one of us has different definitions for the same words that we may be using?

It is impossible.

Mr. Premier, I want to suggest to you, in all humility, that it is utterly impossible then to find a meeting ground, to find the ground where you can apply the spirit of compromise, and I am very grieved to have to say that up to now I have not been able to discover a common definition for the terms that we have been exchanging during all these weary weeks, the words liberty and full independence.

“ COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE ”.

One of your great statesmen was debating with me. He said : “ Honestly, I did not know what you meant by complete independence.” He ought to have known, but did not know, and I shall tell you what he did not know. When I said to him, that I could not be a partner in the Empire, he said : “ Of course, that is logical.” I said : “ But I want to become one.” That it is not as if I shall be if I am compelled to, but I want to become a partner with Great Britain. I want to become a partner with English people, but I want to enjoy precisely the same liberty that your people enjoy, and I want to seek the partnership not merely for the benefit of India and not merely for mutual benefit. I want to seek this partnership, in order that the great weight that is crushing the world to atoms may be lifted from its shoulders.

NATION'S REPRESENTATIVE.

This took place ten days ago. Strange as it may appear, I got a note from another Englishman, whom also you know and whom also you respect. Among the many things he writes is this : “ I believe profoundly that the peace and happiness of mankind depends on your friendship.” And as if I would not understand that, he says : “ Your people and mine.” I must read to you what he also says : “ Of all Indians, you are the one that the real Englishman likes, and understands.” I do not think he has intended to flatter me, and it will not flatter me in the slightest degree.

His last sentence does not mean me personally. I personally signify nothing.

THE MANICURING PROCESS.



Devidas taking care of his father's hands.

I know I would mean nothing to any Englishman. But I mean something to some Englishmen, because I seek to represent a nation, a great organisation, which has made itself felt. That is the reason why he says this. But then if only I could possibly find that working basis !

CONGRESS POLICY.

There is ample room for compromise. It is friendship that I crave for. My business is not to throw over-board the slave-holder and tyrant. My philosophy forbids me to do so, and to-day Congress has accepted that philosophy, not as a creed as it is to me, but as a policy, because Congress believes that it is the right and best thing for India, a nation of three hundred and fifty millions to do.

A nation of 350 million people does not need the dagger of the assassin. It does not need the poison bowl, nor the sword, nor the spear, nor the bullet. It simply needs a will of its own, and the ability to say "No." That the nation is to-day learning to say.

Its mission to-day is to convert Englishmen, not summarily to dismiss them.

I do not want to break the bond between England and India, but I want to transform that slavery into complete freedom, freedom for my country. Call it complete independence, or whatever you like. I will not quarrel about words.

SAFEGUARDS.

I have to urge, times without number, that the safeguards that have been suggested are completely unsatisfactory. They

are not in the interests of India. At the same time, I do not want safeguards which are merely in the interests of India and prejudicial to the real interests of Great Britain.

The fancied interests of India will have to be sacrificed. The fancied interests of Great Britain also will have to be sacrificed. The illegitimate interests of Great Britain will also have to be sacrificed. Therefore, again I repeat if we have the same meaning for the same words, I will agree with Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other distinguished speakers that have spoken at the conference.

Then, why are we not coming nearer and nearer together ?

Why are we wasting time in eloquence and oratory, debating, scoring points ?

Heaven knows I have no desire to hear my own voice !
Heaven knows I have no desire to take part in any debate !

I know liberty is made of sterner stuff. I know the freedom of India is made of much sterner stuff.

BAFFLING PROBLEM.

We have problems that would baffle any statesmen. We have problems that other nations have not to tackle. But they do not baffle me. They cannot baffle those who have been brought up in the Indian climate. Those problems are there with us. Just as we have to tackle the bubonic plague, we have to tackle the problem of malaria. We have to tackle, as you have not, the problems of snakes and scorpions, monkeys,

tigers and lions. We have to tackle these problems because we have been brought up amidst them. They do not baffle us.

Somehow or other, we have survived the ravages of these venomous reptiles, these various creatures. So also, shall we survive our problems and find a way out of them. But to-day you and we have come together at the Round Table Conference and we want to find a common formula which will work.

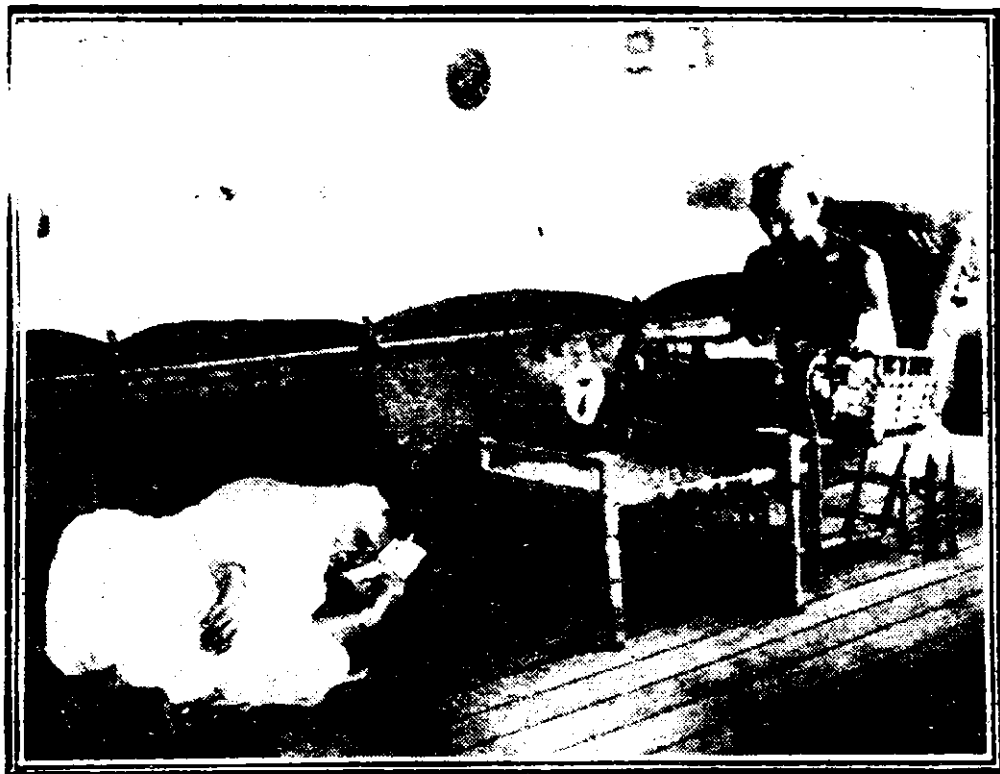
“ TRUST CONGRESS”.

Please believe me, whilst I abate not a tittle of the claim that I have registered on behalf of the Congress, while I do not withdraw one word of the speeches that I had to make at the Federal Committee, I am here to compromise. I am here to consider every formula that British ingenuity can prepare, every formula that the ingenuity of such constitutionalists as Mr. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Jinnah, Sir Mahomed Shafi, and a host of other constitutionalists can bring into being.

I will not be baffled. I shall be here as long as I am required, because I do not want to revive civil disobedience. I want to turn the truce that was arrived at Delhi into a permanent settlement. (Applause). But for Heaven's sake, give me, a frail man sixty-two years gone, a little bit of a chance, a little corner for him and the organisation that he represents.

You distrust that organisation, though you may seemingly trust me. Do not, for one moment, differentiate me from the

AT THE FEET OF HER MASTER.



Mahatmaji burning midnight oil. Mira Ben lying at his feet ready to carry out his belongings.

organisation, of which I am but a drop in the ocean. I am not greater than the organisation to which I belong. I am infinitely smaller than that organisation, and if you find me a place, if you trust me, I invite you to trust Congress also. Your trust in me otherwise is a broken reed. I have no authority save what I derive from Congress.

If you will work with the Congress for all it is worth, then you will say good-bye to terrorism. Then you will not need terrorism. To-day you have to fight the school of terrorists, because you will be blind to facts, to the writing on the wall.

WRITING ON WALL.

Will you not see the writings that these terrorists are writing with their blood? Will you not see that we do not want the bread made of wheat, but we want the bread of liberty, and without that liberty there are thousands to-day who are sworn not to give themselves peace or to give the country peace. I urge you then to read the writing on the wall. I ask you not to try the patience of a people known to be proverbially patient.

MINORITIES PROBLEM.

We speak of the mild Hindu. And the Mussalman also by his contact, good or evil, with the Hindu, has himself become mild and that mention of the Mussalman brings me to the baffling problem of minorities. Believe me, that problem exists here, and I repeat what I used to say in India that without the problem of minorities being solved there is no Swaraj for India, there is no freedom for India. I know that, I realise

it. And yet I came here in the hope that perchance I might be able to bring about a solution here. But I do not despair, some day or other, of finding a real and living solution in connection with the minorities problem.

WITHDRAW THE WEDGE. •

I repeat what I have said else-where ; so long as the wedge in the shape of foreign rule divides community from community and class from class there will be no real living solution. There will be no living friendship between the communities. It will be after all and at best a paper solution but immediately you withdraw that wedge domestic ties, domestic affections, knowledge of the common country, will count. Do you suppose that all these will count for nothing? Were Hindus and Mussalmans and Sikhs always at war with one another when there was no British rule and no English face was seen there? Hindus and Mussalmans in villages were not quarrelling in those days. They were not known to quarrel at all.

UNNATURAL RELATIONSHIP MUST CEASE.

The late Maulana Mahomed Ali often used to tell me, "If God"—Allah as he called God—"gives me life I propose to write the history of Mussalman rule in India and I will show through the documents that the British people have preserved that Mussalman rule was not so vile as has been painted by British historians, that the Moghul rule was not so bad as it has been shown to us in British-written history, and so on." And so have Hindu historians written.

This quarrel is not old. This quarrel I venture to say, is co-eval with the British advent and immediately this relationship—unfortunate, artificial and unnatural relationship—between Britain and India is transformed into a natural relationship, when it becomes, if it does become, a voluntary partnership, to be given up, to be dissolved at the will from other party, then you will find Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Christians and “untouchables” will live all together as one man.

APPEAL TO PRINCES.

I want to say one word about the Princes and I shall have done. I have not said much about the Princes nor do I intend to say much to-night about them. But I should be doing them a wrong and a wrong to the Congress also if I did not register my claim, not with the Conference but with the Princes. It is open to them to give their terms, the terms on which they will join the Federation. I appeal to them to make the path easy for those who inhabit other parts of India and therefore I can only make suggestions for their earnest and favourable consideration. I think that if they accepted, no matter what they are, but some fundamental rights as the common property of all India, and accepted that position and allowed these rights to be tested by a court which will be again of their own creation, and if they introduced elements of popular rule, I think they would have gone a long way to conciliate their subjects and to show the world and the whole of India that they are also tired with the democratic spirit, that they do not want to remain undiluted autocrats but they want to become constitutional monarchs even as King George is in England to-day.

Sir, a note has been placed in my hands by my friend Sir Abdul Quiyum. He says "Will I not say one word about the Frontier Province?" I will ; and it is this : Let India get what she is entitled to, and what she can really take ; but whatever she gets and whenever she gets it let the Frontier Province get Complete Autonomy to-day. That Frontier will then be a standing demonstration to the whole of India, and therefore, the whole vote of Congress will be given in favour of the Frontier Province, getting provincial autonomy tomorrow. Mr. Premier, if you can possibly get your Cabinet to endorse the proposition that from to-morrow the Frontier Province becomes a full-fledged autonomous province, I shall then have a proper footing amongst the Frontier tribes, and convene them to my assistance when those over the border cast an evil eye on India.

This is perhaps the last time I shall be sitting with you at negotiations. It is not that I want to sit at the same table with you in your closets to negotiate and to plead with you, to go down on bended knee before I take the final leap and a final plunge ; but whether I have the good fortune to continue to tender my co-operation or not does not depend upon me. It largely depends upon you. But it may not even depend upon you. It depends upon so many circumstances over which neither you nor we may have any control.

MAHATMA THANKS ALL PROFUSELY,

Whatsoever happens, then, let me perform this pleasant task of giving my thanks to all from Their Majesties down to the poorest men in the East End, where I have taken up my habi-

tation. In that Settlement which represents the poor people of the East End of London, I have become one of them. They have accepted me as a member, and as a favoured member of their family. It will be one of the richest treasures that I shall carry with me. Here too, I have found nothing but courtesy and nothing but genuine affection, from all with whom I have come in touch. I have come in touch with so many Englishmen that it has been a priceless privilege to me. They have listened to what must have often appeared to them to be unpleasant, although it was true. Although I have often been obliged to say these things to them they have never shown the slightest impatience or irritation. It is impossible for me to forget these things no matter what befalls me. No matter what fortunes may be of this Conference, one thing I shall certainly carry with me, viz., from the high to the low I have found nothing but utmost courtesy and utmost affection.

WELL-WORTH PAYING VISIT TO ENGLAND.

I consider that it was well worth my paying this visit to England in order to find this human affection. (Applause). It has enhanced, it has deepened, my irrepressible faith in human nature. Although Englishmen and Englishwomen have been fed upon lies so often that I see disfiguring your Press, that although in Lancashire, the Lancashire people had perhaps some reason for becoming irritated against me, I found no irritation, no resentment even among the operatives. The operatives, men and women, hugged me. They treated me as one of their own. I shall never forget that I am carrying with me thousands upon thousands of English friends. I do not know them; but I read that affection in their eyes, as, early in the

GOING AWAY FROM LAND OF LOTUS!



morning, I walk through your streets. All this hospitality, all this kindness, will never be effaced from my memory, no matter what befalls my unhappy land. I thank you for your forbearance." (Applause).

MAHATMA PROPOSES THANKS.

After the Premier's speech Mahatma Gandhi proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair said that he did so with the greatest pleasure. It would not be expected of any of them and least of all of him to comment on the weighty pronouncement of the Chairman. He had a double duty ; one to conduct the Conference and the other to convey the decisions of His Majesty's Government.

It was more pleasant to Gandhiji to refer to the first duty. He congratulated the Chairman on the lessons he had given them in time sense. He would try to pass that lesson to his countrymen. The Prime Minister had shown amazing industry and worked to exhaustion, old men like Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Sastri and himself.

"Therefore I have the greatest pleasure in moving the vote of thanks, but there is an additional reason why I should shoulder this responsibility and esteem and privilege that have been given to me. It is somewhat likely—I would say only somewhat likely because I would like to study your declaration once, twice, thrice and as often as may be necessary, scanning every word thereof, and reading its hidden meaning, if there is a hidden meaning in it, crossing all T'S and dotting all I'S and if then I come to the conclusion, as just now seems likely, that as far as I am concerned even if we have come to the parting

of ways and that our ways take different directions, it does not matter to us. Even so you are entitled to my hearty and sincerest vote of thanks."

" GOOD VOYAGE HOME AND PROSPEROUS
RETURN ".

MACDONALD'S FAREWELL SPEECH TO R. T. C.
DELEGATES.

The following is the concluding portion of the Premier's speech, in replying to Mahatma's vote of thanks :—

The Premier said that he was much obliged for Mr. Gandhi's kind and friendly words and continued that here was only one thing to quarrel with him about, why does he refer to himself in relation to me as an old man? (Laughter). The Mahatma has got years to his advantage. It was a young man who spoke at twelve last night (Laughter). It was an old man in the Chair. I do not know which of us looks older, but records show that in the ordinary course of nature I am much nearer the end of my time than Mr. Gandhi himself and if there is anybody who has got a grievance about the prolonged sitting it is not the young man who spoke. It is the old man who presided, whom you kept out of bed until 2-30 in the morning and then made to get up at 6 a. m. in order to come here with a prepared statement. That is where the grievance is, but ere I have none—not a particle, not a shadow—if it has been in the interests of India.

I am so glad my old friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum seconded the resolution. It was a great achievement to get Gandhiji and him together. That is the foretaste of what is going to happen (Applause) when the Muslim and the Hin—

Mahatma Gandhi interjected ; “Not Hindu”.

The Chairman said : Mr. Gandhi understands the lapses of the untrained human tongue.

Mahatma Gandhi : I forgive it.

The Chairman : He understands the lapses of untrained human tongue such as mine.

—Mussalmans and others (Laughter and applause) together. I am beginning to pick up Mr. Gandhi's thoughts because he has always told us that you were sections and he comprehended you all.

Mahatma Gandhi : Of course.

GRATITUDE TO A SCOTSMAN.

The Chairman : But look at the effect of you two coming together in order to co-operate and express gratitude to a Scotsman. My dear Mahatma, let us go on in this way. It is the best way, you may find it to be the only way. It certainly is the way that will enable both of us to take a great pride in our work and to relate our political action with those glorious spiritual impulses which lie at the source of all our being.

The Premier concluded by wishing all very good voyage home and a very happy and prosperous returning. "And do remember we are enlisted in the same cause and that we are bound by the same loyalty to India herself. Do remember to stand shoulder to shoulder with us in exchange of views and by mutual co-operation and with good luck and good fortune we shall solve the problems that now confront us and see India stand self-governing and self-respecting in the world. For the last time I declare that the Conference now adjourns".

At the conclusion of his speech Mr. MacDonald raised the Chairman's mallet in tense silence and with a resounding hit upon the table said : "For the last time I declare that the Conference now adjourns."

Silence continued for a few seconds and then the Prime Minister moved towards Gandhiji and clasped him by the hand. The two looked straight into each other's eyes, and talked in very low tones of the future.

INDIA SHOWS WORLD WAY TO PEACE

Mahatma's Broadcast Speech To America

Ferdinand Kuhn, Special correspondent of the "New York Times" cabling to that paper from London on September 13 says:—

Mahatma Gundhi made the first radio speech of his life to-day, addressing unseen millions of listeners in the United States on the ideals of Nationalist India. Seated before a microphone at Kingsley Hall in the heart of London's crowded East End, the Mahatma told the American people that India alone among the nations of history was fighting a revolution by non-violence.

"I personally would wait, if need be, for ages rather than seek to obtain the freedom of my country through bloody means", he said quietly. "The world is sick unto death of blood spilling. Perhaps, it will be the privilege of my ancient land of India to show the way out."

Mahatmaji said : " In my opinion, the Indian Conference bears in its consequences not only upon India but upon the whole world. India is by itself almost a continent. It contains one-fifth of the human race. It represents one of the most ancient civilisations. It has traditions handed down from tens of thousands of years, some of which, to the astonishment of the world remain intact.

No doubt the ravages of time have affected the purity of that civilisation, as they have that of many other cultures and many institutions.

If India is to perpetuate the glory of her ancient past, it can do so only when it attains freedom. The reason for the struggle having drawn the attention of the world, I know, does not lie in the fact that we Indians are fighting for our liberty but in the fact that the means adopted by us for attaining that liberty are unique, and, as far as history shows us, have not been adopted by any other people of whom we have any record.

The means adopted are not violence, not bloodshed, not diplomacy as one understands it now-a-days, but they are purely and simply truth and non-violence? No wonder that the attentions of the world is directed toward this attempt to lead a successful bloodless revolution. Hitherto, nations have fought in the manner of the brute. They have wreaked vengeance upon those whom they have considered to be their enemies.

INDIA REVERSES PROCESS.

We find in searching national anthems adopted by great nations that they contain imprecations upon the so-called enemy. They have vowed destruction and have not hesitated to take the name of God and seek divine assistance for the destruction of the enemy. We in India have reversed the process. We feel that the law that governs brute creation is not the law that should guide the human race. That law is inconsistent with human dignity.

I personally, would wait, if need be, for ages rather than seek to attain the freedom of my country through bloody means. I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart, after a political experience extending over an unbroken period of close upon thirty-five years, that the world is sick unto death of blood-spilling. The world is seeking a way out, and I flatter myself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show that way out to the hungry world.

I have, therefore, no hesitation whatsoever in inviting, all the great nations of the earth to give their hearty co-operation to India in her mighty struggle. It must be a sight worth contemplating and treasuring that millions of people have given themselves to suffering without retaliation in order that they might vindicate the dignity and honour of the nation.

CITES "SELF-PURIFICATION."

I have called that suffering a process of self-purification. It is my certain conviction that no man loses his freedom except through his own weakness. I am painfully conscious of our own weaknesses. We represent in India all the principal religions of the earth, and it is a matter of deep humiliation to confess that we are a house divided against itself; that we Hindus and Mussalmans are flying at one another. It is a matter of still deeper humiliation to me that we Hindus regard several millions of our kith and kin too degraded even for our touch. I refer to the so-called "untouchables."

ON WAY TO DANDI.



During his march to Dandi Mahatmaji used to put on a wet packing on his forehead. Mark on his smiling face in spite of the fatigue.

These are no small weaknesses in a nation struggling to be free. You will find that in this struggle through self-purification we have assigned a foremost creed to the removal of this curse of "untouchability" and the attainment of unity amongst all the different classes and communities of India representing the different creeds.

It is along the same lines that we seek to rid our land of the curse of drink. Happily for us, intoxicating drinks and drugs are confined to comparatively a very small number of people, largely factory hands and the like.

Fortunately for us the drink and drug curse is accepted as a curse. It is not considered to be the fashion for men or women to drink or to take intoxicating drugs. All the same, it is an uphill fight that we are fighting in trying to remove this evil from our midst.

WOMEN COMBATING TRAFFIC.

It is a matter of regret, deep regret, for me to have to say that the existing government has made of this evil a source of very large revenue, amounting to nearly twenty-five crores of rupees (about dol. 11,250,000). But I am thankful to be able to say that the women of India have risen to the occasion in combating it by peaceful means, that is, by a fervent appeal to those who are given to the drink habit to give it up, and by an equally fervent appeal to the liquor dealers. A great impression has been created upon those who are addicted to these two evil habits.

I wish that it were possible for me to say that in this, at least, we were receiving the hearty co-operation of the rulers. If we could only have received the co-operation without any legislation I dare say that we would have achieved this reform and banished intoxicating drink and drugs from our afflicted land.

There is a force which has a constructive effect and which has been put forth by the nation during this struggle. That is the great care for the semi-starved millions scattered throughout the 700,000 villages dotted over a surface 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad. It is a painful phenomenon that these simple villagers, through no fault of their own, have nearly six months in the year to idle upon their lands.

ONCE SELF-SUPPORTING.

The time was not very long ago when every village was self-sufficient in regard to the two primary human wants, food and clothing. Unfortunately for us, the East India Company by means which I would prefer not to describe, destroyed that supplementary village industry, and the millions of spinners who had become famous through the cunning of their deft fingers for drawing the finest thread such as has never yet been drawn by any modern machinery. These village spinners found themselves one fine morning with their noble occupation gone. From that day, forward India has become progressively poor.

No matter what may be said to the contrary, it is a historical fact that before the advent of the East India Company, these villagers were not idle, and he who wants may

see to-day that these villagers are idle. It, therefore, requires no great effort or learning to know that these villagers must starve if they cannot work for six months in the year.

May I not, then, on behalf of these semi-starved millions, appeal to the conscience of the world to come to the rescue of a people dying for regaining its liberty?"

Mr. Gandhi's talk was heard in America over WOR and the National and Columbia broadcasting systems. The reception was mainly clear, with little static interference.

UNSEEN POWER THAT DEFIES PROOF

Sermon On God For Broadcast Record.

The 'Bombay Chronicle's' Special Staff Correspondent wrote from London on October 20:—

When the Columbia Gramophone Company requested Mahatma Gandhi to make a record for them, he pleaded inability to speak on politics, and added that at the age of sixty, he could make only his first and last record which should, if wanted, make his voice heard for all time.

Confessing his anxiety to speak on spiritual matters, which are of deep and everlasting interest as against purely political matters, which are only of transient interest, Mahatma Gandhi went on:—

"There is an indefinable, mysterious Power that pervades everything. I feel it, though I do not see it."

"It is this unseen Power which makes itself felt and that defies all proof because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses. It transcends the senses because it is possible to reason out the existence of God only to a limited extent.

A MYSORE STORY.

“ Even in ordinary affairs we know that people do not know who rules or why or how. He rules, but that they know that there is a Power that certainly rules.

“ In my tour, some years ago, of Mysore, I met many poor villagers and I found, upon inquiry, they did not know who ruled Mysore. They simply said some God ruled it. If the knowledge of these people was so limited about their ruler, I, who, am an infinitely lesser being in respect to God than to their ruler, need not be surprised if I do not realise the presence of God, the King of Kings. Nevertheless, I do feel, as the poor villagers felt about Mysore, that there is orderliness in the universe, there is an unalterable law governing everything and every being that exists or lives.

MATTER IS LIFE.

“ It is not a blind law, for no blind law can Govern the conduct of living beings and thanks to the marvellous researches of Sir J. C. Bose, it can now be proved that even matter is life. That law, then, which governs all life is God.

“ The law and the Law-giver are one. I may not deny the law or the Law-giver, because I know so little about it or Him. Just as my denial or ignorance of the existence of an earthly power, will avail me nothing, even so my denial of God and His law will not liberate me from its operation whereas an humble and mute acceptance of Divine Authority makes life's journey easier even as the acceptance of earthly

rule makes life under it easier. I do perceive that whilst everything around me is ever-changing and ever-dying, there is underlying all that change, a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing Power or Spirit is God. And since nothing else that I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is.

BENEVOLENT OR MALEVOLENT ?

“And is this Power benevolent or malevolent ? I see it as purely benevolent, for I can see that, in the midst of death life persists ; in the midst of untruth, truth persists ; in the midst of darkness, light persists. Hence I gather that God is life, truth and light. He is love, He is the Supreme Good.

“But He is no good who merely satisfies the intellect if He ever does. God, to be God, must rule the heart and transform it. He must express Himself in every smallest act of His votary. This can be done only through a definite realisation more real than the five senses can ever produce. Sense perceptions can be and often are false and deceptive, however real they may appear to us. Where there is realisation outside the senses, it is infallible. It is proved not by extraneous evidence but in the transformed conduct and character of those who have felt the real presence of God within.

PROPHETS.

“Such testimony is to be found in the experiences of an unbroken line of prophets and sages in all countries and climes.

To reject this evidence is to deny oneself. This realisation is preceded by immovable faith. He who would in his own person test the fact of God's presence can do so by living faith and since faith itself cannot be proved by extraneous evidence the safest course is to believe in the moral government of the world and therefore, in the supremacy of the moral law the law of truth and love.

“Exercise of faith will be the safest, where there is a clear determination summarily to reject all that is contrary to truth and love.

PROBLEM OF EVIL.

“I confess that I have no argument to convince through reason. Faith transcends reason. All I can advise is not to attempt the impossible.

“I cannot account for the existence of evil by any rational method. To want to do so is to be co-equal with God. I am, therefore, humble enough to recognise evil as such and I call God long suffering and patient precisely because He permits evil in the world. I know that he has no evil in himself and yet if there be evil he is the author of it and yet untouched by it.

“I know, too, that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil, even at the cost of life itself. I am fortified in this belief by my own humble and limited experience. The purer I try to become the nearer to God I feel myself to be. How much more should I be near to

Him when my faith is not a mere apology as it is to-day, but has become as immovable as the Himalayas and as white as the snows on their peaks?"

PROFITS.

When the record was ready Mahatma Gandhi could not recognise his own voice but he looked much affected by it. The company congratulated him for his first class, slow, deliberate voice for the broad-cast record.

It is understood a large percentage of the profit on the record will be given to the All-India Spinners' Association as a recognition of Mahatma Gandhi's personal favour to Mr. Raman, the chief promoter of the idea.

“IN THE NAME OF THE CONGRESS”

Demand for India's Independence.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote the following article in the Daily Mail, London

The Editor has kindly asked me to say in these columns “what I want.” The title is a misnomer. I am here merely as an agent for the Indian National Congress, and I can want nothing apart from the Congress. “What I want”, therefore, means what the Indian National Congress wants.

Let me then introduce my principal, the Indian National Congress, to the reader. It is perhaps the oldest political organisation in India, and claims to represent the whole of India. I know that some people would deny this claim. I can only say that it is made by right of service.

NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The Indian National Congress is over forty-seven years old. It was conceived by an Englishman, Allan Octavious Hume. It has had, besides Hindus, Mahomedan, Parsi and Christian presidents. It had two women presidents, Dr. Annie Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. It has zemindars, too, as its members.

The Indian National Congress is no respecter of persons.

It knows no distinction between classes or the sexes. It has always championed untouchables, and has of recent years appointed an anti-untouchability committee for hastening the destruction of untouchability.

But the unchallenged and unchallengeable claim of the Indian National Congress consists in its representing the millions of dumb paupers living in the seven hundred thousand Indian villages who constitute over 85 per cent of the population.

It is in the name of this great organisation that I claim :

- (1) Complete Independence for India.
- (2) This does not exclude partnership at will and on terms of absolute equality.
- (3) Nor does this exclude federation or such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of India.

I hope the readers of "Daily Mail" will not be frightened by the claim boldly put forth on behalf of the Congress. 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you'. On the strength of the wise saying nineteen hundred years old, I hope that Englishmen and Englishwomen will not grudge India the freedom which she has remained without by reason of British rule.

No reason should be necessary for a self-evident truth. Independence is every Nation's birthright.

It is India's also. But it may not be out of place to mention here that the people of India under the British have become progressively poor and emasculate. The village industry has been killed and a whole nation has been disarmed. Not in less than complete freedom in every sense of the term can make India happy and strong.

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S. N. POCHKHANAWALA,
Managing Director.

**“I AM HERE TO UPHOLD TRUTH AS
I SEE IT”**

“I am Neither a Saint nor a Rogue”

*Mahatma Gandhi wrote the following article in the
Daily Herald, London:—*

What am I here for? What do I believe in? What is the India I would build? Well, before all else, I am here to uphold the Truth, as I see it, for I believe it is the keystone of life. On it everything else depends. It comes first and last and always.

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"ZENITH DRAKSHASAVA"

IS

THE BEST TONIC OF THE DAY.

And in all things it is possible to put Truth first. For myself I have always tried to do it. In my political ambitions I eschew all lies and fraud. For the attainment of no object would I subscribe to deceit.

I have read many varying descriptions of myself. Some call me a Saint. Others call me a rogue. I am neither the one nor the other. All that I aspire to be and I hope I have in some measure succeeded in being is an honest, God-fearing man.

But the things I read about myself do not annoy me. Why should they? I have my own philosophy and my work. Every day I spin for a time. While I spin I think. I think

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of many things. But always from those thoughts I try to keep out bitterness.

Study this spinning wheel of mine. It would teach you a great deal more than I can—patience, industry, simplicity. This spinning wheel is for India's starving millions the symbol of salvation.

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My dress, which is described in the newspapers as a loin cloth, is criticised, made fun of. I am asked why I wear it. Some seem to resent my wearing it.

When Englishmen visit India, do they forsake their European clothing and adopt our Eastern dress, which is much more suitable to the climate ? No. And there is the

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answer to those who ask why in England I wear the dress to which I am accustomed, the dress of India.

If I came here to live and work as an English citizen, then I should conform to the customs of the country and should wear the dress of an Englishman. But I am here on a great and special mission, and my loin cloth, if you choose so to describe it, is the dress of my principals, the people of India. Into my keeping a sacred trust has been put. A special duty has been given me to perform. I must therefore wear the symbol of my mission. I find these different descriptions of me interesting—sometimes amusing. But I am just a representative of my people, endeavouring to fulfil the task they have entrusted to me.

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BART.**

**INDORE & CALCUTTA :— Sir HUKAMCHAND SARUP-
CHAND & Co.**

Yes, I believe in complete equality for women, and, in the India I seek to build, they would have it. The reason I have so many women co-workers is, I believe, due to my adoption of celibacy and my instinctive sympathy for women.

You have probably heard that in my country women occupy a subordinate position. This is only so outwardly. Actually, their influence has ever been of the strongest. For centuries women have worked on an equal footing with men. If they ceased work, then many of the men would starve.

PLAYTHINGS.

In the cultivation of the crops our men and women toil together. Their life is a strenuous one. It is in the leisured classes that the difference in status is more marked. Wealth

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GOVT. SECURITY DEPOSITED	2,00,000
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Before you Insure elsewhere we request you to consider the terms and rates of this Company **which is a purely Indian concern, run by Indian Capital and Indian Management.**

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has enabled women to forget and set aside the virtue of usefulness. Thus there is a tendency for wealthy women to become mere ornaments—play-things.

What I want to see is the opening of all offices, professions, and employments to women ; otherwise there can be no real equality. But I most sincerely hope that Woman will retain and exercise her ancient prerogative as the Queen of the Household.

From this position she must never be dethroned. It would, indeed, be a dreary home of which woman was not the centre. I cannot, for instance, imagine a really, happy home in which the wife is a typist and scarcely ever in it. Who would look after the children, the brightest jewels in the poorest household ?

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Cases might be cited in which a clever woman might, by going out into the world to earn her living, make more money and do more for the children, paying some one to look after them. Exceptional women make necessarily exceptional cases. There are exceptions in every phase of life, but we cannot generalise from exceptions.

Generally, it is the father who should be the breadwinner. He will work all the better, knowing that he has a happy home. And it is a serious injustice to deprive a child of the tender care which only a mother can give.

It is a woman's work to bring up her little ones and mould their character. A precious work, too. Equality in status with men I desire for all women, but if the mother

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baries, Jari Selas, Munga sarees, Mugta,
Silk Khadi & its Caps, Ties, Ker-
chiefs, etc. etc*

fails in her sacred trust towards her children, then nothing can atone for the loss.

Whatever the case, family life is the first and greatest thing. Its sanctity must remain. Upon it rests the welfare of the Nation. For good or ill home influence persists. Of that there can be no possible doubt, and no State can survive unless the sacred security of its home life is preserved.

Individuals there may be who in the pursuit of some great principle or ideal forego like myself the solace of family life, choosing instead one of self-sacrifice and celibacy ; but for the mass of the people the preservation of home life is essential.

Please see why MAHATMA GANDHI fights for
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It is CRIMINAL to bring up your family in Poverty by
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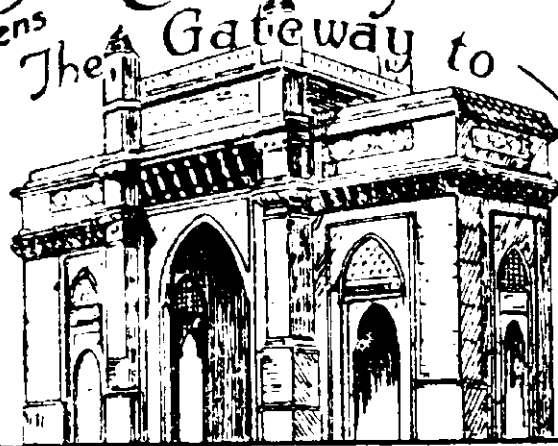
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Paying proposition open to influential energetic young men.

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GOVERNMENT GOADING CONGRESS TO FIGHT.

Bengal Ordinance—A Token of Denial of Swaraj.

Gandhiji meeting World's Pressmen in the afternoon of December 1, made the following statement :

"It is not so much the Premier's statement or what happened at the Conference that is worrying me as what is happening in India at the present moment. You have an English saying which is appropriate "Coming events cast their shadow before." Well, the situation in India, especially in Bengal is very ugly leaving little room for hope that anything big will come out of the Conference. I refer to the Ordinance

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can be had at most rea-
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AT

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Near **PATHE CINEMA.**

just passed in Bengal giving extraordinary powers to Government to deal with what has been called Terrorism and to a certain extent rightly so called. But past experience tells me that Government has become panicky as is its wont when an European life is taken or is attempted at.

I detest such crime but I am quite clear in my mind that the powers taken are altogether out of all proportion to the possibilities of the spread of Terrorism. If it is left to me, it shall be dealt with under ordinary law.

I must say that the executive in authority has very wide powers even under ordinary law and after all is said and done if one were to examine the mere arithmetic of the connection between repression and Terrorism I do not think

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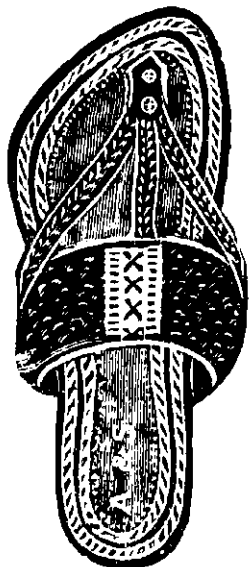
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Total assets exceed . . . Rs. 1,72,00,000
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BONUS Declared at satisfactory rates—

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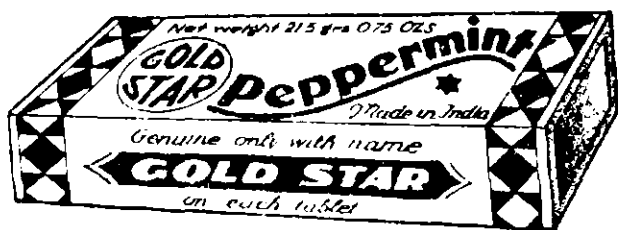
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MANAGING DIRECTOR,
67, Apollo Street,
P. O. Box 174, BOMBAY.

Bengal would come out the worst.

Then instead of dealing with the root cause, the Government of India, rather the Government of Bengal, assisted by the Government of India and the Secretary of State here have merely dealt with the symptom and not the disease. Terrorists, everybody admits do not resort to terrorism for the sake of it.

Nobody throws away his life without some motive behind and it is, I think, admitted by all that terrorists resort to their method in the hope of thereby securing the freedom of their country. If that freedom comes, there surely need be no terrorism, certainly no attempts on European life or on the life of Officials, whether they are



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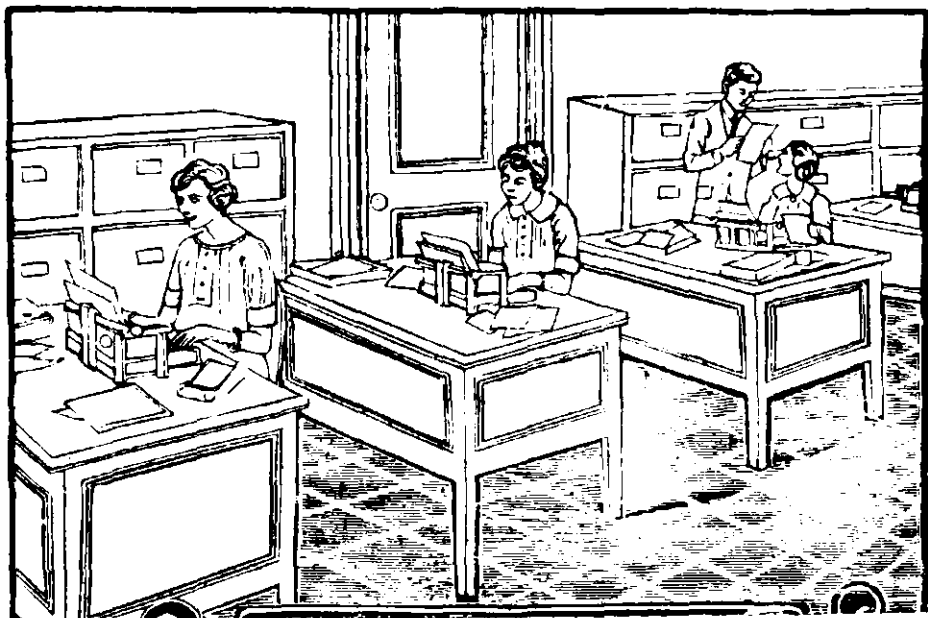
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for Shorthand Typewriting and Telegraphy
SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR LADY STUDENTS.
 DWARKADAS MANSION, Sandhurst Road,
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Europeans or others. If I had my way, therefore, I would certainly utilise all the ordinary legal powers to put down crime and at the same time find out what the terrorists mean by freedom, and if as a result of my enquiry I found their demands just, I would straightaway concede their demands and there would be no terrorism in the land.

The late C. R. Das and many other publicmen of his time advised Government to adopt this method but their advice went unheeded or not accepted to the fullest extent. But it is never too late to retrace one's steps in a matter of this character and I fear very much that unless full freedom for which the Nation is hungering comes, terrorism will not be rooted out.



ZANDU

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Delicious & Best

Body & Brain Refresher

The Congress has adopted a method whereby terrorism can entirely be replaced by means of Civil Resistance and all it means, and I am certain that the Congress method has in a very large degree kept Terrorist crime under check. But I make no larger claim for the Congress method just yet. I hope, however, whether Government regains sanity or not, the Congress will pursue its course, and some day effectively stamp out terrorism, but I confess that their process is slow like all methods of conversion.

The relevance, however, of what I have said is that these extraordinary powers of repression with which the Bengal Government armed itself seem to me wholly inconsistent with the desire expressed here to part with power and give India

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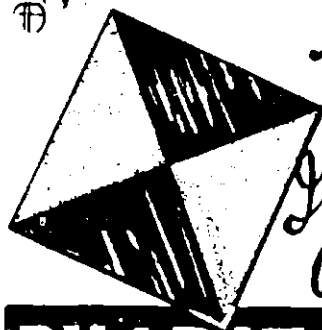
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the real freedom she wants. Apart, therefore, from the meaning of the Premier's declaration there is this Ordinance and other things, I know, happening in India which fill me with the greatest misgivings and may leave the Congress no choice in the matter of tendering further co-operation.

How I wish Public opinion here moved in the right direction. I am sure if an honest Indian version of the whole affair came to light as to what is happening in Bengal today, it would, at any rate, not be tolerated".



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the question of minorities, but will, if necessary, accept the principle of special reservation of seats in the Legislature for the Moslems and the Sikhs as a necessary evil for historic reasons.

‘The cause of the ‘untouchables’ will be a special care of the Congress and it would be unjust to treat them separately and thus give ‘untouchability’ a legal status when every attempt is being made to abolish the evil altogether.’

The manifesto concludes by saying that “no political disability will be placed on any one on the ground of race, creed or colour, and the Congress, being wedded to adult franchise, there should be no difficulty in representatives of any minority getting elected to the legislatures on the strength of national service.”

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An Evening with an "Old Friend."

A THREE HOURS' INTERVIEW.

The Editor of the "Spectator," London, publishes the following record of the conversation he had with Mahatmaji one evening :—

Mr. Gandhi had promised to come round and see me at eight o'clock, but knowing how many engagements he has to fulfil, I expected that he might be late. Within a couple of minutes of the appointed time I heard a motor car drive up and a minute later my parlourmaid opened the door of my sitting-room and announced Mr. Gandhi. In flowing white robes, the prophet and leader of Indian Nationalism stood before me. I asked Mr. Gandhi whether he would prefer to sit on cushions on the floor, on the sofa or in an armchair, and he chose the last. His flowing robe was a soft Kashmir shawl wound round him and his bare arms kept coming out during the conversation when he wished to emphasize any point with his capable long-fingered hands. His legs were bare and he wore sandals. Occasionally during the talk his feet would get uncovered and he would then wind the folds of his garments round his legs to keep himself warm, but he told me so far he has suffered no ill-effects from the British climate.

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The first impression, and a lasting one, which Mr. Gandhi made on me was that of his "humanness". I felt entirely at home with him and I soon found myself talking to him as to an old friend. The second impression he made on me was that of his "soul force". Here was a man leading a life devoted to the ideals in which he believes with every fibre of his being. Our conversation lasted nearly three hours and it ranged over a very wide area, including religion and Faith, World Co-operation, sex and marriage, the treatment of animals, diet, the works of Ruskin and Tolstoy, and, of course, primarily, the future relations of Great Britain and India. The following represents some of the subjects discussed.

Myself: What is your chief impression as regards the British understanding of the Indian problem to-day? Do you find that public opinion has changed much?

Mr. G.: Yes, I find a vast change in the attitude of the man in the street, and I have made a special point talking with all sections of British people. I am very happy in London and I have received wonderful signs of affection from your ordinary folk. In the East End I have been greatly touched by the friendliness displayed. People come out of their houses and shake hands with me and wish me well. I was much gratified by the reception I received in Lancashire, where the people seemed to me to understand my position: and despite the fact that my policy in India was reported to have affected Lancashire so grievously,

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no grudge was borne me and I found genuine friendship both from operatives and employers alike.

Myself: What about the so-called upper and official classes? Do you think their opinion has changed and are they ready to give India what it wants?

Mr. G.: I fear they still do not understand the position and are not ready to give the freedom that we claim as our right. They think that India is not ready to-day to control her own affairs, and I fear not many of them would be prepared to admit our right to the same freedom that Great Britain possesses; that is, the right to control our armed forces, our finances and our external affairs.

Myself: As you know, Mr. Gandhi, the "Spectator" has always been a great believer in what is called Dominion Status. We think it has achieved the apparently impossible task of reconciling two apparent opposites, co-operation and independence. Would India be satisfied, do you think, with the same status that South Africa has as a Dominion within the British Commonwealth?

Mr. G.: I regard the status of India as unique. After all we represent a fifth of the human race. I do not think, therefore, that a political status which might suit other Dominions of the British Commonwealth would necessarily suit us. You must remember that India has been a subject nation for a long time. If Great Britain approaches the question of the future relations between our peoples in a spirit of friendship

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with no reservations, she will not find India behind-hand in coming to meet her proffered hand. We would be quite ready, once our right to independence has been recognized, to enter into an alliance or partnership on equal terms which would place the relations of Great Britain and India on a satisfactory basis.

Myself: Once Great Britain stated finally and once for all that the peoples of India have the same right to control their own destiny that we have, do you think that India would still want to employ on terms within India's means, British officials, British soldiers, British technicians; and to draw upon our experience in building up the Indian State of the future?

IF DICTATION GOES.

Mr. G. : Yes, most certainly. Once Great Britain recognizes what we consider our just claims, I certainly would not wish to remove all the British officials in India. I want to avail myself of all the experience you have gained. I believe that we could make mutually satisfactory arrangements, once there is no dictation on your side.

Myself: Is it true, as some of my more extreme Nationalist friends have said, that India when she wants European advisers would rather turn to Continental Europeans such as Germans, French, Swedes, Dutch, in place of British?

Mr. G. : No, I do not think this is true in general. We would certainly need advice and guidance from Europe in several things. If we could get these from

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If you will play the game with us and recognize our right to control our own defence, we should confer with your experts and ascertain, what is considered the minimum number of British troops necessary for our needs. I would regard the British Commander-in-Chief in India as my technical adviser on military matters, but the British Army in India would, of course, have to be under the Indian National Government.

Myself: What about the statement that it would be undignified for British subjects to place themselves in the position of mercenaries to the Indian Government?

Mr. G.: I have heard the argument, but I cannot appreciate it. Behind the objection is the lurking belief that partnership is to be partnership in name only and that in reality we are to remain a subject nation. Or else how can British soldiers serving a partner nation be considered mercenaries? But if British soldiers will not serve the National Government, we must do without them.

Myself: In terms of self interest, therefore, from the British standpoint, you think that a friendly India in close alliance and partnership with Great Britain would be an asset to us.

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Mr. G.: You should be the best judges. In my opinion the solution of the Indian problem in a manner satisfactory to Indian aspirations would largely help Great Britain to solve her own economic question. It would be good for Great Britain, India, and the world. If Great Britain enters into a freewill partnership with India: that is to say, a partnership of equals, she will have a friendly nation to trade with and all the boycotting of British trade would naturally cease, apart, of course, from cloth. I fear Lancashire cannot get much help as we are determined to make our own cloth, but there are many other goods required which we shall have to import from abroad. For instance, I think India imports eighteen crores of sugar and seven crores of hardware, and so on.

We shall certainly not be able to manufacture all our own requirements for a long time to come.

Myself: Then, Mr. Gandhi I understand you to mean that you want India's right to control her own destiny recognized now once for all. If this were done, you think that the whole atmosphere would change and that Great Britain would then find the India that you represent only too ready to work out details of co-operation? Rather than that the Round Table Conference should fail. You think that the principle of India's complete control of her destiny should be acknowledged and that such problems as the communal question should be left over to arbitration?

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Mr. G. : Yes, that is so. I think that once the British Government proclaimed to the world that India had as much right to freedom as Great Britain, we should be quite ready to accept the principle of arbitration on the difficult communal question. I do not think, however, that all the time which has been spent at the Round Table will be found to have been wasted. Believe me, Congress is not obstructive.

Sir Geoffrey Corbett's scheme has emerged from it. Sir Herbert Carr's scheme, which practically gives to the Muslims what they want in the Lower Chamber and to the Sikhs what they want in the Upper Chamber, also deserves very careful consideration. But, as I have said I think much the best method would perhaps be to leave the question of the adjustment of seats and separate or joint electorates to an impartial judicial tribunal which would only be called into being in the case of non-settlement.

THE "UNTOUCHABLE" PROBLEM.

Myself : What about the "untouchables" ? I know it is thought in some quarters, that they ought to have separate electorates and that you are not qualified to speak for them.

Mr. G. : I am glad you have dealt with this subject. I do not hesitate to say that if the "untouchables" in all parts of India would record their votes I should be their representative. Dr. Ambedkar is undoubtedly clever and enthusiastic. He has every reason to be bitter. I have spent the best part of my life in championing their cause, I have mixed with them east-

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west, north and south in India. I have many of them in my own Ashram. I adopted an "untouchable" girl. Many Congressmen think as I do and realize how serious is the "untouchable" problem.

In the interests of the "untouchables" themselves I think it would be fatal for them to have a special electorate, or to have reservation of seats. If this were attempted, it would create opposition to them. I think their interests would be best safeguarded by their coming "through the open door" to let them have the same voting rights as the ordinary Hindu. They will find that the leaders of Indian opinion are determined to improve their social status and give them the right to enter into temples and are ready to remove those other terrible disabilities under which they have suffered in the past.

Myself: Readers of Miss Mayo's book have never been able to understand the Indian treatment of animals. They know that the Hindu thinks it is wrong to take life, but they cannot understand a system which allows wretched animals in a diseased condition to be left to die on the roadside and not put out of their misery. What have you got to say on that subject?

Mr. G.: You have dealt with one of the problems which reformers in India hope to rectify in time. In my Ashram, we had a dying calf. He had stinking sores and was lame. I put an end to his earthly existence by painless injections. I was bitterly attacked by some of my fellow-countrymen, who in

my view have yet to learn that Ahimsa never meant that suffering which could be terminated should be permitted. I think that much of the animal suffering in India to-day is due to this travesty of what Ahimsa meant.

Myself : To move on to another subject, I would be interested to know something of your religious beliefs. Have you ever had religious doubts and when did you first firmly believe in God and since then have you ever been through dark nights of the soul ?

Mr. G. : When I was quite young I did go through a period of complete disbelief, I was an atheist in fact. This was when I was about fourteen. Since then, however, I have always believed in God.

Myself : Do you then believe in the personal immortality of the soul ?

Mr. G. : Yes, I believe in the immortality of the soul. I would like to give you the analogy of the ocean. The ocean is composed of drops of water, each drop is an entity and yet it is part of the whole, "the one and the many". In this ocean of life we are all little drops.

My doctrine means that I must identify myself with life, with everything that lives, that I must share the majesty of life in the presence of God. The sum-total of this life is God.

Myself : Did any book ever affect you supremely and was there any turning point in your life ?

TRIBUTE TO RUSKIN.

Mr. G. : Yes, the book that affected me more than any other was *Unto This Last*, by Ruskin. I was living in South Africa then. It was the reading of *Unto This Last* on a railway journey to Durban in 1904 when I was thirtyfive, that made me decide to change my whole outward life. There is no other word for it, Ruskin's words captivated me. I read the book in one go and lay awake all the following night and I there and then decided to change my whole plan of life. Tolstoy I had read much earlier. He affected the inner being.

Myself : You were a fairly successful lawyer then, were'nt you Mr. Gandhi ? Did your conversion mean then that you came to the conclusion it was wrong to enjoy the good things of this life ? What income were you making then ?

Mr. G. : As far as I recollect, I was making something like £3,000 a year by my legal practice. My "conversion," as you call it, decided me that in future I would dedicate all my earnings to causes that I felt were for the benefit of my fellows, that in the future I would live simply and by physical labour, and imperfectly as I have tried to carry out that aim, I know that it is only by living thus that one achieves complete peace of mind.

Myself: I have been very much struck with your wonderful vitality. Few men of sixty-two can be so full of energy. I have read in the papers some of the

things about your diet. Would you tell me just what your daily bill of fare is?

Mr. G.: Certainly. I am sure that most people eat much too much. I have never felt better than I do on my present *regime* and I have a horror of drugs and medicines. This is my daily bill of fare: For my breakfast at eight o'clock I have sixteen ounces of goat's milk and four oranges, for my luncheon at one o'clock I again have sixteen ounces of milk, grapes, pears or other fruit. My evening meal is between five and six o'clock. I eat a teaspoonful of almond paste, twenty or twenty or thirty dates, several tomatoes and a lettuce or other salad. This avoids indigestion. As you will note, I eat no starch and no cereals.

Myself: To sum up, Mr. Gandhi, if the Conference breaks down, do you think the people of India will be satisfied with partial Home Rule, with the possibility of a further conference in ten or twenty years when the British Parliament considers that India is in a position to control her own destiny?

A FINAL WORD.

Mr. G.: I am sure you know what my answer will be. I have tried while I have been in England not to say anything provocative but those of us who are giving our lives to India will never be satisfied with half-measures. If the people of India after this Conference become convinced that Great Britain is not genuine in her desire to give them immediate self-government all the forces at their disposal will be used.

Myself : What is your final word to the readers of the *Spectator* ?

Mr. G. : My final word to your readers is that they should use all the influence at their disposal to get their friends to see our point of view, that they should work for the great cause of a real partnership between our countries on a basis of equality. I think that a free association of our two nations or groups of nations, can be utilised for the solving of many world problems, not merely for the good of the greatest number, but for the good of all.

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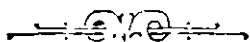
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AND THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND
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PREFACE

POLITICAL developments in India during the last few years will form a distinct landmark in the growth of the Indian constitution. Whatever be the form of the future constitution and whatever the influence of events in the recent past on the course of political progress, it will be admitted on all hands, and it will be realised by the future historian, that the Second Round Table Conference has largely supplied the material for the edifice of the future constitution. It may be that the structure will not be completed in the immediate future, nonetheless, the material afforded by the discussions at the Round Table and the draft reports of the various committees will be considered valuable.

The period from the Delhi Pact to the conclusion of the discussions at the Second Round Table has been one of comparative quiet and of solid work. The first few months from the first week of March, when the Pact was signed, to the arrival of Gandhiji in England were crowded partly with events causing anxiety to those who wished that the truce should lead to peace and partly with events centering round Gandhiji and his activities; during the period from September to the end of December all eyes were turned on St. Jame's Palace where the representatives of India including the sole delegate of the organisation, which had not till then participated in the discussions on the revision of the constitution, the Princes and the representatives of the British Government were met together discussing various aspects of a workable constitution.

The thorny problems with which the nation is confronted were discussed in detail and the draft reports of the various committees are documents of indisputable value in that they embody the opinions of many who had given the best consideration to the subjects and who, in spite of differences, strove to reach a common understanding. More than that, as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said in his parting speech at the Plenary Session of the Conference "the personal contact among the delegates and the heart to heart discussions were of the highest value." It cannot be denied that the proceedings reveal acute differences of opinion on certain aspects of the constitutional problem; they show a wide gulf dividing a certain section of the Indian delegates from the representatives of the British Government on the problem of defence and a few other aspects of the future constitution. But the discussion "raised the problem of Indian constitutional reform far above the mere technicalities of constitution-making for, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald observed, "we have won that confidence in and respect for each other which has made the task one of helpful political co-operation".

This volume aims at giving a comprehensive account of the proceedings of the Conference with copious extracts from the speeches of various delegates and of the representatives of the Government. And inasmuch as a large section of the British public evinced a keen interest in Gandhiji, who had not taken part in the previous session of the Conference, and the British statesmen themselves gave prominence to him at the Round Table we have made the account fairly exhaustive by including reference to Gandhiji and his activities.

England. However, our chief aim has been to make it a handbook for students of the Indian constitution and for those who might consider the Second Round Table Conference as forming the basis for building the future constitution.

No goal worth striving for is reached by a straight road or one free from obstacles. Even the sunniest day is at times preceded by a cloudy night; an optimist can yet visualise the gleam of a bright day. And we pray with the Premier of the British Empire that suddenly and even generally unexpectedly the way will smooth itself out and the end happily reached.

We have to express our indebtedness to various journals and newspapers particularly the "Hindu" from which we have taken extracts.

The Publishers

Jan. 18, 1932.

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DELEGATES OF THE SECOND ROUND TABLE
CONFERENCE

BRITISH DELEGATION

The Right Hon'ble J. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister.

The Right Hon'ble Lord Sankey, Lord Chancellor.

The Right Hon'ble Wedgwood Benn, M.P., Secretary of State for India.

The Right Hon'ble Arthur Henderson, M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon'ble J. H. Thomas, M. P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

The Right Hon'ble the Earl Peel.

The Right Hon'ble the Marquis of Zetland.

The Hon'ble Mr. Oliver Stanley, M. P.

The Right Hon'ble Sir Samuel Hoare, M.P.

The Right Hon'ble the Marquis of Reading.

The Marquis of Lothian.

Sir Rober Hamilton, M.P.

Mr. Issac Foot, M. P.

INDIAN STATES' DELEGATION

H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar.

H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda.

H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal.

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner.

H. H. the Maharaja Rana of Dholnour.

H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir.

H. H. the Maharaja of Navnagar.

H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala.

H. H. the Maharaja of Rewa.

H. H. the Chief of Sangli.

The Raja of Korea.

The Raja of Sarila.

Sir Prabha Shanker Pattani.

Sir Manubhai Mehta.

Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan.

Nawab Sir Mahomed Akbar Hydari.

Sir Mirza Mahomed Ismail.

Dewan Bahadru T. Ragaviah Pantulu Garu.

Colonel K. N. Haksar.

DELEGATES FROM BRITISH INDIA

H. H. the Aga Khan.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Khan.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Sir Saiyid Ali Imam.

Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Amledkar.

Mr. U. Ba Pe.

Srijut Chandradhar Barooah.

Mr. J. N. Basu.

Mr. E. C. Benthall.

Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto.

Rai Bahadur Kunwar Bisheswar Dayal Seth.

Sir Hubert Carr.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

Sir Maneekji Dadabhoy.

Maharajadhiraj Kameshwara Singh of Darbhanga.

Mr. Shafi Daoodi.

Dr. S. K. Datta.

Sir O. De Glanville.

Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Mr. M. M. Ohn Ghin.
 Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi.
 Sir Gulam Hussain Hidayatullah.
 Lt.-Col. Sir Henry Gidney.
 Sir Padamji Ginwala.
 Mr. V. V. Giri.
 Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain.
 Sir Muhammad Iqbal.
 Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.
 Mr. B. V. Jadhav.
 Mr. M. R. Jayakar.
 Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Junior).
 Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
 Mr. T. F. Gavin Jones.
 Mr. N. M. Joshi.
 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
 Sir Sayed Muhammad Mehr Shab.
 The Hon'ble Sir Provash Chunder Mitter.
 Mr. H. P. Mody.
 Dr. B. S. Moonji.
 Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.
 The Hon'ble Captain Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmed Sayad Khan, Nawab of Chatari.
 Sir Mahomed Shafi.
 Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
 Raja Narendranath.
 Dr. Narendranath, Law.
 The Hon'ble Sayid Muhammad Padshah.

Rao Bahadur A. T. Pannirselvam.
 Raja Sri Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Deo, Raja of Parlakimedi.
 Rao Bahadur Sir A. Parasuramdas Patro.
 Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.
 Sardar Sampuran Singh.
 Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.
 The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
 Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
 Sir Pheroze Sethna.
 Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.
 Mrs. Shah Nawaz.
 Maulana Shaukat Ali.
 Captain Raja Sher Muhammad Khan of Domeli.
 Mr. B. Shiva Rao.
 Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan.
 Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas.
 Mr. G. D. Birla.
 Mr. Jammal Mahommad.
 Mrs. Subbaroyan.
 Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad.
 Sir Shripad Balwant Tambe.
 Mr. Us Aung Thin.
 Sir Purshothamdas Thakurdas.
 Sardar Sahib Sardar Ujjal Singh.
 Mr. C. E. Wood.
 Mr. Zafarullah Khan.

GANDHIJI IN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

A SURVEY OF THE PAST

THE stirring events of the past few years in India are too well-known to need recapitulation. Yet in order to clothe the aim and scope with which we set out on this work with a completeness of detail, we will briefly state them here.

The Simon Commission

In accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, H. E. the Viceroy, Lord Irwin announced on 9th November 1927, the appointment of a Commission by His Majesty's Government under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon, to enquire into the fitness or otherwise of India for the next stage of constitutional advance as contemplated in the Act. The announcement fell flat on the Indian public and did not evoke the least response thereto. Moderates and Extremists, Congressmen and Home Rulers, representatives of other interests and independent public men resolved with one voice to boycott the proposed Commission for the reason that it was an all-white one and not a single seat was allotted on it to a representative Indian. This grave defect in the constitution of the Commission was taken as a direct insult to the people of India and the consequent boycott programme was so wholeheartedly organised and thoroughly executed that the enormous labours of the Commission was reduced in the eyes of the world to a mere waste.

Lord Birkenhead's Challenge

Meanwhile, Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, in the course of a speech in the House of Lords had addressed a challenge to the leaders of public opinion in India to produce by common consent among themselves any scheme of political advance for consideration of the British Parliament.

This challenge was seriously taken up by the Madras Congress in 1927, which authorised its working committee to convene a conference of all the political parties in India with a view to draw up a constitution based on the maximum amount of agreement arrived at therein. The result was, the All-Parties Conference and the Nehru-Report which has since become a classic document in the political history of India. The Nehru-Report proposed a full Dominion constitution for India with responsibility at the centre and in the provinces and it carried the consent of the major part of political opinion in the country.

The Congress Goal

The Madras Congress had also passed a resolution declaring that complete independence was the goal of India. When the Congress met again in Calcutta in December 1928, it was found to be divided into two definite groups, the one for re-affirming the complete independence resolution of the previous year while the other for adoption of the Nehru-Report as the basis of their demand. The "complete independence" group was, apparently the stronger of the two.

At this stage, Mahatma Gandhi stepped in and used his powerful influence to ask the Congress to accept the Nehru-Report and as a compromise with the "complete

A SURVEY OF THE PAST

independence" group, he proposed that a time-limit of one year be fixed to see if the Government will show any sign of willingness to fall in line with the united demands of the people and he carried the day.

A Critical Year

The year passed on with various vicissitudes in the political arena of the country. There were prosecutions for sedition and imprisonments on one side and meetings of leaders among themselves and with the Viceroy on the other. In the meanwhile, the general elections in England resulted in a majority for the Labourites, who came into power. They showed a keen interest in the political developments in India and constant correspondence on the subject was carried on between the new Secretary of State for India, Mr. Wedgewood Benn and the Viceroy. The Viceroy proceeded to England to have personal consultation with the Cabinet on important matters connected with India and his return was anxiously awaited in the country.

After an absence of more than four months, the Viceroy returned and his first announcement in a Gazette Extraordinary issued on 31st October, 1929 affirmed that "Dominion Status" was to be the goal of India. Beyond this, there was nothing definite in the announcement except perhaps the proposal of His Majesty's Government to convene as early as possible a conference of representative Indians and the British Government to discuss and decide in detail some plan of settlement of the various Indian questions for submission to Parliament.

Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress circles thought that this announcement was too vague and demanded a definite declaration on the part of the Government

that the matter to be discussed at the Round Table Conference shall be not when "Dominion Status" was to be granted to India, but, the form and constitution of "Dominion Status" which must be immediately granted to India. Conferences and conversations followed and on November 23rd, after a final conference of leaders with the Viceroy at Delhi, who expressed inability to give a definite answer to the Congress demands, the hopes of the Congress were shattered and definite parting of ways announced.

But the moderate elements in the country declared that they had reason to hope in the Viceroy's announcement and further assurances and decided to utilise the chance offered by the Round Table Conference.

The Lahore Congress

In 1929, the Indian National Congress was held at Lahore under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and after considering the Viceroy's pronouncement, decided that nothing was to be gained by the Congress participating in the proposed Round Table Conference. The Congress further re-affirmed its ideal of complete independence passed at Madras by which the Nehru-Report, till then valid for one year, automatically lapsed. This Congress, in pursuance of its resolution, called upon all Congressmen to boycott the legislatures, both central and provincial and all local bodies and to carry on the constructive programme of the Congress. It also authorised the Congress Working Committee to launch whenever and wherever it deemed fit a campaign of mass civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes.

The Year 1930

Henceforth, the march of events was both quick and grave. The 26th of January was declared as the "independence day", in all-India. Congressmen resigned their seats in the legislatures and other public bodies. An intensive campaign of foreign cloth boycott was organised and Mahatma Gandhi proposed first to break the salt laws in the campaign of mass civil disobedience. On the 2nd March, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi wrote a long letter to the Viceroy which was in the form of an ultimatum. The reply he received from the Viceroy and what happened afterwards are too recent events for us to mention in detail.

The Historic March

On the 12th March, 1930, Gandhiji set out on his historic march to Dandi to break the salt laws. He reached Dandi on the 5th April and immediately set to work out his programme. The Government and a large body of public men in the country did not at first gauge the strength of Mahatmaji's purpose and the country's overwhelming faith in him. But soon they were disillusioned. The whole country took up the programme from one end to the other and His Majesty's prisons were filled with Satyagrahis. At first Mahatmaji was not arrested, nor his activities interfered with in any way. But soon they found out their error. On the night of the 5th of May he was arrested and taken to Yerrawadda jail. But, the movement had already spread and taken strong root in all parts of the country.

The war of truth and non-violence was waged with unabated vigour and the entire armoury of the Government was brought into use to combat it. Arrests and

prosecutions, imprisonments, confiscations of property, a series of ordinances, all these were utilised to the utmost, but the situation did not show signs of improvement.

The R. T. C

In the meantime the Round Table Conference was opened in London on the 12th November, by H. M. the King and presided over by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. As the proceedings of the conference went on, it was more and more evident that the non-participation of the Congress in it was a serious drawback to its success. The Cabinet in England as well as the Viceroy in India were anxious to stop the civil disobedience movement and bring the Congress to participate in the Round Table Conference.

Negotiations

Negotiations were set afoot, and at first Mr. George Slocombe, *The Daily Herald* representative and then Mr. Brailsford made attempts in their own way to ascertain the views of the Congress with regard to a settlement. The Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. S. Sastri, Sir T. B. Saprú and Mr. Jayakar, after their return from England, took up the thread of negotiations and carried it forward. By their efforts a meeting of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, who were both in Naini jail and Mahatma Gandhi was brought about at Yerrawadda jail and the leaders were given an opportunity to discuss among themselves the terms under which they were prepared to accept a truce. By the good offices and untiring efforts of the above-named gentlemen, the Viceroy ordered the release on 26th January of all Congress leaders from prison, so

that the Working Committee may meet and discuss the truce terms. The other Satyagraha prisoners were released later on and the special enactments withdrawn one by one.

The negotiations were carried on with various vicissitudes till the 28th February, 1931, when finally an agreement was reached between Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Congress and H. E. Lord Irwin, on behalf of the Government. The terms of the truce may be seen in the Appendix.

CHAPTER II

THE TRUCE AND AFTER

THE truce was signed. The nation heaved a sigh of relief. The suffering and sacrifice of the people for twelve long and weary months had borne fruit. The Government of India had for the first time come to recognise the moral force behind the political movement and unmindful of its prestige, condescended to treat with the Congress on equal terms. Mutual trust and goodwill prevailed. Concessions were given and taken on both sides. A supreme act of faith was sealed by two great personalities belonging to the two great nations.

A second Round Table Conference was to be arranged in which Mahatma Gandhi had agreed to take part. All went well and hope shined at its best. There was jubilation everywhere. What more was wanted?

Conditions of Truce

But the signing of the agreement cannot by itself establish the conditions of truce. More is needed. The entire nation on the one hand and the provincial governments on the other, had to accept the moral binding

of the pact and conscientiously give effect to it. Mahatmaji advised the Congress and through it, the country, to respect the pact and the Viceroy addressed the provincial governments likewise to give effect to its terms. But here was the rub. Complaints arose from all provinces that executive authorities were not wholeheartedly giving effect to the truce terms. Consequently allegations and repudiations, an immense amount of correspondence, a number of interviews, statements and counter-statements ensued and the whole tangle had to be very carefully handled and wisely adjusted, before Mahatmaji could be enabled to proceed to London. Better faith and wiser counsels prevailed again and this time it was H. E. Lord Willingdon, who earned the credit of squaring up matters satisfactorily, so that Mahatmaji was eventually persuaded to go to London.

Another factor which was of the utmost importance, if the second Round Table Conference was to be made a success, was, the attainment of communal harmony, without which no amount of goodwill between Britain and India would in the least avail. And Mahatmaji strained his utmost nerve to exploit all the possible avenues by which at least a temporary unity could be achieved, so that the Indian delegation in England could boast of a united front, thus making it impossible for the British Government to dally with or postpone the Indian demands. How far he succeeded in his efforts will be seen as we go on.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNAL TANGLE

ON the 16th of March, 1931, the council of the All-India Muslim League met at Delhi and passed a resolution declaring that they required 33 1/3 per cent. representation in the Federal Legislature; the weightage which they enjoyed in the provinces were to be maintained as at present; Sind should be separated and made into a province and that North-West Frontier Province should be placed on the same footing of a Governor's province with respective legislative and administrative machinery. Special safeguards should be provided for the protection of their culture and religion. This decision on the part of the premier Muslim organisation in the country gave rise to considerable controversy in the press and the Hindu and Sikh organisations began likewise to formulate their respective demands. Communalism became the order of the day and common nationalism was lost in a maze of communal tangle. Each community viewed the future from its particular vantage ground so that to evolve a common formula became almost an impossibility. National leaders sought to make up the differences for which they left no stone unturned.

Different Viewpoints

On the 20th March, a deputation of Hindus and another of Sikhs met Gandhiji at Delhi, at which they presented their minimum demands and also made alternative proposals. The Muslims on the other hand were divided into three groups, one under Sir Mahomed Iqbal, who demanded separate electorates; the other under Dr. Ansari, who would accept nothing but joint electo-

rates; and the third group headed by Maulana Shaukat Ali who were for sticking fast to the Delhi Conference resolutions.

Cawnpore

Events were moving quickly and negotiations were proceeding apace, when suddenly they had to cry halt. Communal riots of a terrible nature began at Cawnpore and continued for days at a stretch. This gave rise to a recrudescence of communal bitterness on both sides which no amount of exertion by leaders could pacify. Eventually the riots stopped partly of their own accord and partly by the exertion of the authorities, but after carrying away a heavy toll both of lives and property. The life of one of the most selfless patriots of India, Pandit Ganesh Shunker Vidyarthi was sacrificed during the unfortunate riots at the altar of the motherland. His death was equally mourned by both the communities.

Communal Negotiations

Negotiations for a communal settlement began afresh, but it was soon found out that the differences among the Muslims were more fundamental than at first imagined. The vital issue which emerged out of the discussions, was about the electorates and two parties stood out prominently, the one demanding separate electorates and the other advocating joint electorates.

On April 4th Mahatma Gandhi met Maulana Shaukat Ali at Delhi and discussed the situation. He then conferred with the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference, but the situation remained the same. Nationalist Muslims met at various places only to reiterate their decision to have nothing but joint electorates. The good offices of H. H. The Aga Khan and

also of H. E. Lord Irwin were exerted towards arriving at a common formula acceptable to all parties concerned, but were defeated in their aim, while Mahatma Gandhi was prepared to advise the Congress to accede to all the demands of the Muslims, provided they were unanimous.

Bhopal's Efforts

The office of peace-maker was then taken up by H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal, at whose residence the conversations were continued. Prominent Muslim leaders were invited and every possible mode of settlement was attempted. At one time in the course of the discussions it appeared as if a settlement was sealed, but, that hope was quickly dispelled by a statement from Sir Mahomed Iqbal issued on 16th May, that no decision was arrived at. The settlement hoped for, was, that of a mixed electorate both joint and separate to be in force for a decade after which, joint electorates were to be made the general rule. But it was afterwards learnt that such a system was proposed but was left undecided till the opinion of the Working Committees of all the Muslim political organisations in the country were known.

Simla Conversations

The conversations were afterwards resumed at Simla, but still without arriving at a tangible result. It was feared that Mahatma Gandhi might decline to proceed to London without carrying a communal solution with him. But Lord Irwin had already persuaded Mahatmaji to proceed to London at any cost. It was also believed that the London atmosphere might prove more favourable for a communal settlement. Still, Mahatmaji's proceeding to London became doubtful for yet another reason.

CHAPTER IV

IMPLEMENTING THE PACT

WE have already noticed that various complaints were received at Congress head-quarters from provinces, alleging non-fulfilment of truce terms by local authorities. The first and foremost of which was the non-release of political prisoners whom the Congress claimed as their own, (following the non-violent cult). The authorities alleged in some cases, offences leaning towards violence and in other cases, various other reasons for not releasing those political prisoners. Mahatmaji interviewed the Viceroy in this connection as early as March 19th and after placing him in full possession of facts obtained a somewhat satisfactory result.

Question of Safeguards

The next to draw Mahatmaji's attention were certain references made by Mr. Wedgewood Benn and Lord Sankey in Parliament that the safeguards proposed during the transitional period were to be both in India's own and British interests. Mahatmaji objected to this mode of explanation and asserted that it was expressly stated in the terms of the truce that the proposed safeguards were to be solely in India's own interests.

Local Governments and Truce

Then there were complaints of local interference of authorities against peaceful picketing, which was allowed according to the terms of the Delhi pact; of non-return of property confiscated during the civil disobe-

dience movement; of patels and village officers who resigned their posts or were discharged in consequence of the movement not having been reinstated; of students refused admission to colleges and lawyers to practise again in courts; of harsh treatment meted out to Congressmen and Khudai Kitmatgars (Khan Abdul Gafur Khan's followers) in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province and of forcible eviction of tenants in the United Provinces.

Bardoli

But the most important thing which moved Mahatmaji and the Congress leaders to such an extent as to make his chances of going to London very remote, was the alleged use of coercive measures in collecting land revenue in Bardoli Taluka. After the signing of the Delhi pact, the Congress leaders persuaded the peasants to pay up the land revenue which was till then withheld, and also helped the authorities in its collection. The peasants obeying the mandate of the Congress, paid up what they could and left a certain amount in arrears. Government had, according to the pact, agreed to remit the arrears of revenue in the case of those peasants who were genuinely willing but were unable to pay. But who was the authority to decide as to the ability or otherwise of the peasants to pay full revenue? The Government of Bombay claimed that the Collector of the district was the sole judge on such matters. The Congress leaders inasmuch as they were responsible for the truce and had persuaded the peasants to pay up the revenue and assisted in its collection, wanted a say in the matter.

When Mahatmaji heard complaints that coercive measures were being used to realize the arrears of re-

venue, he hastened to the Collector of Surat for redress. He put himself in communication with the Divisional Commissioner as well as with the Bombay Government on the subject. The final reply received by him from the Bombay Government on the 10th of August upset all his expectations and the matter being considered by the Congress Working Committee, it was resolved that the Congress should withdraw from participation in the Round Table Conference.

Communications with Government

Mahatma Gandhi had been from the very beginning of the truce in communication with the Government of India on the subject of specific lapses on the part of provincial governments in implementing the pact. The Government of India, though heartily in agreement with Mahatmaji in the belief that the truce terms must be worked out in a spirit of mutual trust and goodwill, had placed more reliance on the willingness of local authorities to do so, than the Congress had reason to suspect. H. E. Lord Willingdon in the course of a letter addressed to Mahatmaji dated 31st July says:

"I have of course taken a personal interest in everything pertaining to the settlement, and shall continue to do so, and in particular in regard to the list of alleged breaches of the settlement about which we await reports from the local Governments. I know that, in the provinces, the Governors similarly take a personal interest in matters connected with the settlement and you can rest assured that there will be no disposition to treat allegations of breaches of it other than as matters of importance."

Arbitration Board

But Mahatmaji has been since as early as 14th June, suggesting the establishment of a board of arbit-

tration "to decide about questions of interpretation of the settlement and as to the fully carrying out of the terms by one party or the other". In a subsequent communication addressed to Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary to the Government of India, he suggests that the proposed Board of Enquiry may consist of "a Government nominee and a Congress representative". Mr. Emerson, in his reply to the above communication, as well as to the subsequent ones, laid stress on the impossibility of creating such a tribunal, as it would interfere with the ordinary course of administrative routine. He however assured Mahatmaji that specific cases of breaches of the pact would receive prompt and sympathetic attention at the hands of the Government of India and the local Governments. Mahatmaji did not press the point further, but clearly showed his anxiety to avoid a hitch as far as it may be possible and expressed the hope that the disputed questions may be settled without reference to any tribunal at all.

Sir E. Hotson's Reply

While matters were thus satisfactorily proceeding, the reply of Sir E. Hotson, the acting Governor of Bombay, precipitated the crisis and prompted the Congress Working Committee to vote for the withdrawal of the Congress from the Round Table Conference. Sir Earnest Hotson in the course of his reply dated 10th August, denies in the first place any breach of pact on the part of the authorities; that the authority to decide on the question of the ability of peasants to pay up the revenue, was the Collector of the district; that "the prompt response of the revenue payers to the Government measures showed that there were many persons able to pay who had not done so." The Congress leaders on

the spot asserted that the peasants paid the 'arrears under duress by borrowing. This reply of the Bombay Government made the Congress leaders feel all the more, the need for an impartial board of enquiry, especially into the question of the ability of the peasants of Bardoli to pay revenue.

Working Committee's Decision

The Congress Working Committee's decision withdrawing participation in the Round Table Conference spread throughout the country and created much uneasiness. Sir T. B. Saprú and Mr. Jayakar who were on the eve of their voyage to England to attend the second Round Table Conference, rushed to "Mani Bhuvan" along with Pandit Malaviyaji from Allahabad to see if any eleventh hour efforts at peace could avail. They had a long conversation with Mahatmaji and in the end telephoned to the Viceroy to re-open negotiations inasmuch as Mahatmaji had on their representation waived his claim for a tribunal of enquiry but would be content with the appointment of a Judge of the High Court, able to command the confidence of both the public and the Government, to enquire into the question of the Bardoli peasants.

Gandhiji writing in the "*Navajivan*" regarding the Congress working Committee's decision, says :

"All believed that I would start for London on the 15th. Many here, in England and in other parts of the world were anxious that I should proceed to London, but God's will will be done."

"I see the hand of God in the reply of His Excellency the Viceroy. This much, however, I can say with certainty, that I had employed, by thought, word and deed, all the means which a human being could employ for ensuring my participation in

the Round Table Conference. Still if I have not been able to go to London, I firmly believe the interest of India lies in it.

"I for myself do not distinguish between British politicians and Indian Civilians; and if for securing justice here in small matters, all energies have to be spent, and even then sometimes justice is not secured, it is impossible to expect justice in England in the so-called big affairs. Experiences obtained here is the echo of what is going to happen in England. If this view-point is correct, it was proper for me not to go to London as the representative of the Congress; but responsibility on the shoulders of the people has thereby increased. People have to do greater work now."

Peace or War ?

Interviewed in connection with the press report that Congress was fast preparing for war, Mahatmaji said:—

"This is a deliberate lie. No such instructions have been issued. Instructions have been issued all over the country that the Delhi Pact should be carried out, and that nobody should disobey any Government order without permission from Headquarters. I know the Congress Working Committee is anxious to carry out the Delhi Pact honourably, but if the Provincial Governments goad us, we shall have to take defensive measures. I have gathered ample evidence to prove that the goading has already begun."

The fortnight following the decision of the Congress Working Committee was the most critical period after the signing of the truce. The entire press both in India and England and the leaders of public opinion deplored with one voice the unfortunate decision. The first batch of delegates to the Round Table Conference including Sir T. B. Sapru, Messrs. Jayakar and A. Rangaswami Aiyengar had sailed by the S. S. "Mooltan". They had expressed the conviction that without Mahat-

maji's participation the Conference would be futile, but at the same time hoped that he would be persuaded to sail by the next boat in view of further negotiations set afoot with the Viceroy by Sir Sapru. Though Pandit Malaviyaji and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had cancelled their passage, the situation was not without hope.

Government circles in Simla also showed themselves very much alive to the situation as it was apparent from the frequent meetings of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Though the publication of his correspondence with the Government and his charge-sheet by Mahatmaji, was at first considered precipitate, closing the door on further negotiations, subsequent events at Simla proved that this was not the case. The Government of India contented themselves with merely publishing the replies of the local Governments and their threat to publish a counter charge-sheet on the lapses of the Congress, did not materialise at the time as in the meanwhile further developments in the negotiations ensued auguring hopes of a peaceful settlement.

Viceroy's Reply

By the 22nd of August the situation improved sufficiently as to make hope almost a certainty. The Viceroy returned from Calcutta cancelling his further programme and Sir James Crerar as also Sir Fazli Hussain from Kandaghat. A meeting of the Executive Council was held immediately after the return of the Viceroy at which, Mahatmaji's request for a personal interview with the Viceroy to clear up matters was discussed and decided in the affirmative. Telephonic message was despatched to Mahatmaji at Ahmedabad intimating him of the Viceroy's decision.

In a statement to the Associated Press regarding the Viceroy's reply, Mahatmaji said:—"I do not consider the Viceroy's reply to be at all bad or disappointing. In fact I was prepared for some such reply. Gandhiji added,

"I am glad too that, so far as I can understand the letter, the Government do not intend to terminate the Settlement and as the public is well aware, the Working Committee of the Congress has already passed a resolution to that effect. I am therefore hoping that all Congressmen will meticulously observe the Settlement.

"So far as the charges against the Congress are concerned and so far as the denial of the charges by the Congress against the Provincial authorities is concerned, that is a matter of opinion. When the expected counter-charge sheet against the Congress is published, I shall be able to deal with it. For the moment, I can only say that the Working Committee of the Congress has been most anxious that the Congress should present an absolutely clean slate.

"I know the belief of the Government regarding the Frontier Province and the U. P. I have always combated that belief, but it has been a tug-of-war between two beliefs. All I can say is that I have done everything I could to ascertain the facts for myself, and I have not been able except in isolated cases to detect any breach on the part of Congressmen. Wherever it has been detected I have made admission and amends where possible to the Government. So far as charges against provincial authorities are concerned, I have offered on behalf of the Working Committee to establish them before an impartial tribunal. I could not do anything more and it would be a breach of duty to the Congress if I was satisfied with anything less. I fully acknowledge and am aware that the refusal of the Congress to be represented at the R. T. C. involves the failure of

one of the main objects of the Settlement. I regret it as much as the Government, but the Working Committee was helpless. Attendance at the Conference was conditional upon the fulfilment of the Settlement by the Government. Rightly or wrongly the Working Committee came to the conclusion and I associate myself with the conclusion, that the Provincial Governments have in more instances than one failed to implement the Settlement. With that belief it is not possible for the Congress to be represented at the Round Table Conference unless a way is found, namely, the appointment of a tribunal or reasonable satisfaction to the Congress in some other manner.

"In the midst therefore of conflict of opinion there should be a referee. My suggestion for a tribunal is, therefore, the most natural corollary. What shape that tribunal should take is undoubtedly a matter for mutual discussion and accommodation. Personally, I should be satisfied so long as there is reasonable assurance of impartiality from the tribunal. The appointment of such a tribunal can in no way diminish the dignity, prestige or authority of the Government. I hold that such an appointment is an ordinary function of a well-ordered Government and if this very Government has appointed committees of enquiry, for matters outside contractual relations how much greater there must be the need for such a tribunal when parties to the contract are dissatisfied as to the conduct of each towards the other and arising out of the contract itself."

At Simla

Mahatmaji arrived at Simla on the 25th, accompanied by Sir Prabhashunker Pattani, Dr. Ansari, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Gafar Khan. He had long conversations with Mr. Emerson on the same day, at which most of the outstanding questions were discussed and agreement arrived at. On the 26th, he had conversations with the

Viceroy extending over three hours, the result of which was eagerly awaited by the whole country. When he came out of the Viceregal Lodge, it was known that he was proceeding to London by the boat leaving on the 29th. The news of the agreement was flashed throughout the country easing the tension of the last fortnight, which was replaced by satisfaction in every breast.

Once again in India's crisis wise statesmanship on the one hand and generous good-will on the other prevailed. There were frequent consultations between two or three members of the Viceroy's Executive Council on one side and Sir Prabhashunker Pattani, Dr. Ansari and Sir Cowasji Jehangir on the other. It is said that, but for the efforts of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Sir Joseph Bhore on one side and Sir P. Pattani, Dr. Ansari and Sir Cowasji Jehangir on the other, the result might have been different. Once again Lord Willingdon scored a triumph of wise statesmanship.

The Settlement

A meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council was held immediately after Mahatmaji left the Viceregal Lodge and shortly afterwards a Government Communique was issued stating the terms of the settlement arrived at with Mahatma Gandhi. After reiterating that the Delhi Pact remained operative and that Mahatmaji will proceed to London as the representative of the Congress it proceeds:

"The Government of India, in full agreement with the Bombay Government, have ordered an enquiry into the allegations that Khatedars in eleven villages of Bardoli Taluka were compelled by coercion to pay revenue in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard adopted in other villages were given effect to.

Mr. R. G. Gordon, I. C. S., Collector of Nasik, will hold the enquiry. The Government are not prepared for an enquiry in any other area. Any complaints of a general nature may be dealt with in accordance with the ordinary administrative procedure, and an enquiry may be held if the Local Government agrees."

Return from Simla

As it was too late for Gandhiji to proceed to Kalka by road as already planned, a special train was arranged at short notice to take him to Kalka in time to catch the Bombay Mail. A large gathering was present at Simla station to give a hearty send-off to Gandhiji. Mahatmaji had telephoned to Pandit Malaviyaji at Allahabad to re-book his passage by the 29th mail boat. Malaviyaji started from Allahabad in time to catch the boat at Bombay accompanied by Mukund Malaviya and Govind Malaviya. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who was already in Bombay also re-booked her passage by the same boat.

Although the news of the settlement reached Bombay rather late in the evening, elaborate arrangements were made by the local Congress Committee to give Mahatmaji a public send-off. A public meeting was also arranged to be held at the Azad maidan on the morning of the 29th and Indian businessmen had closed their shops on the morning to take part in the public function.

The railway stations throughout Gandhiji's route were humming with eager crowds to have his *darshan* and at Delhi he had to elbow his way among the crowds to his compartment in the Frontier Mail. As the train steamed in and out of each station cries of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai" rent the air.

At Bombay

As already planned, Mahatmaji had to alight at Bandra station and motor to his residence at "Mani Bhavan". But the crowds were so great at that station that it became physically impossible for him to alight and wend his way to the car. Hence it was arranged that he should alight at Dadar.

Immediately after detraining at Dadar, Mahatmaji motored to the Azad maidan where at 9-30 he addressed a meeting. Speaking from the balcony of a private house Mahatmaji addressed a huge enthusiastic crowd (who stood in drenching rain) for quarter of an hour.

"He said that he had signed the second Agreement with the Government. They could read it. Some of them may ask what this man had gone and done again. But he was aware that the nation had shown enormous trust in him by electing him as the sole delegate to the Round Table Conference. But for their trust, he would have refused to go to London. He knew full well his own shortcomings and weakness, but truth and non-violence would be his guiding principles and he hoped that they would come out in their fullness in his work in London.

Gandhiji continued: "I am a cripple, but it is only natural that a crippled nation should have a crippled delegate who alone can understand the difficulties and miseries of the millions."

Gandhiji assured his hearers that he would abide by the Congress mandate. He would deceive nobody, neither Englishmen nor anybody else, much less India's teeming millions. "If I deceive you, even to kill me would not be violence. I have no enmity with Englishmen, nor with Mahomedans, nor for the matter of that with anyone else."

After Mahatmaji had finished, Pandit Malaviyaji rose amidst cheers and said,

"Our cause is just, our means are noble and I am going with the fullest confidence of success. My only appeal to you is to remain non-violent and peaceful. I also appeal to all communities to keep peace and goodwill towards one another. Swaraj is our right and none can prevent us from having it. I know it is coming very soon."

Gandhiji's Kit

"Mani Bhavan", Mahatmaji's Bombay residence, was humming with feverish activities on the eve of his sailing. Miss Slade, who attended to his comforts during the voyage, busily packed his kit and belongings.

In London Mahatmaji decided to wear his usual dress and be bare-headed under ordinary circumstances, but if the cold be severe, he may use mixed khadi and woollen socks and jacket and a Kashmere woollen scarf as head-gear. He took with him two or three khadi rugs.

Mahatmaji's kit and belongings excited much more curiosity among the passengers than his personality and unconventional manners ever did. His kit consisted of a khadi trunk containing his hand-spun khadi clothes, a cane basket containing some tin vessels to which he seemed very much attached, a quantity of mixed khadi and woollen material to be made into an overcoat, if need arose, a quantity of leather (of an animal which died a natural death) for stitching a pair of shoes, three char-khas, ten gallons of pasteurised goats' milk and a large stock of dried fruits.

More than Mahatmaji's, Pandit Malaviya's luggage was curious. It consisted, besides his other belongings, a large quantity of Ganges mud and water and a number of bottles of cow's milk.

Regarding his passage Mahatmaji already telegraphed to Mr. Birla to book six berths of the lowest class, but as no such accommodation was available in the mail boat, he consented to travel by second class. Gandhiji was accompanied by his son, Devadass Gandhi, two secretaries and Miss Slade (Mira Ben). Other delegates to the Round Table Conference who sailed by the S. S. "*Rajputana*" were, Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, the Raja of Korea and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Mr. G. D. Birla also sailed in the same boat for England.

Embarkation

Saturday the 29th August, the day of Mahatmaji's embarkation, was a gala day in Bombay. Such a high pitch of enthusiasm was evident as never before in the history of the city throughout that morning till past noon when the S. S. *Rajputana* sailed to England with Mahatmaji on board. The Indian quarters observed a holiday, where all shops were closed and businessmen thronged in large numbers first to the Azad maidan to hear Mahatmaji speak and thence to Ballard Pier to give him a hearty send-off. Congress volunteers and Desh Sevikas in their uniforms with national flags were promenading every part of the city with a happy countenance exhorting the people to attend first the meeting and then the send-off function, regulating traffic, singing national songs and distributing hand-bills. All classes and conditions of people from the fat merchant to the half-clad cooly, the old and the young, women and children thronged on either side of the route to the Mole station eager to have a fleeting *darshan* of the Mahatma. Despite occasional downpours of rain the

enthusiasm evinced by the people remained at its highest throughout the long hours of waiting.

Shortly after noon, Mahatmaji arrived escorted by Messrs. K. F. Nariman, Jamnalal Bajaj and Vallabhbhai Patel and went up the steamer's gangway. Deafening shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai" rent the air. With great difficulty the party elbowed their way to Mahatmaji's cabin, where he rested for five minutes during which, he gave an interview to the press.

Mahatmaji's Message

To the Associated Press representative he gave the following message to his countrymen:

"Though I see nothing on the horizon to warrant hope, being a born optimist, I am hoping against hope. My faith is in God and He seems to have made my way clear for me to go to London. Therefore I expect He will use me as His instrument for the service of humanity. For me service of India is identical with the service of humanity.

"Though Congress may be repudiated by sections of the people of India, it aims at representing the whole of India, and, therefore, to deserve the trust that had been reposed in me and imposed upon me, I shall endeavour to represent every interest that does not conflict with the interests of the dumb millions for whom the Congress predominantly exists.

"I hope that Provincial Governments, the Civil Service and English mercantile houses will help the Congress to realise the mission it has set before itself. Representing, as the Congress does, the message of non-violence and truth, it can only succeed by the goodwill of all component parts of the nation and I am therefore hoping that goodwill will be extended to the humble representative that is going upon his errand".

On behalf of flood-stricken Bengal, he made the following appeal :

"I hope the people of Bombay Presidency will go to the rescue of flood-stricken Bengal and send their contributions to Sir P. C. Roy".

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, gave the following message :

"Promote goodwill and unity, keep your hopes high, hearts strong and Swaraj is coming.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gave the following message :

"The only guarantee for success of the Round Table Conference is that every delegate who goes to London is responsible for the embodiment of the integrity and honour of India, which no power on earth can assail. The first essential for the maintenance of India's integrity is the instant solution of the outstanding Hindu-Muslim problem and that can only be solved when we cease to be Hindus and Muslims and when we have the honour and privilege of being true Indians dedicated to the service of India's freedom."

Sir Prabha Shankar Pattani who played the role of peace emissary interviewed said,

"I have nothing to say because I believe in and follow Mahatma Gandhi. This great result was due to the goodness of His Excellency the Viceroy, whose goodness has been proved both in Bombay and Madras Presidencies. It was also due to Gandhiji's great, though courageous, patience. Britain and India can now fairly hope that Mahatma Gandhi will bring back similar satisfactory solution from England and the three parties in England will make such consummation possible."

During the few minutes' absence of Mahatmaji inside his cabin, the crowd outside became restive and uncontrollable and gave out incessant shouts to have a

final *darshan* of the Mahatma. In response to it, Mahatmaji accompanied by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Malaviyaji came up the deck where numerous photographers were waiting to obtain a last snap of him. "Be quick about it and let me go away" said Mahatmaji to them and the smiling faces of the four leaders were taken for the country to cherish during their absence in England.

Mahatmaji then retired to his cabin where he bid farewell to Mrs. Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and numerous other friends who had come on board to see him off. Again Mahatmaji with Pandit Malaviyaji, Mrs. Naidu and Mr. G. D. Birla came to the deck and remained standing till the steamer cleared out of the harbour waving his hand in response to the cheers from ashore.

CHAPTER V

THE VOYAGE

DURING the voyage Mahatmaji was in excellent mood. He chatted merrily with passengers, played with children and endeared himself to one and all by his unfailing courtesy, gentleness and jocular behaviour. He spent the greater part of his time spinning as usual and the remainder in writing, reading and prayer. The voyage afforded him the much-needed rest after his strenuous exertion of the past few months. So he slept soundly though on the bare deck under the stars. He rose as usual at four in the early morning and attended to his daily routine which he kept up as when ashore. He did not become sea-sick though every one of his colleagues succumbed to it.

Captain H. Morton Jack proud of the distinction of conveying Mahatmaji on board his ship, treated him with every mark of respect and kindness. "I am a prisoner to you for a fortnight" said Mahatmaji to the Captain. "I will treat you well, but can make no promises about the weather" replied the Captain.

On board of the steamer, Mahatmaji received hundreds of telegrams wishing him *bon voyage* and success in his great mission, to all of which he replied. His correspondence while on board increased to such an extent that three wireless operators were kept incessantly at work and Mahatmaji himself had to borrow money to pay for the charges.

Sir Prabhaskar Pattani invited Mahatmaji to transfer to first class, but he declined saying that he was sufficiently comfortable where he was.

Message from Steamer

Mahatmaji's prayer meetings were attended by many of the passengers, while he attended one of their prayers and sang his favourite Christian hymn "Lead kindly Light." He spent part of his time in lecturing to the Indian students on board about religion and philosophy. From on board the steamer he sent a message to his countrymen through Reuter,

"Now that I am drawing away from the shores of India let me appeal to the Indian people to preserve an absolutely non-violent atmosphere during my absence" and urged the people of India to "follow out the constructive programme of the Congress, namely, the removal of the fourfold curse of drink, drugs, foreign cloth and untouchability and revive the village industry of spinning and promote the unity of classes."

"I also appeal to Englishmen, including officials, to trust the Congress and Congressmen if they really believe that power must pass from them to India."

“India of my Dream”

Asked by Reuter's special representative who accompanied Mahatmaji on board, as to what his programme in London would be, he said,

“I shall strive for a constitution which will release India from all thralldom and patronage and give her, if need be, the right to sin. I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony.

“There can be no room in such India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs.

“Women will enjoy the same rights as men.

“Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable.

“All interests not in conflict with the interest of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous. I hate the distinction between foreign and indigenous.

“This is the India of my dreams, for which I shall struggle at the next Round Table Conference. I may fail, but if I am to deserve the confidence of the Congress, my principals, I shall be satisfied with nothing less.”

At Aden

On arrival at Aden, Mahatmaji was given a rousing reception by the Indian residents. He went ashore accompanied by Mr. Mahadeva Desai and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and walked to the Indian quarters where he was presented with an address of welcome and wishing success in London. A purse containing a sum of £325 was also presented to him. Mahatmaji though appreciating the gift, like a true *Bania* that he was, in his country's

cause, considered the gift a bit small. He then called on the acting Resident and returned to the steamer.

As aforesaid, unfailing courtesy of the Captain was a source of great satisfaction to Mahatmaji during the voyage. He inspected the Captain's cabin and closely observed the intricacies of navigating the gigantic liner. He was shown the engine room, the radio department and the charthouse and the purpose of every bit of mechanical device found there was explained to him by the Captain. He was also allowed to try his hand at steering the ship for a while, when he humorously remarked "I hope I do not capsize the boat and drown everybody", as he turned the wheel from port to starboard. Mahatmaji was deeply touched by the Captain's hospitality and kindness.

At Suez

Arriving at Suez, Mahatmaji was welcomed by a number of Egyptians and Indians. He was not however able to visit the Sphynx and the Pyramids owing to the short stay of the mail boat at that port. He received a message of encouragement from Madam Zaghlul, widow of the late Zaghlul Pasha, the famous nationalist leader of Egypt and another from Nahas Pasha, the leader of the Wafd party of Egypt, who said, "I ask God to grant you success in your quest equal to the greatness of your determination." He also expressed a wish that Mahatmaji would visit Egypt on his return journey.

Vyapari Mandal's Cable

Mahatmaji also received a cable from the Bombay "Vyapari Mandal" expressing dissatisfaction at the absence of proper representation of their interests in London. It read thus :

"The Committee of the Vyapari Mahamandal wish *bon voyage* and success to you at the Conference. So far the Round Table Conference's attitude has been opposed to the nation's commercial interests. In the absence of commercial representatives, additional responsibility is thrust upon you. The foreigner's cry against discrimination is simply for preserving their entrenched monopolistic position. Their demands for safeguards are directed to attacks upon the nation's commercial, industrial and financial interests."

At Port Said

At Port Said a delegation consisting of Egyptians and Indians greeted Mahatmaji and presented him and Miss Slade with bouquets. He was however disappointed at the authorities preventing a large number of Egyptians and Indians who had arrived to see him, only a few out of the vast crowd being allowed to board the steamer. Asked by Reuter his opinion about the Egyptian aspirations, Mahatmaji said,

"I wish this country all she desires and is entitled to and I am sure the way to real freedom for Egypt as for India lies through non-violence."

Between Suez and Port Said, a large number of British and foreign journalists boarded the steamer and Mahatmaji had his first experience of them after leaving India. But as he was observing silence, he only wrote brief answers to their questions with his left hand, as his right hand was crippled owing to poor circulation and writer's cramp.

Moulana Shaukat Ali boarded the S. S. "*Rajputana*" at Port Said. He had long talks with Gandhiji regarding the settlement of the communal problem during the voyage.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST BATCH IN LONDON

IN the meanwhile, the news of Mahatmaji's consent to participate in the Round Table Conference and his starting by the S. S. "*Rajputana*" reached London where considerable satisfaction was expressed at the news by all sections of the public and the press. Great preparations were set afoot by various organisations social, political and religious, for his reception. Kingsley Hall, the home presided over by Miss Lester, where Mahatmaji had decided to put up during his stay in London was made ready for his reception. After a meeting held at the India Office, it was finally decided that a joint welcome of all the organisations should be accorded to Gandhiji and, consistent with his love of simplicity, grand processions and formal addresses were dispensed with. It was decided that he should be welcomed as a great personality, rather than as the leader of a political party.

The news likewise reached the first batch of Round Table delegates who had already proceeded by the S. S. "*Mooltan*," when they arrived at Marseilles at which they were immensely pleased.

On reaching London they were warmly welcomed by representatives of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the various parties in Parliament. Other distinguished officials and non-officials who were present to welcome them included, the High Commissioner for India, the Deputy High Commissioner, Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir G. Corbett and Mr. Rushbrook Williams.

A party was given in their honour at the India House at which among others Mrs. Baldwin, Miss Isabel MacDonald and Lady Reading were present.

The opinion of the entire delegation regarding Mahatmaji's participation in the Round Table Conference was that it was a distinct advantage. But as regards the change of Government in England, the majority opined that it was the most opportune moment to negotiate a substantial advance of power from the British, while a few regretted the absence of Labour from power. However, a strong hope in the ultimate result of their mission was in everybody's breast.

Federal Structure Committee

The first meeting of the Federal Structure Committee was held on 7th September at which Lord Sankey presided. The Prime Minister on arrival shook hands with all the delegates and expressed his pleasure at renewing friendships made last winter and meeting new friends. He assured the delegates that whatever changes had taken place here, there had been no change in public aims or private friendships. He continued:

"Lord Sankey remains Chairman of the Committee, which is a guarantee of how the work will be done and I remain the Chairman of the Conference. If during the next week or so, I may be largely absorbed in other matters it will not mean that I have ceased to remember the duty I owe to the delegates or that I am not desperately determined to continue the same good relations."

Lord Sankey

Lord Sankey opened the proceedings by extending to them a most cordial welcome. He hoped that during the next few days it would be possible for the delegates to meet each other formally. He suggested a further

meeting on September 11, followed early next week by the first full meeting of all delegates who would then get to grips with the work.

Lord Sankey said the coming weeks would afford an opportunity of reaching an understanding. "Such an opportunity may never come again in our life-time. Do not let us miss it. Uniformity may not be possible, or may not even be desirable, but let us strive for unanimity. I believe that, with patience and goodwill we can and shall reach a settlement. There is world opinion which we shall rightly have to reckon if we fail."

"All schools of thought are represented round this table with one exception. That exception will cease to exist this day week when we shall welcome Mahatma Gandhi. He is not only one who has found it difficult to attend the Federal Structure Committee but it is idle to put your hand to the plough and then look back".

"The restoration of the peace and happiness in India was worth any personal sacrifice. Their great ambition was to see India as a nation realising her age-long dream of taking her proper part in the social and political thought and the development of the world. He said, "During the last few months India has never been absent from our thoughts for the day. Both here and with you the situation has been carefully surveyed. Problems have been set out and alternative modes of dealing with them prepared for your consideration."

He expressed the hope that the committee would get to grips with the difficulties and reach decisions as soon as possible and hoped that they would settle down to details next week.

Other Speeches

Members of the British delegation emphasised also that the recent political changes implied no change in the British attitude.

This point was emphasised by Sir Samuel Hoare speaking as a member of both the Government and Conservative delegation. He added that Conservatives were as anxious as anyone for a settlement ensuring both sound Government and goodwill.

Mr. Benn also gave the assurance that the situation had not changed as far as the Parliamentary Opposition was concerned and hoped, as an unofficial member, to serve India as he strove to do at the last meeting, while Lord Reading promised Liberals' co-operation in striving to bring India peace and contentment.

These assurances were welcomed by Indian speakers who expressed confidence at the outcome.

The Maharaja of Bikanir recorded his unflinching belief that with the constant inspiration of the King Emperor, they would achieve success.

Sympathy with Britain's present difficulties was offered by Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, who emphasised the need for a spirit of sympathy and compromise.

Mr. Sastri declared that the Indian delegation was inspired by the same spirit as before "for there have been no revolutionary changes in the Government or the Opposition among us."

Sir T. B. Saprú welcomed the representative character of both the British and Indian delegations as likely to facilitate a settlement.

Sir Akbar Hydari associated himself with the general expressions of goodwill and satisfaction and affirmed that Hyderabad's belief in the Federal idea had not changed.

Sir Mahammed Shafi expressed the common desire that they should succeed in framing for India a constitution in which all sections, irrespective of colour, caste or creed, will find a legitimate place. He added, "Should that consummation be reached, not only will the happiness and contentment of 350 millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects be thereby secured but India will be a source of strength to that great Commonwealth of which she aspires to be a component part."

The Committee decided to adjourn till Monday, the 14th September.

Gandhiji's Day of Silence

On September 8th when Mahatmaji was shown a Reuter's message that the Federal Structure Committee meeting was postponed till Monday the 14th, he replied "If the meeting is held on Monday, I will be in the most embarrassing position. Monday is my day of silence. When I took the vow, I made three exceptions.

First, if I am in distress and can only be assisted by my speaking.

Second, if some one else is distressed, and

Third, exceptional circumstances such as an unexpected call from the Viceroy or other high official who must be seen in the interest of the cause."

Gandhiji added that his appearance at the Committee on Monday could only come under the third exception but only by a considerable stretch of meaning, seeing that it is not sudden and unexpected. The Mahatma pointed out that since he must hold himself in readiness for a private conference with two of the highest Government officials on Sunday he could not anticipate the period of silence nor postpone it to Tuesday because

the Committee will sit during the whole of the week.. He said he was hoping and praying that it would not be necessary to reach a final decision but that a way out of the difficulty would be found.

CHAPTER VII

THE RECEPTION

THE arrangements for the reception of Mahatmaji in London were going on apace. Leaders of public life and representatives of churches and social, political and industrial bodies numbering nearly 1,400, were invited to attend the function of welcoming Mahatmaji to the shores of England. A strong and influential reception committee was formed in which were Messrs. Marley, Horrabin, Brockway, Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, Mrs. Harold Laski, Miss Lester, Messrs. Polak, Andrews, John Fletcher, Horace Alexander, Krishna Menon (Secretary), Gilbert Murray, Lawrance Binon, A. J. Cook, Rev. William Paton and Miss Maude Roydon. The reception was to be held at "Friends' House" in Euston Road, immediately after Gandhiji arrived in London. There were to be no speeches except one of welcome by Mr. Lawrence Housman.

At Marseilles

On the 11th September, the mail boat *S. S. Rajputana* reached Marseilles. Hundreds of eager visitors were waiting at the dockside to have a sight of the great man from India, and when they sighted Mahatmaji on deck attired in his loin cloth and a hand-spun shawl in spite of the severe cold, they burst forth into eager exclamations. The Indian students who had collected in large numbers raised the cry of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai" to which Gandhiji replied by raising his clasped hands above head. As soon as the gang-

way was lowered, there was a mad rush by pressmen and photographers. The police had the utmost difficulty in restraining the crowd. Gandhiji said he could see the pressmen only in groups of five.

Mahatmaji's first appearance had dissipated any prejudice that might have been entertained against him. His infectious smile captured the hearts of all. French journalists began to volley him with questions, to which he submitted patiently. One of them asked, if he would traverse the streets of London and possibly enter Buckingham palace in his loin cloth.

Mahatmajee replied jocularly, "you in your country wear plus fours, I prefer minus fours".

Asked if he had anything to declare by the customs authorities, Mahatmaji replied, "I am a poor mendicant, my earthly possessions consist of six spinning wheels, prison dishes, a can of goat's milk, six home spun loin cloths, towels and my reputation which cannot be worth much". The Inspector smiled and passed him on.

Via Paris

Mahatmaji afterwards attended the Indian students' reception and left by the P and O special for Calais. When it made a brief halt at the *Gare de Lyons* in Paris, the Indian students made a demonstration and cheered wildly. Moviemen vainly pressed Mahatmaji to make a talkie. An American announcer microphoned a few words from Gandhiji testifying to the thrill he felt to be in the free atmosphere of one of the world's greatest republics.

Asked his opinion about the possibility of success of the Round Table Conference by Reuter, Mahatmaji replied :

"The British Government is faced with such staggering domestic problems that it is not likely to take responsibility for refusing India's demands, with the consequent renewal of Civil Disobedience and Boycott. Nor shall I assume responsibility for renewal of struggle until every possibility of peace is exhausted."

He added that the thought of a change of Government in England would not influence his policy.

"Sir S. Hoare seems to me to be a typical British gentleman. I think his sympathies would be rather with than against me."

Mahatmaji believed that more could be gained by private conferences between leaders in London than at the actual sittings of the Round Table Conference.

Questioned again by Reuter while nearing the English shore, Mahatmaji replied "you have milked me dry, as my favourite goat."

Mahatmaji reached Folkestone harbour at 2 p.m., on the 12th. Though it was raining heavily, the vicinity of the harbour was thronged with spectators. The crush was so great that police precautions were necessary and entrance to the Harbour Station was allowed only on production of a special permit.

Arrival in England

Mahatmaji was met at Folkestone by Mr. F. M. Vincent on behalf of the Secretary of State and the Government and by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and was driven off in a motor car. He was given a welcoming cheer by people gathered outside the dock gates.

He arrived in London at 4 p.m., and was driven straight to the Friends' Meeting House on Euston Road where the reception had been arranged. He arrived at Euston Road at 10 minutes past four.

Despite the heavy rain and chill of the English autumn, Mahatmaji was still wearing his loin cloth and shawl when he stepped out of his motorcar at the Friends' Meeting House, on conclusion of the two hour drive from Folkestone. On entering the hall for the reception given in his honour by Indian and British friends, Mahatmaji was garlanded with flowers.

The audience at the Friends' Meeting House was composed almost equally of British and Indians, among whom a number were wearing Gandhi caps. After a patient but expectant wait, the whole of the assemblage rose and applauded for some moments on the entrance of Mahatmaji who was accompanied by Pandit Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Marley, Mr. Sastri, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mira Ben and others. Cheers were renewed as he and Pandit Malaviya were garlanded, Mahatmaji standing smiling, with his hands clasped.

Welcome and Reply

The proceedings began with the observance of a short period of silence. Then Mr. Housman, on behalf of his own and Mahatmaji's countrymen tendered him a welcome, both cordial and grateful. He assured him that there was a growing volume of goodwill towards India in that country.

Mahatmaji, though he looked well, appeared tired and worn. He delivered his address without emotion and without gesture, the only movement being an occasional turning of his head quietly and deliberately. He explained the Congress aims and appealed for the dumb and semi-starved millions "whom he represented without fear of contradiction." He came on a mission of peace. He and his friends were the guests of the

English and he hoped when their work was finished they would not be considered to have abused their hospitality.

Mahatmaji emphasised that he must conduct himself within the Congress mandate some words of which left him little freedom, but in all other respects and in all fundamentals he was unbound.

Mahatmaji emphasised the Congress belief that freedom could only be attained by truth and non-violence and after making a reference to the harm done by resort to violence, said that he would feel he had done his duty if he convinced the British that freedom was to be won through Congress means.

“But there is something more. There is the settlement between the Government of India and the Congress. That is the sacred thing arrived at through the strivings of that noble Englishman, Lord Irwin. I had repeatedly promised him that if it was humanly possible I would come to London and as soon as I felt the way was open I have dashed to London.”

Recommending a study of the Indian question Mahatmaji realised the difficulty because the British were rightly preoccupied with Home affairs. “But I wish it is possible for English men and women to realise that the budget will not be honestly balanced unless the balance between Britain and India is set right.”

Concluding Mahatmaji asked the audience to work for the fulfilment of his mission, for it would be for the good not only of India but of the whole world.

Cheers and cries of “Bande Mataram” and “Gandhi-ki-Jai” broke out again as he finished and slowly walked from the hall and stood for a moment in the rain. He was cheered by the crowd outside.

Mahatmaji then motored to Kingsley Hall where he was welcomed by the Mayor of Poplar and appeared on the balcony and acknowledged the greeting of hundreds awaiting his arrival.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE COMMITTEE

DURING the preliminary meeting of the Federal Structure Committee held on 7th September, it was at first proposed to appoint a Sub-Committee for drawing up a tabular list of heads of subjects to be brought for the consideration of the full Committee, but the work was afterwards taken over by Lord Sankey himself. Accordingly Lord Sankey prepared a questionnaire containing the tabulated heads of subjects and submitted it to the members of the Committee for their consideration.

On Sunday, the 13th September, the day previous to the meeting of the Federal Structure Committee, the Indian States delegation consisting of their Highnesses the Maharajahs of Bikaner and Rewa, the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chief of Sangli and other members and advisers met at the Carlton Hotel and discussed in detail, the implications of federation as affecting Indian States.

Sir Sapru's Dinner

A private dinner was arranged on the same day by Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar at Dorchester House, London's latest *hotel de luxe*, to afford Mahatmaji an opportunity of discussing Indian constitutional problems with the other members of the delegation. Their Highnesses, the Nawab of Bhopal, the Maharajah of Bikaner, Col. Haksar, Mr. A. Rangaswamy

Iyengar, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lord Sankey and others were present. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald could not at first attend as he was away at Chequers. but he returned unexpectedly early and while the dinner was proceeding suddenly dropped in. He had a private conversation with Mahatmaji for more than half an hour, at which, it was said that only general opinions were exchanged.

Monday's Session

Mahatmaji was the centre of interest when, for the first time he attended the meeting of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference, on Monday the 14th September over which Lord Sankey presided.

Carrying a flask of goat's milk, which was his only nourishment until evening and closely wrapped in a blanket, the Mahatma accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, motored from East End to West End, from the simple residence at Bow to the Palace of St. James, which he entered by the Press door. Gandhiji sat immediately to the left of Lord Sankey. He did not speak during the proceedings as it was his weekly day of silence. But occasionally, he wrote a brief question and handed it to the Chairman, who wrote his answer and handed it back. His immediate companions were Pandit Malaviya. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar.

The new Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, sat on the Chairman's right.

Lord Sankey, who received Mahatma Gandhi on arrival, introduced him to Sir Samuel Hoare.

The Committee spent a day in general debate in the course of which new members spoke and expressions

of optimism as to the successful conclusion of the labours of the Conference were uttered as the outcome of the fact that the Conference was now fully representative.

Lord Sankey announced that "he would not call on Mahatma Gandhi (who followed the proceedings intently while steadfastly observing silence) and Pandit Malaviya to speak to-day, but hoped that they would speak to-morrow."

Four Heads for Discussion.

It was decided that when the general discussion was over, the Committee must consider four main heads for discussion namely,

1. Strength and composition of the Federal Legislature.
2. Direct and Indirect election.
3. Relations of two chambers and
4. Distribution of finances between the Federation and its units.

No Ultimatum.

Lord Sankey extended a welcome to the three new delegates not present at the last meeting—H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Their presence, he said, greatly strengthened the representative character of the Committee. He was convinced that, with patience and goodwill such as had been displayed during the earlier work of the Committee, a settlement would be reached. Their duty was to make suggestions and examine their acceptability. He did not anticipate anything in the nature of an ultimatum from any quarter but he would remind the Committee that the ultimatum came, if at all at the end and not at the beginning of negotiations.

Baroda Maharaja's Assurance.

On behalf of the Princes, the Maharaja of Baroda opened the general discussion and gave an assurance of their co-operation in achieving the aim of a united self-governing India, thereby bringing to actuality the dream which he had cherished throughout his life.

Dr. S. A. Khan on Central Responsibility

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan gave general approval to the Federation and enumerated a number of points of which he desired to lay emphasis, as for instance, the necessity of the provinces enjoying full and real autonomy, including autonomy in finance. He advocated, in this connection, the transfer to the provinces of some central subjects. He also doubted the practicability, in all circumstances, of the appointment of a Chief Minister in the Central Government. He suggested that the Governor-General should be empowered to appoint direct to the Cabinet, ministers representing groups in the legislature.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan added that since the last Conference, Moslem opinion had crystallised and they desired that questions concerning Central Responsibility should be discussed last. He was grateful that the agenda had been arranged to meet their wishes, since, unless they knew what the position would be, it was difficult to commit themselves. He trusted that this matter would not be reached until the Minorities Sub-Committee had met.

There was a dramatic incident. When Mr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan was arguing in favour of settlement of the position of the minorities before Central Responsibility was discussed, Mr. Sastri stood up and said: "I hope Dr. Shafaat is putting his own views" and asked if he was supported by other Moslems.

When Sir Mahomed Shafi rose to reply, the President intervened, saying that the Committee would not pursue the point at the present stage.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar on Safeguards

The view that it should not be difficult to find a formula acceptable to all was expressed by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar provided the Irwin-Gandhi Pact was taken as a basis and the principle was applied that safeguards must be in the interest of India.

Mrs. Subbaroyan put the case for guaranteeing women equal right under the constitution.

Mr. Joshi urged that Labour legislation must be a central responsibility.

The Maharaja of Rewa reiterated his view regarding the need for precaution, while Sir Provash Mitter emphasised that whatever steps were taken they must be in the interests of peace and unity of India.

Mr. Zafrullah and Sir M. Dadabhoy both welcomed Mr. Gandhi's participation as it was likely to facilitate a solution.

Mr. Zafarullah emphasised his reservations on the communal questions declaring that a constitution would not work unless the minorities enjoyed a sense of security.

Sir M. Dadabhoy, dealing with finance, emphasised that Indian and British financial interests were identical. India needed British capital for her own advancement.

Sir M. Dadabhoy, referring to the statement of Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, that India would pay her "just dues," deprecated the ambiguity which the words implied and declared that nobody in India would countenance the suggestion of repudiation.

Sir M. Dadahboy laid great emphasis on the necessity of upholding safeguards. He described the intimate connection between British and Indian finance. Financial safeguards, he said, were necessary and in the interests of both countries. India as a whole would not contract any proposal which had the effect even to the smallest extent of repudiating India's debt.

Communal Issue no bar to Constitutional Progress

Regarding the Hindu-Muslim communal issue, he was confident that communities would themselves settle the problem, which must not be allowed to stand in the way of reforms or the constitution. If the present opportunity was allowed to slip he did not think there would be another so good for fifty years. Failing a settlement by the communities he hoped the British Parliament or Government would, if necessary, act as arbitrator.

After adjournment, most of the delegates attended a reception given by Sir Samuel and Lady Hoare at India Office.

Mr. Gandhi returned direct to Kingsley Hall.

Gandhiji's Speech

The Federal Structure Committee was resumed on the 15th when it was marked by very keen interest as Mahatmaji was to speak on that day putting the Congress case for the first time before the Round Table Conference.

Gandhiji, who was sitting on the left of Lord Sankey was the first speaker. He spoke seated, in slow sentences for 45 minutes. The speech was not prepared but he periodically referred to notes.

Gandhiji, at the outset said that he had come to London absolutely in a spirit of co-operation and to strive his utmost

to find points of agreement. He could only say to those responsible for the management of the Federal Structure Subcommittee and the Conference that they had only to give the sign and he would have no hesitation in withdrawing. He knew that there were fundamental differences of opinion between the Government and the Congress and possibly there were vital differences between his colleagues and himself.

Mahatmaji said that he did not wish at any stage to embarrass the Government or his colleagues at the Conference. He then sketched the aims of the Indian National Congress on which all classes and religions were represented. From the very beginning Congress had taken up the cause of the so-called "untouchables".

"I am but a poor humble agent acting on behalf of the Indian National Congress and it may be well to remind yourselves of what the Congress stands for and what it is."

Congress was not intent upon Complete Independence in order to parade before the Universe that they had severed all connection with the British people. The mandate contemplated a partnership as between two absolute peoples.

Referring to the Karachi Mandate Gandhiji said,

"I am open to conviction, but even so I have to ask my principals to consent to the revision, before I can usefully act as agent of the Congress."

He reminded himself of the terms of what was to him a sacred settlement arrived at in Delhi between the Government of India and Congress. In that settlement the Congress had accepted the principle of Federation. Neither the Congress nor he could be satisfied with a political constitution which, in reality, gave India nothing.

A striking passage in the speech was:

"I would love to go away with the conviction that there is to be an honourable and equal partnership between Britain and India. It will be my fervent prayer during all the days I live in your midst that that consummation may be reached."

Further Speeches

Pandit Malaviya, who spoke immediately after Mahatma Gandhi, endorsed the viewpoint sketched out by Mahatmaji. He referred to the hopes raised by the R. T. C. notably by the invitation to the Congress to participate in it that the British had made up their minds to admit the Indians to equal partnership. He said that nothing short of it would satisfy India's demand.

Pandit Malaviya emphasised that a settlement of this question would facilitate the discussion of difficulties and assured them that everything possible would be done to remove the misgivings of the friends of India.

Dealing briefly with the details, Pandit Malaviya emphasised the necessity of reducing the cost of India's administration and, while envisaging the retention of British officers in the Indian Army suggested the withdrawal of British troops in the interests of economy.

Pandit Malaviya declared that the importance of maintaining India's credit was fully realised and everything would be done to strengthen it. Finally he urged that the question of Minorities should not be allowed to hinder the Committee's work.

The Chief of Sangli dealt with the conditions on which the States agreed to enter the Federation. He reminded the Committee that the rulers' rights could not be safeguarded. Their sovereignty could not be modified, except through their consent. He said that the States did not wish to interfere with the provinces or

allow interference in their own affairs. He, therefore, advocated a reduction of the number of central subjects to the fewest possible.

Sir Samuel Hoare explained that whenever he intervened in the discussions, it must not be taken as a considered declaration on behalf of the Government. He considered himself there in a dual capacity, first, as Secretary of State and second as an individual Committee man.

He welcomed very much the frank expressions of opinion by the new members. Obviously those speeches contained a number of very controversial points. The new members have been always agreed on many important issues. He suggested that this was not the occasion in the deliberations on which they should enter into general controversy. It would be much better to lay aside general principles and remember that they were a committee with definite terms of reference, namely, to see whether they could work out details of an All-India Federation within the British Empire.

Lord Reading, who followed Sir S. Hoare also signified that he did not intend to deal with the points which had been raised during the debate as they would come up later. He welcomed the fact that the Committee had been able to hear Mr. Gandhi's and Mr. Malaviya's views.

The general debate then ended.

Sir M. Shafi, said that Gandhiji's speech was of happy augury for he believed that it would lead to a communal settlement, which was essential not only for the success of the Conference but for the future of India.

Subjects Discussed

Representation of the States in the Federal Legislature, the Oath of Allegiance and the methods of election were among subjects discussed by the Committee afterwards the speakers being Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Mahomed Shafi, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Akbar Hydari. There was general agreement with the view expressed by Sir Akbar Hydari that the oath which subjects of the States took, should not conflict with their allegiance to their own sovereigns.

Sir Mahomed Shafi expressed the opinion that no difficulty would be found in arranging a satisfactory formula.

Regarding the representation of the States, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Mahomed Shafi emphasised that it was a matter for the States themselves, but hoped that in the Lower Chamber it would be possible for the States to arrange for their representatives to be returned on an elective basis.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner pointed out that it would be impossible for the Princes' Delegation to dictate to the various States how their representatives should be selected. This would depend on the circumstances of each individual State.

Lord Peel and Sir Sapru

A breezy interlude occurred at this stage which contributed much to the merriment of the assembly when in the course of Sir T. B. Sapru's speech, Lord Peel was attempting to cross-examine him, Sir Sapru said that it was mischievous for official members to be told to vote a particular way according to Government instructions.

The Chairman queried, "Surely nobody is really told to vote a certain way?"

Mr. A. Rangasawami Iyengar said, "It is so in India" and Sir Tej Bahadur added, "I have been a member in Lord Reading's Government and have myself issued orders to that effect."

Lord Peel, with affected surprise, inquired, "Did you do it?"

And Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru rejoined, "I did, and if I were at liberty to disclose things, Lord Peel, I would say you made me do it on a very famous occasion, when you will remember the Government of India was in the melting pot, because of your orders."

The delegates laughed louder when the Chairman wound up the interlude saying, "the only thing Lord Peel can do is to apologise and pay the costs."

Elections

The general debate on direct and indirect election to the Federal Legislature was continued at the Federal Structure Sub-Committee on the 16th by Mirza Sir Ismail, Sirdar Ujjal Singh, Mr. Zafurullah Khan, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. Joshi. The discussion ranged over a wide field and comprised voters' qualifications, need for special constituencies and analogous questions.

The suggestion that the British Government should appoint a committee to decide how representatives of groups of States should be selected and also the distribution of seats among the States was made by Mirza Sir Ismail, who contemplated that the States' representatives in the Upper House should be chosen by the States' Governments. He said that the method of selection for the Lower House was a matter for the States, who

would doubtless bear in mind the popular election as the ultimate goal.

Except Mr. Joshi, who considered a Second Chamber unnecessary but said that he was interested in the establishment of a democracy rather than in a new form of government, British Indian delegates generally favoured indirect election to the Upper House and direct election to the Lower Chamber.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar advocated recognition of the principle that representation of States as units should be confined to the Upper House whereas the nation as a whole should be represented in the Lower Chamber. He urged that this would facilitate a solution of the difficulties connected with grouping of States and weightage.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, like Mr. Joshi, advocated universal suffrage and said that constituencies for special interests must be regarded as only transitional.

Sardar Ujjal Singh declared that the settlement of the communal question was essential for Sikhs to commit themselves to the Federal Scheme.

Mr. Zafrullah Khan also pointed out that his remarks were subject to the reservation made by Sir Mahomed Shafi yesterday that the opinions expressed must be subject to the report of the Minorities Subcommittee and the Moslem claim for one-third of the seats in the whole Federal Legislature.

Mr. Joshi's views on Second Chamber were strongly criticised by Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, who maintained that during the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms the Upper House saved India from disaster. He advocated

the retention of the present official bloc for some time in view of the great experiment to be made.

Provision for Minorities

The constitutional provisions for representation to be accorded to the minorities were among the points advocated by Dr. Ambedkar, who urged that the States' representation in both Houses should be elected. He feared that otherwise the States' nominees would take the place at present occupied by the official bloc.

Dr. Ambedkar opposed representation of special interests, but, if adult suffrage was not approved, it would be necessary to arrange for representation of Labour. He suggested in this regard that Trade Unions might be constituted into electoral colleges.

A Bit of Fun

There were constant occasions for merriment among the delegates as when some Princes agreed that the State Legislatures should have a voice in the selection of representatives to the Federal Legislature, Mr. Joshi said he was not satisfied with a mere voice.

Lord Sankey interposed, "You want a loud-speaker!"

Sir M. Dadabhoy's speech gave several opportunities for these pleasantries.

Numerous speakers to-day emphasised the necessity for the States agreeing to a form of election of their representatives.

Dr. Ambedkar was particularly outspoken in criticising the Princes. The only way, he said, to prevent their nominees in the Legislature from taking the place at present occupied by the official bloc was to put the representation of the States in both the Houses on an elective basis.

At the end of the proceedings it was generally agreed that the time had arrived for putting an end to

general debate and converging their discussions on definite issues.

Gandhiji on the Proceedings

The general debate in the Federal Structure Committee continued on the 17th when Mahatmaji was the first to speak.

Mahatmaji at the outset confessed that he participated in the discussion at the present stage after great hesitation. He said he had been feeling growing oppression since Monday.

First, because he realised that the delegates were not the chosen ones of the nation but of the Government and felt oppressed by a sense of unreality at the composition of the Conference.

Secondly, there was sense of unreality as the proceedings seemed to be interminable, leading practically nowhere.

He tendered his deepest sympathies to the Chairman for the patience and courtesy with which he was handling the members and congratulated him on the pains he was taking.

Gandhiji hoped that eventually, it would be possible to congratulate him on enabling or compelling them to achieve tangible result.

Gandhiji then suggested to the Chairman to appoint a sub-committee to give some points for conclusion. He asked the Chairman to bring his suggestions to the notice of His Majesty's advisers.

Lord Sankey said he would certainly do so.

Gandhiji, proceeding urged the Government to place its own cards on the table. He said he wanted them to say what they would do if the members appointed them as arbiters of their destiny and if, then they sought the Committee's advice it would be given.

"The Princes, be it said to their credit, had declared courageously for a Federation and by doing so they had proved that they were of the same blood. How could they do otherwise? There was no difference between them and the Princes, except that God had made them noblemen."

It was for the Princes to make up their minds whether or not to come into the Federation and it was upto British India to make it easy for them. He would ask the Princes not to come into the Federation unless they could do so wholeheartedly.

Gandhiji's views on Elections

Gandhiji next dealt with the questions of direct and indirect election. Here again the words "indirect election" did not frighten him. He was wedded to Adult Suffrage and the Congress swore by it because it enabled them to satisfy all reasonable aspirations of Mussalmans, as also the vast number of "Untouchables".

Gandhiji said he was unable to bear the idea of a wealthy man getting a vote while the honest labourer was debarred because of his poverty. As one who had lived with the poorest, he prided himself on being considered an "untouchable."

Gandhiji knew some of the finest specimens of humanity among the poor and among the very "untouchables" themselves. He would rather forego the vote than see his "untouchable" brother deprived of it.

Gandhiji was not enamoured on literacy, though he desired to see the people literate, but he was not prepared to wait for it before the people were enfranchised.

Gandhiji visualised 500,000 villages of India electing their own representatives to the Central Legislature. If Adult Suffrage was adopted a scheme of this descrip-

tion must be adopted. It worked excellently, expeditiously and cheaply and without any difficulty in establishing contact with the humblest villager.

Opposing a Second Chamber, Gandhiji said he had no fear of the popular chamber hastily passing laws of which they would have to repent, but he could visualise a battle royal between the popular and the Upper Houses. While he would not take a decisive attitude he personally thought one chamber sufficient and advantageous.

Coming to the question of representation of special interests Gandhiji said the Congress would share with Dr. Ambedkar the *onus* of representing the interests of the "untouchables" which were as dear to them as any interest. He would therefore resist special representation. Labour did not need special treatment with adult suffrage and certainly there was no cause to accord it to the landlords. There was no desire to dispossess the landlords but they should act as trustees for their tenants.

Re : Europeans

Referring to the Europeans, Gandhiji suggested that they had hitherto been a privileged clan, enjoying Government protection. If they now made common cause with the people they need not be afraid. Gandhiji would take Mr. Gavin Jones throughout the country and show him that he (Mr. Gavin Jones) would be preferred to an Indian. He assured the committee that Mr. C. F. Andrews would be elected from any part of India. Such instances could be multiplied.

Europeans must rely on the goodwill of the people. In any scheme to which the Congress was a party there would be no room for special protection. He had letters

from organisations, such as those of Christians, who needed no special protection.

Referring to the Oath of Allegiance, Gandhiji said he was unable to express any opinion, as he wanted first to know what form of oath it was to be. If it was to be complete freedom, the Oath of Allegiance must be of one kind and one kind alone. If it was to be a subject India, he had no place in it.

Gandhiji next touched the question of nomination, which he strongly opposed. If experts were wanted they should give their opinion and retire. He could not possibly endorse a scheme for nominated members.

Gandhiji added there should be a clause in the constitution providing that if the constituencies failed, to elect representatives of certain classes, as for instance, women. Europeans and representatives of commerce, should be selected or nominated by the legislature.

After Gandhiji had finished, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mrs. Subbaroyan asked several questions which Gandhiji answered by way of amplification. Replying to Mrs. Subbaroyan, Gandhiji said he would boycott any legislature which did not elect women freely.

Sapru's View

Dr. T. B. Sapru, who followed Gandhiji expressed disagreement with his views on a unicameral legislature and told that a Second Chamber is necessary, in order to provide for the representation of the States and Provincial Governments. He visualised, however, an Upper Chamber differently constituted from the Council of State, which had failed to impress the public.

Examining the position from the viewpoint of money bills he expressed the opinion that they should ori-

ginate in the Lower House but need pass through the Upper House also and, referring to the difficulty of defining a Money Bill, suggested the adoption of the clause in the Irish Constitution on this point.

He also urged Lord Sankey, in this connection, to take up the question of the Supreme Court which would solve many legislative difficulties.

Dr. Sapru contemplated that they should be called by the Government in power, whereas Sir Provash Mitter thought that the responsibility should be with the Governor-General.

There was also divergence of opinion regarding the majority vote necessary in the event of a joint session. Sir P. C. Mitter favoured a majority vote but Mr. Zaf-rullah Khan drew attention to the probable difference in the size of the two Chambers and expressed the opinion that if they were unequal a vote exceeding a bare majority would be necessary.

The Marquess of Lothian, deprecating the organisation of the Upper House on party lines, drew attention to its function in other constituencies as a delaying chamber and suggested that this was also desirable in the Indian Constitution.

Further Proceedings

In the course of the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee on the 18th, Dr. Ambedkar pointed out with reference to Mahatmaji's speech of the preceding day that the Congress had not considered the nature of the Federal Legislature and Executive but only whether India was to remain in the Empire. He asked whether Mr. Gandhi was giving his personal views. He also asked whether the method of election suggested by

Mr. Gandhi was not rejected by the Congress in Dr. Besant's Home Rule Bill.

Lord Sankey said Mr. Gandhi would doubtless answer later.

Mr. Joshi declared that Labour would not demand special representation if there was Adult Suffrage. He regretted that Mr. Gandhi was unwilling to concede it to the depressed classes.

Mrs. Subbaroyan welcomed Mr. Gandhi's lead in connection with the presence of women in the legislature. She said that she did not share completely the view of the All-India Women's Conference that women did not need special treatment. She considered that there should be a constitutional provision ensuring women a place in the legislature during the first formative years.

Pandit Malaviya laid stress on the importance of paying attention to the extent of responsibility to be conferred in the Central Government since the only Government which had been successful was one exercising supreme authority all over India.

Deprecating asking too much of the Princes, Pandit Malaviya said that he would leave the principle of popular representation.

Malavya and Ambedkar

While Pandit Malaviya was referring to education and political progress, Dr. Ambedkar intercepted: "My education does not affect my untouchability."

Pandit Malaviya replied: "Dr. Ambedkar is not an 'untouchable' but a dear colleague and brother with whom we are delighted to work."

Col. Haksar said that the States representatives in the Upper Chamber should be nominated and in the

case of smaller States this should be effected through groups constituting electoral colleges which might involve a process akin to elections and referring to the Lower Chamber he submitted that it was immaterial whether members were nominated or elected provided the identity of interests between the ruler and the ruled was admitted.

The Moslem View

The Moslem view was put by Sir M. Shafi, who stated that, after prolonged discussions, Moslems were of opinion that the powers of each Chamber must be approximately equal. He had no hesitation to say from his own experience that the Council of State exercised a stabilising effect of the greatest benefit to India and prevented Congress from smashing the legislature as would have happened with only one chamber.

Sir Mahomed Shafi contended that once the principle of bicameral legislature was conceded, the assent of both Houses to any measure should be essential and it should be possible to introduce bills in either Chamber. Money Bills, however, should originate in the Lower House.

Briefly, Sir M. Shafi advocated the continuance of the existing practice for voting supply and the continuance of the provisions of the Government of India Act regarding differences of opinion between the two Chambers, except that the calling of a joint session will be obligatory and not left to the option of the Governor-General.

The Moslem delegates to the Round Table Conference met at H. H. The Aga Khan's room and decided to take no initiative in starting any kind of conversa-

tions for the settlement of communal problems, but only to carry on the work of the Conference without offering any obstruction.

Indian Merchants' Delegation

After powerful representations were made to the Government of India and considerable agitation in the press. Messrs. G. D. Birla and Jamal Mahomed along with Sir P. Thakurdas were at last invited by the Government of India to attend the Round Table Conference on behalf of the Indian Merchants' Federation at which considerable satisfaction was evinced by all parties concerned. Mr. G. D. Birla was already in England and Sir Purushottamdass Thakurdass and Mr. Jamal Mahomed started for England by the next available mail boat.

Views of Delegates

As the first week of the deliberations of the Federal Structure Committee was proceeding it was being felt by members of the Indian delegation that the Government were deliberately withholding expression of their policy, pending the result of the Minorities sub-committee. It was also feared that the domestic crisis in England may precipitate events prejudicial to India's claims. The majority of the Indian delegation therefore resolved in a body to attempt to force the Government to a definite pronouncement of their policy by co-ordination. And in view of the meetings of the Minorities sub-committee at an early date it was also resolved to set afoot negotiations between the Hindu and Muslim delegates to explore the possibility of arriving at a settlement of the communal problem. That Gandhiji may be near at hand for the constant calls of his colleagues, it was decided that he should remove to a

flat at Knight's Bridge, nearer to St. James Palace. Mahatmaji took Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar as his political secretary for Conference work.

Meanwhile Mr. Jinnah and the Maharajah of Dholpur had arrived and took part in the deliberations of the Federal Structure Committee.

The Moslem Demand

Mr. Jinnah put before Mahatma Gandhi the implications of the Moslem demands, his view being unchanged, namely, if separate electorates and Moslem majority in the Punjab and Bengal are guaranteed Moslems themselves might recognise the force of the joint electorates for the full development of Moslem Nationalism.

Gandhiji, however was reluctant to take the final step until he has had an opportunity of consulting Nationalist Moslems. It was believed that he was very anxious for the presence of Dr. Ansari and asked friends to use their influence to secure his nomination to the Conference.

Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonji were carefully watching the situation with a view to bringing the weight of their position and influence towards settlement.

A definite step towards a Hindu-Muslim rapprochement was taken at a meeting of the Hindu delegates at which Mr. Vithalbai Patel was also present, when it was decided that Mahatmaji should open negotiations with H. H. The Aga Khan. Mr. Patel and others also pressed Mahatmaji to stand firm on the Congress demands, till Government's intention to grant Central Responsibility and other demands of the Congress is known one way or the other.

Sirdar Ujjal Singh on behalf of the Sikh community addressed a letter to Gandhiji stating that no settlement would be acceptable to them unless their minimum demands which were necessary for their self-protection were guaranteed.

The nucleus to a Hindu-Muslim understanding was laid when Mahatmaji had an informal talk with H. H. The Aga Khan at the Ritz Hotel.

Strength of Legislatures

The proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee were carried on also during the second week at which some points of fundamental interest regarding federation such as, the number of seats to be allotted in the Federal Legislature and the financial aspect of the federation scheme were discussed in detail. On the 23rd September, discussion regarding the number of seats was initiated, in the course of which varying proposals for the strength and composition of the Federal Legislature were made ranging from 600 members of the Lower House and 400 of the Upper House advocated by Mr. Joshi to 250 and 100 or 150 respectively contemplated by Sir Akbar Hydari.

Regarding the proportion of representation, British Indian speakers generally advocated that this should be arranged on a population basis.

Sir Akbar Hydari outlined a concrete scheme for the representation of Princes based on one-third representation in the Lower House of 150.

Sir Akbar's scheme contemplated one seat each for all the 21, 19 and 17 gun States, totalling 24, an allocation of 12 seats to the remaining States grouped on a territorial basis and the distribution of the remaining

fourteen among major States which Sir A. Hydari understood, claimed special representation.

Sir Mirza Mahomed Ismail, speaking on behalf of Jodhpur and Jaipur, in addition to Mysore, again advocated the appointment of a Sub-Committee to come to binding decisions on this matter. Sir Mahomed contemplated that the Sub-Committee should submit a report to the British Government through the Viceroy and the States not accepting its findings should remain outside the Federation.

Sir S. Hoare, who emphasised that he did not desire to enter into details at present, declared himself as strongly in favour of an All-India Federation as when the Princes first made the proposal.

Sir S. Hoare emphasised that such Federation implied, firstly, a definite federal foundation and secondly, the existence of definite federal organ to carry out duties. Sir S. Hoare said that he regarded as one of the conditions of an effective All-India Federation sufficient representation and effective participation of the Princes at a reasonably early date as one of the absolute conditions of the constitution and indicated that he thought the suggestion made of fifty-one per cent of the total States' populations rather small.

Having sounded a caution against making the Chambers unmanageably large he referred to the question of the States' proportionate representation in accordance with the number of States federating. Sir S. Hoare said that that seemed to be the logical viewpoint, but it must be remembered that by creating a federation they were bringing together two separate interests. Sir S. Hoare believed the Princes would feel that they had placed themselves under a disadvantage

if they entered a federation without adequate voting strength.

He concluded by pointing out that he was anxious to avoid laying down hard and fast conditions at the present stage.

The discussions of the morning of the 24th was also devoted to a review of the question of the strength and composition of the Federal Chambers.

Bikaner and Mysore

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, at the outset, uttered a warning against taking the views expressed by Sir Akbar Hydari and Mirza Sir Ismail as interpreting the views of the States as a whole or even a majority of the States for whom he claimed to speak. He said that nothing was more likely to cause a split among the States or wreck a federation than the acceptance of this view of their declarations.

After the Maharaja of Bikaner had challenged Mirza Sir Ismail's statement that the settlement of the allocation of seats was impossible among the States, Sir Ismail intervened and pointed out that his view was supported by Baroda, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Jaipur.

Bikaner said that the resolution of the Standing Committee of Chamber of Princes passed in Bombay in July was still the view of the majority of the States. Bikaner stressed the need for adequate representation of smaller States and took the view that the suggestion for referring the allocation of seats to a Committee was premature at present, since hitherto the States had not had sufficient opportunities of a discussion, but he thought that if agreement on all points was not reached by this means it might eventually be desirable to appoint a representative committee to work in close

association with the Viceroy. He hoped conclusions equitable to all would thereby be reached.

The Maharaja of Bikaner said the States must not be satisfied with less representation than 125 in the Upper Chamber and expressed his personal view that 51 per cent population of the States entering the Federation would not suffice.

Sir T. B. Saprú took the view that the States' actual representation should be dependent on the number of Federating states, the surplus seats remaining vacant.

Sir T. B. Saprú considered it too premature to discuss the requisite percentage of States for federation and emphasised the supreme necessity of bringing a federation into existence leaving the attainment of a perfect constitution to the future.

Federal Finance

On the afternoon of the 24th the subject of Federal finances was taken up.

The main attention in the course of a technical debate was directed to the distinction between Federal and Central Finances.

Sir Provash Mitter urged that it was desirable to put a term, which might be ten years, to this distinction, while Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar advocated the earliest possible abolition of it.

Sir Provash Mitter suggested the appointment of a Sub-Committee to deal with the subject and emphasised the necessity of adhering to two principles, namely, necessity of adequate resources for Federal Government, and, thereafter, the supply to Provinces of the largest amount possible.

Sir P. Mitter advocated one budget for both Federal and Central subjects (the latter being those which ought to be borne by British India alone) but with a pro forma distinction. He suggested in this regard that during the transition period before the distinction disappeared one-half of the income-tax should be allotted to Federal Government.

Sir P. Mitter advocated that eventually the Federal taxation should be wholly indirect, the Provinces having the benefit of all direct taxation.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar declared that in the transfer from Central to Federal one of the first steps was the abolition of the financial powers of the Secretary of State and the substitution for it of control by the Governor-General of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar pointed out that of India's public debt 1001 crores was covered by assets, dead weight being 172 crores. He said that the right course would be to federalise the part covered by assets leaving the remainder a charge on the ordinary general revenues, but certain charges, like the expenditure on Frontier defences and pension charges, must be allocated between the Provinces, States and British Government. He appealed to the States and British Indians not to cramp the Federal Government in the matter of direct taxation and laid stress on the necessity of avoiding discrimination and so render possible a breakdown of the internal tariff walls.

Federal Finance Sub-Committee

On the 25th the Federal finance Committee was appointed by the Federal Structure Committee. The following were the members :

Lord Peel (Chairman).

Sir Akbar Hydari.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail.

Dewan Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachari.

Col. Haksar.

Sir Sultan Ahmed.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

Sir Manekji Dadabhoy.

Mr. Oliver Stanley.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence and

Mr. Elliott.

The Sub-Committee's terms of reference were:—

To examine and report upon the general principles on which the financial resources and obligations of India should be apportioned between the Federation of British Indian units and the States.

A number of speakers participated in the discussion regarding the distribution of financial resources. Opinion generally favoured the restriction of the Federal income to indirect taxation though both Sir M. Dadabhoy and Mr. Joshi did not agree with this view and urged that there should be no constitutional limitation of the Federal Government's powers in this direction.

Mr. Joshi expressed the opinion that the proposal would cause extravagance since pressure for economy was only exercised when the increase of income-tax was contemplated.

Sir M. Shafi, while reserving his opinion generally until the sub-committee had reported, argued against the distinction, between Federal and Central Finance.

The need of abolishing the States tributes which Sardar Ujjal Singh described as anachronism was stressed by several speakers.

The desirability of avoiding internal trade barriers was also the subject of special reference.

Other Aspects

On the scheme of federal finance Sir Mirza indicated the general principles to be kept in view, namely (1) internal trade barriers should as far as possible be avoided. This was doubtless the ideal to be aimed at, but in view of the existing rights it cannot obviously be insisted upon. (2) The authority entitled to the proceeds of a tax should collect it by its own agency, in other words, legislation and administration in fiscal matters should go together. (3) As a rule Federal taxes should be indirect and provincial taxes, direct, but this would be subject to conditions: (a) indirect taxation having social as well as revenue objects for example, excise on alcohol and narcotics should belong to the units of the Federation, (b) direct and indirect taxation should be co-ordinated so that the scheme of taxation as a whole would be well balanced. If additional revenue were found necessary hereafter he suggested a Corporation tax or similar impost subject to the necessary financial adjustment in particular units.

The Federal Finance Committee was postponed till Monday next. The Minorities Committee also was to meet on Monday the 28th September, under the Chairmanship of the Premier. The Federal Structure Committee was likewise postponed till Monday.

CHAPTER IX

THE FEDERAL FINANCE COMMITTEE

OF all the various subjects taken up for discussion by the Round Table Conference, that of Federal Finance was the one which is said to have obtained the greatest measure of agreement among the delegates. Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, was the chief spokesman on behalf of the British Indian delegation and Sir Mirza M. Ismail, spoke at some length in which he emphasized chiefly the question of the abolition of tributes. The most noteworthy person whose speech and attitude threatened to endanger the proceedings not only of the Finance Sub-Committee but also of the Main Federal Structure Committee was Sir Akbar Hydari, who though professing heartily his adherence to the idea of federation, refused to accept it till the financial implications connected with it were completely threshed out and determined. This attitude on his part was the result or possibly even the cause of the Finance Committee recommending in their report the appointment of an Expert Committee to go in detail into the question of Federal finance with definite terms of reference as their basis of investigation. This recommendation along with the others also unanimously agreed to by members of the Sub-Committee, when brought for discussion in the Federal Structure Committee gave rise to grave issues which threatened to obstruct further progress of work. Mahatmaji was sorely grieved at the further delay that will be caused in the materialisation of the federation idea as the time required for the proposed Expert Committee's work was conceived to

be at least twelve months. Several other leading members of the Federal Structure Committee supported Mahatmaji in his proposal to abandon the idea of the Experts' Committee altogether and refer back the report to the Finance Committee. Eventually Mahatmaji's firm stand and persuasive speech induced Sir Akbar Hydari's group to reconsider their position and after an informal conference, a compromise was effected, by which the Expert Committee was to work on definite terms of reference without in any way prejudicing the acceptance of the Federal scheme by the States.

After consideration of the draft questionnaire, the main topics which were taken for discussion by the Sub-Committee were the question of debts, states contributions, federal services, federal budget, taxes, and revenue from customs and communications.

Mr. Aiyengar's Memorandum

At the outset Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyangar made some concrete proposals regarding federal finance about which he submitted a memorandum for consideration of the members. He claimed that the debts existing before the formation of the Federation are Federal liabilities and proposed one common Federal budget based on the removal of internal customs barriers, making Federal communications, Posts, Telegraphs and Railways purely self-supporting and not using railway profits to relieve taxation which should be borne equally by all parts of the Federation.

Federal revenue, according to the memorandum, should mainly consist of indirect taxes, but access to additional direct sources is essential owing to possible

changes in economic policy and prospects of customs revenue.

The memorandum classified customs duties, with the corresponding excise duties, supertax on companies and commercial stamps as Federal sources and land revenue and excise duties on articles taxed for social purposes and non-commercial stamps as Provincial.

Railways being self-supporting, the Provinces and the States are permitted to levy a maximum terminal tax of three per cent enabling the States to give up internal customs and the Provinces to give up local octroi.

The question of the abolition of tributes was first originated by Mr. Aiyangar and with his support, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, made out a strong case for its abolition.

The British India delegation was unanimous that payment of tributes, under whatever name, savoured of the feudal regime and should find no place under the Federal system.

Lord Peel's Speech

Lord Peel, the Chairman of the Federal Finance Sub-Committee in presenting the report for adoption by the Federal Structure Committee, said that the Sub-Committee had done its best to harmonise the financial operations with the main lines of constitutional policy which the Federal Committee was now laying down and referring to the recommendation for the appointment of an Expert Committee, Lord Peel said that it would require months of work.

Lord Peel pointed out that when India's debt was thoroughly investigated it would probably be found that India had assets almost, if not entirely equal to the

whole of her debt. He believed that that was unparalleled, in respect of any other country.

Sub-Committee's Recommendation

The recommendations of the Committee are briefly as follows :

Regarding the existing debt, if the Expert Committee found all the obligations covered by the assets, the whole of the pre-Federation debt should be taken over by the Federation. The Sub-Committee does not rule out the possibility of finding a certain portion of this debt equitably classifiable as a Central and not a Federal charge. The Sub-Committee has set out the initial classification of revenue between the Federal Government and the Provincial units at the outset. Provincial heads of revenue comprise land revenue, excise on alcohol, narcotics and drugs, stamps (with the possible exception of commercial stamps), forests and Provincial commercial undertakings as also succession duties and terminal taxes, if they are levied. Further the first seven taxes in the present first schedule to the Scheduled Tax Rules should be Provincial. Under the scheme now proposed, the problem of residuary powers of taxation would seem to disappear. Regarding taxes which have not been hitherto contemplated in India, it is suggested that the right to levy them should rest in the Federation, but the Federal Government is empowered to assign the right in particular cases to the constituent units. Trust duties whether in the British Indian Provinces or the States should be specifically forbidden and the Provinces should be debarred from levying internal customs. No form of taxation should be levied by any unit on the property of the Federal Government.

Income-tax and Tributes.

The Sub-Committee is agreed that Income-tax should be collected from the whole of British India by one centralized administrative service, the net proceeds being re-distributed to the Provinces. The criteria of allocation should be reported on by the proposed Expert Committee. Should a substantial Federal deficit arise, it must be met by contributions from the Provinces. Regarding cash contributions from the Indian States now payable, the Sub-Committee holds that there is no place for contributions of a feudal nature under the Federation. Only the probability of the lack of Federal resource at the outset prevents the Committee from recommending their immediate abolition. They should be wiped out '*pari passu*' with Provincial contributions.

The Sub-Committee recommends that in cases in which real hardship is inflicted by the relative magnitude of the burden, there should be a remission forthwith of a part of the contribution, the idea being that contributions exceeding five per cent of the total revenue of the State should be remitted straightaway. Regarding Ceded territories, the Expert Committee should examine the whole question and pronounce an opinion on the equities of taxation in each case. It is laid down that the financial adjustments in respect of Indian State forces must be conditioned by efficiency, etc. In the case of Maritime States, the customs question should be determined by a close examination of treaties and engagements, and by negotiation for a "*quid pro quo*" surrender of the rights found to be subsisting now.

Definite limits on the borrowing powers of constituent units are suggested including non-external

borrowing without the consent of the Federal Government. The Expert Committee should be bifurcated, one part dealing mainly with questions dealing with Indian States.

Expert Committee

The Sub-Committee recommends finally that an inquiry by the Expert Committee should be undertaken in two parts possibly under a common chairman.

The principal object of the first inquiry should be a general survey of the problem and the examination of:

- pre-Federation debt,
- service of Central charges,
- the classification of revenues as Federal or Provincial,
- the allocation of income-tax between Provinces,
- the basis for Provincial contributions and
- the question of future borrowing.

The second inquiry should relate mainly to:

- the States and the review of States contributions,
- the value of Ceded territories and
- the existing rights of States with a view to suggesting an arrangement for their commutation.

The Sub-Committee also recommends that the question of the financial value to the Federation of State forces should be taken up between the Federal financial and military authorities and individual States.

The Debate

Sir T. B. Sapru questioning as to when the Expert Committee was supposed to finish its work, Lord Peel said that if the appointment was made soon the results of the Committee's enquiry could be embodied in the Constitutional Act. Sir A. Hydari said that the States'

Delegation had taken a united attitude that until the report of the Expert Finance Committee was available they would be unable to say whether they would enter the Federation or not.

Replying to Lord Sankey, Sir A. Hydari agreed that it was desirable that a time should be fixed within which the States should make up their minds regarding their entering the Federation. He thought that the Expert Committee should complete its work in about 12 months. The States would then be in a position to say whether they were satisfied with the scheme of Federal Finance. All other salient features should then be ready so that the States would be able to come to a decision.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru thought that the Finance Sub-Committee's report itself was so excellent that there must be one explanation for the attitude taken by Sir Akbar Hydari on behalf of the Princes.

Mahatmaji dreaded the postponements involved mittee had aimed too high and had unconsciously thrown an apple of discord in their midst. It should not be beyond the power of the Sub-Committee to frame an elementary scheme agreeable to all including the States.

Mahatmajee dreaded the postponements involved in the Finance Sub-Committee's report. The Conference had been formed to shoulder a particular burden and should manfully meet the call and not throw its responsibility on further committees.

Unless they approached the task in this manner they would never see light from what appeared to him impenetrable darkness.

Lord Peel's Explanation

After the debate in the Federal Structure Committee, informal conversations were set afoot between members of the two different groups standing for and against the appointment of the Expert Committee which led to no definite results. At a further meeting of the Federal Structure Committee Lord Peel explained that the length of time that the Expert Committee would take to complete its enquiries had been exaggerated as had also the extent of the tasks with which the experts would have to deal. He hoped that they would agree to setting up an Expert Committee which was needed to work out the exact calculations and figures that arose from the acceptance of the principles in the report.

The Federal Government would have such an immense amount of work before it that it would be grateful if as many of these questions as possible could be decided beforehand. Three or four months devoted to the work by the Expert Committee would certainly not be wasted for it would fill in further details of the scheme and increase confidence. He strongly urged Mahatma Gandhiji not to press for further investigation by a Sub-Committee which might run the risk of breaking up the compromise reached after a very careful discussion and a great deal of give and take.

The Compromise

Lord Peel, outlining the compromise, pointed out that the first committee would investigate questions connected with the States' contributions, Ceded territories, position of Maritime States and similar points and the second committee would be a fact-finding committee to be appointed in India consisting of officials familiar

with finance whose duties would include a general estimate of the financial position of the Federation. He expected the Committee to do its work very quickly.

Lord Peel said that certain questions could be only decided in the light of the facts found by that Committee. The parties concerned would then have to be consulted and Government should be prepared, before the Round Table Conference closed, to make proposals on the procedure to that end.

Sir A. Hydari endorsed Lord Peel's proposals.

Sir Samuel Hoare, hoped that, now that they had reduced the points of difference to such a minimum they would agree to Lord Peel's proposal to accept the recommendations of the Finance Sub-Committee on that basis.

Mahatmaji confessed to serious misgivings about the result of the committee, though it was less open to objection owing to the curtailment of its scope. He was, therefore, inclined to support the proposal that the matter should be taken up at a later stage but desired to record his objections.

Lord Sankey thought that the Committee had taken a long step forward.

Lord Sankey congratulated the members on the tact and good sense displayed.

The Committee then adjourned.

CHAPTER X

THE MINORITIES SUB-COMMITTEE

WHILE in India, the Hindu-Muslim problem remained as the greatest obstacle towards achieving a national unity, in London, during the proceedings of the Round Table Conference, it resolved itself into the more seri-

ous problem of all the Minorities. A separate sub-committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to deal with the thorny problem and arrive at a solution agreeable to all concerned. But, as India's misfortune would have it, the problem after taxing the utmost time, energy, tact and patience of everybody concerned, baffled a final solution. The result was, that India was shown up in all its ugly political nakedness to the world and the British die-hards obtained a powerful handle with which to turn India's destiny at their own will.

Premier's Speech

The Committee opened its proceedings with a speech by the Chairman, which he began most altruistically saying that "the philosophers of India formed a sure foundation for building up harmony between the races since they looked at the world not in a merely abstract way but as something essentially composed of differences, yet essentially calling for harmony of difference. That was the problem before the Round Table Conference."

"We do not want to change the Hindu, the Moslem, the Sikh. I hope you do not want to change us. But we do want to find means whereby we can cooperate for the good of each other and of the whole world. That is the spirit in which I take the chair."

Appealing to the delegates to agree among themselves on a solution, the Premier said, he considered it a problem internal to the Indian problem and, rejecting the suggestion of Government's arbitration, he said any arbitration would probably be unacceptable to all and a "most unsatisfactory solution". He asked the delegates to imagine the fate of the arbitrator when they

returned to India. He said, "I have often been a scapegoat. I am willing to be one again if it is good and necessary. But I think you should become your own scapegoats, for, if you are responsible you will and must work any agreement out." He said the delegates themselves should undertake the responsibility but if he could assist he would only be too glad to do so.

Mr. MacDonald said their problem was as important as it was difficult. It had baffled them last time and he appealed to all delegates to reach an agreement.

Other Speeches

After the Premier, the Aga Khan mentioned that he and other Moslems were meeting Mr. Gandhi that night and the suggestion was made that the Committee should adjourn to allow discussions to occur.

Some representatives of the smaller Minorities indicated alarm that a matter of such importance should be left in the hands of the two larger communities.

Dr. Ambedkar pointed out that they were unable to bind other sections and said that representatives of smaller Minorities would put forward their claims, irrespective of the claims of Hindus and Moslems.

Dr. Ambedkar added that whoever claimed or gave weightage would be unable to do so at the expense of his minority.

Col. Gidney expressed similar sentiments.

The Premier said that he fully realised the position and pointed out that the Minorities Committee was a body charged with dealing with the question.

The Committee comprised all sections and all Minorities and had to make an ultimate agreement.

The Premier expressed the opinion that it was useless adjourning unless, whilst the two larger commu-

nities were meeting, representatives of smaller Minorities also met and tried to compose their differences and reach an understanding.

Adjournment

The Committee therefore was adjourned on the understanding that the smaller Minorities should meet and try to reach a settlement and arrange to draw up a statement on their position.

On the same evening a meeting of the Hindu delegates was held at the residence of Pandit Malaviya. Mr. Sastri, Mr. Jayakar, Raja Narendranath, Dr. Moonji, Sirdar Ujjal Singh and others were present. No definite plan was adopted. But it was decided to place the respective cases of the Hindus and the Sikhs before the Committee without reservation.

On the next evening Gandhiji met the entire Moslem delegation at the Ritz Hotel, the Aga Khan's residence. Sir Ali Imam also took part in the conversations. The Moslem delegates advanced fresh proposals containing a combination of joint and separate electorates. Gandhiji stressed the necessity of including Dr. Ansari in the Minorities Committee, to which the Moslems did not give a definite reply.

Mahatmaji's untiring efforts towards arriving at a communal solution is evident from the fact that on the same day he conferred with the Sikh delegates, Sirdars Ujjal Singh and Sampuran Singh. On the next day, he conferred with non-Muslim delegates Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. R. Srinivasan, Dr. Datta, Col. Gidney, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Shiva Rao and Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao. He discussed their position and demands.

Later, Dr. Datta and Col. Gidney, on behalf of the other Minorities interviewed the Aga Khan as the head

of the biggest Minority to arrange for a joint meeting of all the Minorities to discuss their position and demands.

In a further talk with the representatives of the lesser minorities Gandhiji said that the Congress was opposed to communal representation, but, if driven to it, would agree only in national interests. He also expressed the opinion that the committee as constituted would never solve the problem in which event, he indicated his intention of announcing his withdrawal from it.

Gandhiji favoured an Indian Arbitration Committee, appointed by Indians. He was for independence with a clause in the constitution providing India to settle her own communal problem.

Informal Committee

An informal committee was appointed to discuss and settle communal differences with Mahatmaji as Chairman and pending its results, the Minorities Sub-Committee was adjourned. The informal committee opened at St. James Palace.

At the outset, Mr. Pannirselvam and Dr. Ambedkar put forward a strong plea for separate representation. Dr. Ambedkar repudiated the suggestion that the Untouchables were Hindus and said that Moslems and Sikhs were nearer to Hindus than were the Untouchables.

They were warmly supported by Sir T. B. Saprú, Sir A. P. Patro, Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar and Mr. Ramachandra Rao.

Sardar Sampuram Singh opposed any special representation to the Depressed Classes on the ground that they were being rapidly absorbed by other communi-

ties and it would be most invidious to perpetuate this kind of special representation by statute.

Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Congress also opposed special representation to the Depressed Classes. He said he would support special representation only for Muslims and Sikhs as a necessary evil.

Mahatmaji finally warned the Conference, that if special representation were conceded, it might be conceded to all the Minorities.

Pandit Malaviya supported Gandhiji.

Further Adjournment

As soon as the Minorities Sub-Committee met, Gandhiji proposed an adjournment until 8th October. He said that the Aga Khan and other Moslem delegates and he had come to the conclusion that an adjournment would be an advantage as little headway had been made in conversations with the Moslems and other delegates but time had been too short.

Gandhiji undertook to report the progress to the Committee when it next met and not to request for further adjournment thereafter.

He hoped that he would be able to report a settlement by the end of the week. He was an irrepressible optimist and experience had taught him that, when the horizon appeared blackest, there were always good reasons for hope. He assured the Committee that every human endeavour to reach a settlement would be made.

H. H. the Aga Khan formally seconded the proposal.

Views of Minorities

Dr. Ambedkar made it clear that he would not object to an adjournment if it would lead to a settlement but desired further information regarding the composi-

tion of the Committee and inquired if the Depressed Classes were to be represented.

Gandhiji said, "Without a doubt".

Dr. Ambedkar continued that he must consider whether any would object to him and some of his colleagues serving on the Committee in view of Mr. Gandhi's opposition to the political recognition for the depressed classes and other smaller communities.

Sir H. Gidney associated himself with Dr. Ambedkar's attitude saying that he was in the unfortunate position of being refused recognition by Mr. Gandhi.

Sir H. Gidney said that there was no doubt in his mind, after yesterday's meeting with Mr. Gandhi, that the Lahore resolution recognised, for the purposes of political representation only two Minority communities namely, Moselms and Sikhs, who were recognised on the traditional and historic grounds.

Sir Henry thought it might possibly be considered impertinence on his part to claim recognition on the same grounds, but he asked Mr. Gandhi to make it clear that the proposed Committee would include representatives of the communities which had already received recognition by inclusion in the Miniorities Committee.

Mr. Pannirselvam expressed similar sentiments.

Hindu and Moslem Views

Dr. Moonji suggested that Dr. Ambedkar and Sir H. Gidney had taken too seriously the suggestion that the Committee would concern itself only with Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs and pointed out that even Hindus in the Punjab and Bengal were minorities and therefore had to watch their own interests.

Sir M. Shafi rose to remove a misapprehension and said that the Committee would not be a sub-committee of the Minorities Committee but each group, including Anglo-Indians and depressed classes, would be invited to select a few representatives to explore whether it was possible to reach a satisfactory settlement and so lighten the burden of the Minorities Committee.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, speaking as a completely disinterested member representing neither a minority nor a special interest, appealed to the Minorities not to create difficulties and "not to cross the bridges before they came to them."

When Dr. Ambedkar said he wanted to know exactly what the Committee was to consider the Aga Khan interjected, "It will be a settlement for all."

Dr. Ambedkar stated that, in that case, he was willing to allow the motion to pass without protest.

Gandhiji feared that Dr. Ambedkar and Sir H. Gidney were unnecessarily nervous. Nobody need fear that he would not receive an opportunity of expressing his views. The object was to see whether, by heart-to-heart conversations, misunderstandings could be removed.

Sardar Ujjal Singh, Dr. Datta and Sir Hubert Carr welcomed the motion, the latter remarking that Europeans would favour any means of reaching a solution which must precede a settlement of the other questions in which they were interested.

The motion for adjournment was then carried the Premier remarking that it was understood that the interval would not be wasted, but that all would pledge themselves to devote the time to informal conferences, which, he hoped, would be most valuable and fruitful.

Congress Position

Throughout the proceedings of the unofficial Conference Gandhiji found no way but to stand against communal representation and separate electorates as according to his ideas, if one minority were granted the privilege, all other minorities (which were too many in India) would be equally entitled to it and would claim the same.

Gandhiji expressed a sense of unreality if all claims were taken at their face value and said that he felt cramped and hemmed in amidst the plethora of claims. Though he was not idle, he had hitherto found no light, but, if he saw light, he would act. He finally said that the Conference may take more time if necessary, but for his part, he was unable to compromise on fundamentals.

H. H. The Aga Khan suggested that the problem may be tackled province by province. The other delegates stood firmly on their respective stands.

At the close of the proceedings, it was evident that the problem was insoluble by that method and that an arbitrator like Lord Sankey might be asked to undertake the task. The idea of arbitration had gained considerable ground among the delegates.

Mrs. Naidu's Suggestion

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu suggested that an arbitration board of from three to five members may be appointed from among the members of the Minorities Sub-Committee empowered to decide the matter finally. But representatives of orthodox Hindu and Sikh sections favoured the appointment of an outside tribunal. There were many eminent Indian High Court Judges both Hindu and Moslem in England at the time, who, in con-

junction with some British Judges might be able to look into the differences with a detached and purely judicial eye to whose decision it might be left, rather than to politicians.

Moslem delegates, who had discussed the matter among themselves prior to going to the Palace, stated that they would prefer a committee from among the members of the Minorities Committee, their main reasons being that the adjudication of their differences by an outside tribunal would not redound to India's credit and would be in itself a confession of failure by the informal Conference. The ensuing discussion was fruitless and the Conference broke up without reaching a decision.

It was understood that the opinion prevailing among a number of delegates on the composition of the Committee of three pointed to the election of Mr. Gandhi, the Aga Khan and one representative of the lesser Minorities.

Maulana Shaukat Ali's Speech

In contrast to the difficulties, uncertainties and vain gropings in the dark of the members of the Minorities Sub-Committee, the self-assurance exhibited in Maulana Shaukat Ali's speech delivered at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society is truly remarkable. He prefixed his statement of the Mussalman case by remarking that last year he had lost his brother, while in London and to-day he had received news of the death of his daughter in India.

The Maulana declared that he did not fear the Hindus or a combination of Hindus and Englishmen. He laid stress that he was genuinely anxious for an honourable peace in India satisfactory to all classes,

adding that, as a cricketer, he always hit boundaries and was content with nothing less.

He went on to say that it was probable (which he amended to "possible") that the Conference might not be a success.

If Mr. Gandhi went back to India to-morrow they must still endeavour to make the Conference a success. He wanted the Minorities to have interest in the administration, but was not going to turn Mussalman majorities in two provinces into minorities.

If peace with Hindus could be achieved well and good: but if not he was not going back to India but would make peace with England.

Failure

Gandhiji grieved at the failure of his Committee to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem especially as he believed that the Government could do far more than they were then doing to speed up an agreement. "If we knew in a definite measure" he pleaded, "that we are going to get what we want, we should hesitate fifty times before we threw it away in a sinful wrangle, as it would be if we are told that the getting of it would depend upon the ability of the present delegation to produce an agreed solution. The solution can be the *crown* of a Swaraj Constitution and not its *foundation*." But the Prime Minister's response to this appeal was thought to be not satisfactory.

The unofficial Committee's proceedings dragged on without arriving at any tangible result. The main point of difference was the personnel of the arbitration board, the Moslems refusing to consider any other scheme but the one originally proposed and the Hindus and Sikhs demanding an outside personnel.

Punjab Redistribution

Meanwhile a scheme for the redistribution of the Punjab was brought forward by Sir G. Corbett, by which the Punjab was divided into three exclusive zones, the Moslem, Sikh and Hindu, where each of them will be assured of a majority on the population basis without the necessity of statutory safeguards. Sir G. Corbett's scheme was not evolved with a view to communal satisfaction, but purely on linguistic, ethnical and historical grounds but it was supposed to satisfy the communal demands at the same time.

"He says that it is fair to assume that in any rational scheme of redistribution the Ambala Division, less the Simla District and north-west corner of Ambala District, should be separated on these two grounds from the Punjab and amalgamated with the United Provinces which might also be divided into two provinces.

Though this matter is beyond the scope of Sir G. Corbett's memorandum, Sir Geoffrey considers that redistribution on these lines will satisfy the claims of all the three communities since Moslems, being 62 per cent of the total population of the redistributed Punjab, will be assured of a majority in the Legislature through territorial constituencies with joint electorates without reservation of seats. The Sikhs' preference for joint electorates will be satisfied and they will no longer require separate electorates or weightage. Further their numerical strength will be relatively increased while the two principles on which Hindus are willing to compromise will be satisfied since there will be no statutory majority by reservation of seats and no weightage at the expense of a minority community."

The Sikh delegates opposed this scheme and Sardar Ujjal Singh alternatively presented to Gandhiji a scheme of redistribution of the Punjab by which Rawalpindi and Multan divisions minus Lyalpur and Montgomery districts should be detached from the Punjab and amalgamated with the Frontier Province in which case Sikhs would not claim weightage or reservation of seats.

Cables from India

Meanwhile cables from India were being sent by various communal organisations to their respective representatives asking them to stand firm on the communal issues. Mahatmaji's attitude was characterised as giving a blank cheque to Moslems which was criticised by the Hindu Mahasabha. Some Depressed Classes organisations in India cabled to Gandhiji that they had entire confidence in him and expressing their desire to accept joint electorates, while others cabled to Dr. Ambedkar promising support and protesting against Gandhiji's betrayal of their interests.

Further efforts were made for arriving at a communal settlement by Mr. V. J. Patel, who proposed to tackle the problem, province by province under the direction of H. H. The Aga Khan and Gandhiji, who may be empowered to appoint arbitrators, thus narrowing down to a minimum the disputed points. Mr. Sastri and Mirza Sir Ismail also tried their best to effect a settlement but all to no purpose.

Minorities' Agreement

Meanwhile the Moslems and the lesser Minorities were carrying on negotiations among themselves which resulted in an agreement being drawn and signed by their representatives.

The agreement specified the proportion of the representation the various communities are to receive in the legislatures on the basis of which there shall be weightage for Minorities, but no majority community, shall be placed in the position of a minority. The Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab will, accordingly, receive 51 per cent representation. The agreement also set out the special claims of Muslims, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Depressed Classes and Indo-Christians.

The agreement setting out the claims of the Minority communities which was signed by the Aga Khan, Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Pannirselvam, Sir H. Gidney and Sir H. Carr, contained eleven clauses detailing the civic, religious and political rights and safeguards and there were further sections giving the special claims of Muslims, Depressed Classes, Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

Final Meeting

It was a gloomy meeting of the Minorities Committee that was held on the 13th November.

H. H. The Aga Khan handed in a document to the Premier embodying the Minorities Agreement. Sirdar Ujjal Singh also handed in a document setting forth the Sikh viewpoint. A number of other delegates including Sir P. C. Mitter, Dr. Ambedkar, Raja Narendranath Dr. Datta, Sir H. Gidney and Dr. Moonji likewise handed in documents.

In his opening speech to the Minorities Committee the Premier reiterated the Government's intention to stand by his January declaration. A declaration of Government policy would be made to the Plenary Session next week, to which the Premier would report the

failure of the Minorities Committee to come to an agreement.

After the Premier's opening speech, Sardar Ujjal Singh immediately protested against the Minorities Agreement as a negation of democratic principles.

Mr. Joshi also, with the support of Mr. Shiva Rao and Mr. Giri, said that they disagreed with the proposals. The workers were not willing to have their ranks divided in order to get special representation.

Further disagreement was expressed by Mr. Datta who said that portions of the community, he represented, would not be bound by the agreement, which, in turn, was defended by Sir H. Gidney and Sir H. Carr.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Begum Shah Nawaz upheld the women's example in declining special representation though Mrs. Subbarayan pointed out that a large body of educated women did not support this view, holding that the presence of women in the legislatures should be ensured.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad appealed to the Premier to take a hand in the settlement of the communal question and allow the work of the Federal Structure Subcommittee to proceed.

Dr. Moonji affirmed that the Hindu Maha Sabha would never agree to separate electorate or weightage being taken from the Hindus. He declared that the Hindu Mahasabha would never agree to the establishment of a permanent communal majority by law in Punjab and Bengal.

Gandhiji declared that the agreement was not designed to achieve responsible Government and the Congress would rather wander indefinitely in the wilderness than lend itself to a proposal under which the

hardy tree of freedom and Responsible Government would never grow.

Premier's Offer

The Premier winding up the proceedings offered to arbitrate on the communal question if all the delegates together desired him to do it.

In response to the Premier's offer to arbitrate, letters were despatched by the most important non-Muslim leaders agreeing to arbitration by the Premier on communal problems generally or Hindu-Muslim-Sikh questions only.

Mahatmaji and Sir T. B. Sapru wrote separate letters accepting the Premier's offer, Mahatmaji in connection with the latter question only, while Sir Sapru for the former question.

Pandit Malaviya and six other delegates wrote a letter to the Premier in the same strain.

Another letter signed by Mr. Sastri, Sir C. Setalvad, Mr. Joshi, Sir P. Sethna, Mrs. Subbarayan, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar was sent asking Mr. MacDonald to arbitrate on the communal issues.

Efforts were made to obtain the signatures of Muslim delegates but they refused to sign on the ground that all the sections of the British Indian delegation have not signed it.

The Minorities Sub-Committee was then wound up.

CHAPTER XI

THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE COMMITTEE (Contd.)

By the middle of October, it was found that the Federal Structure Committee proceedings had not gone far. The main subjects taken up for discussion were,

the constitution of Federal Legislature, allotment of seats therein, method of election and distribution of Federal finance. The Finance Committee's recommendations had found favour with the majority of delegates and thanks to the expert knowledge and clear elucidation of the subject given by Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyanger, who was the principal speaker in the Sub-Committee as well as in the debate that followed in the Federal Structure Committee, the report was accepted with some modifications. Regarding the other subjects connected with the federation scheme, there was a great diversity of opinion, the Princes themselves not being unanimous, though the delegates representing British India stood very much united. H. H. the Maharaja of Dholpur brought forward a new scheme of federation and H. H. the Maharaja of Indore brought another in a modified form. But these schemes do not appear to have found much favour with the other States delegates nor with the British Indians. Mirza Sir Mahomad Ismail, among the States' delegates, showed the greatest agreement with the British Indian delegates and generally stood by Mahatma Gandhi. The progress of the federal discussions during the middle of October may be easily gathered from a telegram despatched by the States' Peoples' representatives in England to their publicity officer at Ranpur under date October 16 :

"Mahatmaji asked us to show our materials about the internal condition in the leading States. The delegation prepared a "Bikaner Booklet" and presented it to Mahatmaji, who asked us to furnish materials about other States also. We are interviewing prominent American journalists on the 15th and seeing the *Times* representative next.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru asked Sir A. Hydari for an assurance that there was no change in the Princes' attitude. He said that the report of the Federal Finance Sub-Committee itself was so excellent that there must be some explanation for the recent attitude adopted by Sir A. Hydari on behalf of the Princes. Sir A. Hydari, the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Nawab of Bhopal said that they stood unflinchingly by Federation, but must know beforehand what it meant financially. Mahatmaji supported the Princes, but suggested a discussion on broad principles instead of going into the details.

Sir Ismail Mirza asked for the immediate abolition of tributes.

We interviewed Mahatmaji and presented to him a statement on the composition of the Federal Court. He promised to go through it and discuss it with the Princes. The Princes are unwilling to accept Gandhiji's advice.

Mahatmaji, interviewed, told us that if the Princes persist in their present attitude and the committee breaks up British India will demand Swarajya without a Federation."

Regarding the last point Mahatmaji in a special interview to the *Hindu* remarked, that

"Whether the Princes join the federation or not, he was not concerned just as French and Portuguese India are not expected to join the federation. British India is fit for Swaraj. He will press its claims and urge a judicial tribunal if there is no settlement of the communal problem."

False Rumours

Meanwhile, there were rumours and hints to the effect that Government intended to wind up the Round Table Conference with a promise of re-opening discussions in India. This, added to the apparent indifference of the Muslim delegation to the possibility of the breakdown of the Conference and their insistence on

their full demands being conceded before they would agree to any scheme of federation caused much uneasiness in the minds of the other delegates. Though the atmosphere of the Conference was one of utter pessimism and gloom, the results of the general election and the formation of the new Cabinet were awaited to see if any hope could be entertained.

The *Daily Herald's* story giving currency to the above rumour was promptly denied by Sir S. Hoare and the Premier. Sir S. Hoare replying to an observation made by Mahatma Gandhi said,

"On behalf of His Majesty's Government I wish to say that there is no word of truth in that statement and I take the first opportunity of telling my colleagues that nothing is further from Government's mind.

We are perfectly prepared to go on with the work of the Round Table Conference as long as you and we think that useful purpose can be served by our deliberations. We have not the least intention of bringing it to a premature end. Therefore any rumours about a particular date have, as far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, no foundation whatever."

Federal Court

The discussions regarding the formation of a Federal Court was then proceeded with, in which Sir Ismail Mirza took a prominent part. In the course of the discussions Mahatmaji elicited from him an assurance that States subjects were entitled to appeal to the Federal Court against the decisions of their respective judicial authorities.

The Maharaja of Bikaner, who was returning to India under medical advice, expressed agreement with Sir Ismail and said

"It is necessary for me to reiterate my strong faith in the Federation. Even though I will not be here, I hope to do ser-

vice to this Committee and Conference and to the great work before us in India. We should not be disappointed by any measure of disagreement here and there. I do not believe that a settlement of these questions and the drafting of the constitution will be beyond human ingenuity or the statesmanship of His Majesty's Government and British friends".

In the course of the discussion on the subject of a Federal Court, Dr. Ambedkar, speaking for a minority which at present had no rights, thought that it was not impossible that a Provincial Government supported by a communal majority may not be eager to give effect to judgments which were unpalatable.

Mrs. Subbarayan opposed the proposal that the President of the Federal Legislature should be empowered to suspend the discussion of bills relating to fundamental rights pending the opinion of the Federal Court, expressing the opinion that such a course would lead to measures of social reform being blocked.

Gandhiji's Opinion

Mahatmaji regretted that the discussion had hitherto appeared to be based on the distrust of the National (Federal) Government's ability to conduct affairs impartially and also swayed by the communal tangle. Pointing out that the Congress policy was based on trust and confidence, that when India had power, she would show a sense of responsibility and the communal virus would disappear. Mahatmaji appealed for the widest powers for the Supreme Court, which should be the guardian of the rights of all the people in India, whether in the States or elsewhere. He said that the greater the power given to the Federal Court the greater the confidence they would be able to inspire in the world and also in the nation itself.

Mahatmaji did not think that the present constitution should lay down all the details in connection with the Court but should only outline the framework and jurisdiction, points like the number of judges and their salaries being left to the Federal Government to evolve.

It was a fundamental belief of the Congress that India should have its own Privy Council, and if it was to give relief to the poor in matters of the highest importance, should be open to the poorest, which, he thought was impossible for a Privy Council in London. In this matter also Mahatmaji would implicitly trust the judges of India to give wise and unbiassed decisions.

He observed further that the Privy Council in London justly commanded very great regard and respect; but he did not believe that they would be unable to have their own Privy Council, which could command universal esteem. Because England was able to boast of very fine institutions Indians need not be tied down to them. If they had learned anything whatever from England they would learn to erect these institutions. Their beginning might be small, but, if they had strong, true and honest hearts, lack of England's legal traditions would not matter in the slightest.

He therefore, felt that the Federal Court should have the widest possible jurisdiction and should be empowered to try all cases from the four corners of India.

Touching the question of salaries, Mahatmaji expressed the opinion that India would not be able to afford the rates paid in Britain or at present in India but expressed confidence that they would be able to produce sufficient men prepared to live as did the millions of India and still serve the country nobly and well. Legal talent did not have to be bought to remain honest.

He referred in this connection to the examples of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Manmohan Ghosh, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Tyabji and a host of others and said that he could name several lawyers of distinction, who if, they had not taken up the national cause, would be occupying High Court benches.

Having again pleaded for the widest jurisdiction Mahatmaji concluded by confessing that he felt that he was labouring under a handicap, for many distinguished lawyers were arrayed against him and probably also the Princes as far as the salaries and jurisdiction were concerned, but he would be guilty of neglecting his duty if he did not give the views which the Congress and he held so strongly.

Other Speakers

Sir A. Hydari advocated the appointment of judges by the Crown. He said that the Federal Court should have original and exclusive jurisdiction regarding the interpretation of the constitution but not with regard to the treaties with the Crown. There should be an appeal to the Privy Council.

Mr. Gavin Jones on behalf of the Europeans agreed that the Federal Court was necessary but it was essential to retain the right of appeal from the Federal Court to the Privy Council.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, however, opposed the Privy Council appeals expressing the opinion that from the standpoint of both States and British India it was desirable to establish in India itself India's final National Supreme Court.

The jurisdiction of the Federal Court was discussed in some detail by Mr. Jayakar, who suggested means by which the Court could be used to remove apprehensions

of the minorities. Referring to the Privy Council appeals Mr. Jayakar agreed that the ideal should be a completely self-contained judicial system for India but warned that it might be premature to establish an Indian Privy Council at present.

After the close of the discussions, Lord Sankey intimated that he would submit the three reports on the subjects hitherto discussed, namely Legislature, Finance and Federal Court for the consideration of the committee during next week.

Result of General Election

Meanwhile, the results of the general election were known and the overwhelming Tory majority had deepened the depression among Indian nationalist circles. It was feared that the effect on the Conference will be unfavourable with the possible resurrection of the Simon Report and the Government of India dispatch as the basis of a new scheme, failing the acceptability of a Federal constitution. The prospects of satisfying the Congress demand therefore were considered more remote than ever, specially if Sir John Simon joins the Cabinet.

Debate on Draft Reports

On the resumption of the Federal Structure Committee, the three draft reports of Lord Sankey circulated to the delegates beforehand, were discussed and a general agreement of their terms arrived at.

Lord Sankey, submitting the report, explained that, after approval by the Federal Structure Committee, it would be discussed by the full Conference and hoped that it would eventually form the basis of an Act of Parliament. He emphasised in this connection the influence which a large measure of agreement was likely to

have on the smooth and unanimous passage of the Bill, declaring that if the recommendations were made with the almost unanimous approval of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and the Conference they must carry great weight with all political parties in India and England.

Changes in the Report

The main changes in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee's report made during this debate comprised the stipulation that it should be impossible for a member to belong simultaneously to the Federal and Provincial Legislature, an agreement that the distribution of seats among the Provinces to the Upper Chamber required further consideration and an addition to the Committee's observations, regarding not making a recommendation about the representation of the Depressed classes, Indian-Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians, of the words "or to the representation of women". This change was made at the instance of Mrs. Subbarayan, as also the alteration of the section dealing with the nominations in order to make it clear that women should be eligible and definite instruction to the Franchise Committee to secure eligibility of a considerable number of women as candidates for the Upper House.

It was also made clear that the age-limit for the Upper House should be applied to candidates and not to voters.

Pandit Malaviya supported by Sir Sultan Ahmad objected to the disqualification of candidates undergoing detention. It was agreed to add to the report that a section of the Committee was opposed to such disqualification.

Mahatmaji through a note submitted to Lord Sankey as it was his day of silence expressed the opinion that he adhered to one chamber as the best, but subject to certain vital modifications, he was prepared to support Sir Mirza Ismail's proposal for a small Upper Chamber consisting of nominated delegates of the Governments of the Federated units provided this Chamber became an advisory body.

No Special Representation

"The Congress wholly opposes special representation to Landlords, Europeans and Indian commerce and Labour. Representatives of these interests should appeal to the common electorate.

"The Congress similarly opposes nomination but specialists should have facility to address the Chamber as required.

"There is much I would like to say with reference to paragraphs about the States, especially on the matter of representation of the States' subjects, but I reserve my opinion for the time being. I adhere to the proposal I have made for indirect election or rather election through delegates using villages as units the scheme being based on adult suffrage to which the Congress is committed."

It was mentioned that a memorandum by the Maharaja of Dholpur outlining the scheme for a States' Confederation and also a note by Sir Ismail Mirza giving his views on the character and size of the Federal Legislature would be printed with the report.

Eventually the reports were agreed to with some modifications. The Federal Structure Committee was adjourned *sine die*.

Fears of Delegates

This adjournment, while there were other important matters yet to be discussed such as the Army, External Relations, Safeguards, etc., was construed as indicating either the Government's acquiescence in the Muslim attitude of blocking further progress till there was a settlement of the Minorities problem or the Premier's intention of meeting prominent members of the Committee next week for the purpose of formulating Government's future policy and inviting discussions thereon at the Committee's Plenary sittings before winding up the Conference. The latter appeared probable owing to the Premier's conversations with leaders.

Meanwhile anxious discussions were proceeding among Indian leaders regarding the latest development in Provincial Autonomy schemes owing to British statesmen canvassing the chances of acceptance by Indians of immediate Provincial Autonomy with Committees working out the details of the Federation, Central Responsibility and Safeguards coupled with the specific promise of their early introduction. The evident hardening of Ministerial attitude owing to Conservatives' domination deeply perturbed Indian circles and helped to unite them in a firm and determined resistance thereto.

Letter to Premier

To make matters clear, it was decided to address a letter to the Prime Minister on the subject. Accordingly a general letter, signed by 27 British Indian delegates was drawn up and despatched to the Prime Minister. It was as follows:

Dear Prime Minister,—“It is with deep concern that we hear rumours to the effect that provincial autonomy will be introduced as a first step in the political recon-

struction of India, leaving federation and responsibility at the centre to follow later.

We have read a statement to the contrary which appeared in the daily press this morning (namely, November 6). The rumours, however, are so strong and persistent that we must ask for leave to place our views before you beyond the possibility of doubt.

The needs of the present situation can be met only by a complete and comprehensive scheme of which responsibility at the Federal centre must be as integral a part as autonomy of the federating units. To divide the scheme into parts and bring into immediate operation one of the parts and postpone the other is to arouse fears of uncertainty and suspicions of the intentions of the Government.

We realise the importance of the Minorities question of which no satisfactory solution has yet been found but at the same time it must not be allowed to block the way of a full and comprehensive scheme of responsible government which alone can provide an adequate settlement of the pressing problem."

We are,

Dear Prime Minister,

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd.) Gandhi, Malaviya, Sastri, Sapru, Sethna, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Jayakar, Ramachandra Rao, Mrs. Subbarayan, Rangaswami Iyengar, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Birla, Jamal Mahomed, Datta, Ujjal Singh, Moonji, Sarojini Naidu, Tambe, Raja Narendranath, Ramaswami Mudaliar, Jadhav, Sampuran Singh, Barroah, Joshi, Giri, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Shiva Rao.

Gandhiji for Provincial Autonomy ?

There was an impression among the delegates that Gandhiji was in favour of accepting Provincial Autonomy with certain modifications which gave rise to much uneasiness in their minds, especially as the scheme was particularly repugnant to the prominent delegates among them being Sir T. B. Sapro, Mr. Sastri, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Setalvad, Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Sir C. Jehangir, who unanimously affirmed that once a scheme of Provincial Autonomy is accepted, the Federation will absolutely recede into the background and it will take a long time to reopen the question. Moreover, to introduce Provincial Autonomy now and Responsibility at the centre at a later stage will involve the introduction of two bills in Parliament, one perhaps in the summer of 1932 and the other dealing with a Federation later still.

Mr. Sastri expressed the opinion that even if Provincial Autonomy was enacted, wisdom lay in postponing the actual inauguration until reforms in the Centre were simultaneously introduced. He added that his misgivings were two-fold, namely, that the interval between Provincial Autonomy and Central Responsibility would create a suspicion in India and afford an opportunity for obstruction and reaction.

Mahatmaji therefore at a conference of delegates fully explained his conception of Provincial Autonomy which differed entirely from what was outlined in the Simon Report and the Government of India dispatch. His main idea contemplated unfettered popular control of all subjects, governors not possessing any reserve powers, while the provinces should be so completely autonomous that interference from the centre in such

matters as internal disorders will be impossible except at the province's request. Moreover the provinces should be free to refuse contributions to the central government if they so desired.

Sir T. B. Saprú observed,

"I am not a friend of Provincial Autonomy without Central Responsibility. "Indeed, unless Central Responsibility on a Federal basis is established, I see grave dangers on political, constitutional and administrative grounds in the mere establishment of Provincial Autonomy which cannot be complete unless its relations to the Central Government are defined. Political India will never be satisfied with mere Provincial Autonomy. Responsibility in the centre and in the Provinces should be established immediately by an Act of Parliament. I can foresee grave dangers to the Federation or any kind of Central Responsibility arising from the plan which leaves it to Provincial Legislatures to determine the machinery of Central or Federal Legislature".

Mr. Jayakar was equally emphatic that any offer of Provincial Autonomy as a first instalment of constitutional reforms should be avoided at all costs. He said,

"I am convinced that it will delay the Federation, if not defeat it altogether. It will also make communalism more rampant and make the entry of the Princes into the Federation more difficult. I am sure that it will not satisfy the political mind of India which is determined on Central Responsibility."

CHAPTER XII

THE ARMY AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

CONTRARY to the gloomy expectation entertained by the delegates as a result of adjourning the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee *sine die* on the previous occasion, a definite turn for the better was

evidenced by the announcement that the Committee would be allowed to proceed on its discussions on the outstanding questions such as the Army, External Relations, etc., which did not really hinge on the solution of the communal problem. This unexpected announcement induced the Moslems to reconsider their objection to taking part in further discussions which they now consented to do, merely reserving in Mr. Jinnah's words, "as an essential condition that until and unless the Muslim demands on safeguards were incorporated in the constitution, it would not be acceptable to them." The cue was taken by the other Minorities who had shared their opposition to the continuance of the Committee's work, with the result that the discussion of the outstanding items, beginning with the Army, was taken up, by the Committee.

A Turn for the Better

This changed attitude on the part of the Minorities coupled with the Government's assurance to continue the proceedings of the Committee till all outstanding subjects were discussed, infused a new hope into the minds of the delegates who went to work in right earnest. The result was, that these questions were thoroughly discussed, most of the delegates taking part in a frank exchange of opinion. The first subject to be taken up was the Army. The subject of the Army was previously discussed in a Conference of leading delegates at the India Office, convened by Sir S. Hoare and later on during informal conversations conducted between delegates. There was a great measure of general agreement among the delegates on these questions so that, when the question was taken up in

the Federal Structure Committee the debate went on quickly and smoothly.

Lord Sankey asked Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar to start the discussion on the Army question. Mr. Aiyengar replied that Sir T. B. Saprú will start. Lord Sankey said "I never know whether Sir T. B. Saprú is what we call the centre forward or full-back. He generally plays full-back".

Lord Sankey, however, in his opening remarks, reminded the Committee that Army, External Affairs, Finance and Commercial Discrimination remained to be discussed and suggested that the first three should be taken up in the next few days.

Lord Sankey, at the outset, emphasized the importance of ascertaining the delegates' views on the four subjects mentioned and reminded the Committee that every word of the Premier's declaration of last January stood even then. He said that unless the delegates' views were known, it would be quite impossible to put these matters into shape for submission to Parliament, though on the subject of finance, he realised that in the present world situation, it might be wise to express opinions in a most general way.

Lord Sankey thought that the discussions need not take very long and thereafter the Premier would be able to make a declaration and wind up the Plenary session.

A debate ensued as to whether the four subjects already enumerated should be taken up for discussion in which Lord Reading, Mr. Wedgewood Benn and Mr. Lees Smith took part and all of them supported.

The Premier, affirming the Government's desire to hear the delegates' opinions, urged the members not to

allow the fact that the communal question was undecided to prevent them from giving expression to them.

"They can make their position clear that all they do now is with the reserve that, until the other matter is settled, they must participate in the discussions with that reserve. I think that will safeguard them sufficiently and enable the Conference to do its work before it goes. I see no difficulty if we sit from day to day, first as the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and then the Plenary Conference, allowing those who have taken places for next week's sailing to get away."

Who is more Pro-Indian?

An interesting tussle then ensued between Lord Sankey and Mr. Jinnah as to who was more pro-Indian.

Lord Sankey, while appreciating the Moslem attitude, added his voice to those urging the desirability of proceeding with the work and said "Believe me, I am neither pro-Hindu, pro-Moslem nor pro-anything else. I am pro-India."

Mr. Jinnah remarked, "Believe me, I am more pro-Indian than you."

Chairman: "I do not admit that."

Mr. Jinnah remarked, "Believe me, no Mussalman at this table wishes to create unnecessary difficulty".

The Debate

The debate on Army and External Relations was then initiated by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Outlining his views on the Army question, Sir T. B. Sapru advocated the appointment of an Indian Army Member responsible to the Governor-General during the transition period. Questions like discipline and mobilisation should, however, be the jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief appointed by the Crown, who was bound to be for many years a British officer.

Sir T. B. Saprú expressed the opinion that there was considerable room for the reduction of the Army expenditure, but he was content to leave the matter until it was raised by the Indian Army Member, whose advice it would be impossible to ignore.

Sir T. B. Saprú stressed the need for opening the Army to all Indians and declared that the Indian Army should not be sent out of India without the consent of the Government or the Legislature and dwelt on the need of speeding up Indianisation expressing the opinion that the Chetwode Report in this connection did not meet the requirements.

Pandit Malaviya

Pandit Malaviya declared that Indians must have full control over the Army in order to enable them to discharge their responsibility for the defence of the country. He said that he disagreed with Sir T. B. Saprú that the Army Member should be responsible to the Governor-General, expressing the opinion that he should be responsible to the Legislature.

Pandit Malaviya agreed that the Member should not interfere in the technical side which would be the domain of the Commander-in-Chief and expressed the opinion that, in case of emergency, the Governor-General might suspend the constitution and himself take charge of the Army. Advocating a reduction of the present military strength, Pandit Malaviya suggested that an inquiry to determine the size of the Standing Army was required and urged that expenditure could be reduced by the reduction of British troops.

Instancing the capacity of Indians to defend themselves, Pandit Malaviya referred to the exploits of In-

dian troops in the Great War, which he feared, had been forgotten.

Lord Sankey interjected: "We have not forgotten the valour of the Indian troops."

Pandit Malaviya, concluding his speech on the Defence question, emphasised that the strength of public opinion in India was in favour of transferring control over the Army to the new legislature. He submitted that the power to be given to the Governor-General to take charge of the Army temporarily gave all the assurances required for emergencies.

Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar

Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, supporting Sir T. B. Saprū's scheme of administering the Army as a reserved Crown subject by the Indian Member, expressed the opinion that it was preferable, during the initial stage of Pandit Malaviya's proposal, to give the Governor-General power to suspend the constitution.

Mr. Mudaliar declared that he was at present unwilling to consider the question of the strength of the Army, pointing out, with reference to the expenditure, that a large amount was devoted to auxiliary and ancillary services and reminding them that the Army Retrenchment Committee had ascertained that a considerable reduction of the expenditure was possible without reducing a single soldier.

Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar thought that the reforms regarding the expenditure and strength of the Army could be worked out with an Indian member in charge. Any way the legislature would be confident that the right examination of these questions was occurring.

Mr. Mudaliar laid stress on the desirability of opening the Army to all classes and suggested the establish-

ment of a Committee of Indian Defence similar to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Lord Reading

Lord Reading, who made it clear that he was speaking for himself and not associating with his observations other Liberal delegates who were members of the Government, said that he confined himself to the Army and National Defence, but, in much of what he said, he would be covering generally Finance, External Relations and Commercial Discrimination.

He said,

"With regard to Pandit Malaviya's proposals, I could not accept them. I do not understand how it is possible, in view of what we have put forward, that Pandit Malaviya's proposal for an Indian Minister responsible to the legislature throughout could be acceptable. It is the very negation of everything we have indicated from the start."

Lord Reading continued,

"To my mind it is of the essence that if Responsibility at the Centre is to be conferred on the Indian Legislature, which I desire and advocate, there must be a reservation in regard to the Army that it shall remain with the Governor-General, who shall have power to appoint the Minister and have the benefit of that Minister's advice. I never suggested that he must necessarily be an Englishman or Indian. I leave it open to the Governor-General."

"I wish to state very plainly that any proposal for Responsible Government would be unacceptable to me if it did not make the exception that the Army must be in the hands of the Governor-General and that any Minister must be responsible to him.

Lord Reading said that he quite understood that, in regard to some questions concerning Defence, the Le-

gislature and Ministers might desire to make representations to the Governor-General and suggested that this might be arranged by a Standing Committee or Advisory Committee of the Legislature.

Mahatma Gandhi

The Congress view was put by Mahatma Gandhi, who said that he realised that he was undertaking a tremendous responsibility.

"I intervene at this stage, because I am one of those November fogs. I do not know whether there will be a report upon this discussion or not. I do not know whether we are going summarily to close these declarations or extend them.

"The Congress case is that complete responsibility should be transferred to India. That means that there should be complete control of Defence and External Affairs, but it also contemplates adjustments.

"We ought not to deceive ourselves, or the world, into thinking that we would be getting Responsible Government although we may not ask for responsibility in this vital matter. The nation that does not control its Defence Forces and External Policy is hardly a responsible nation. Defence and its Army is to a nation the very essence of existence and if the nation's defence is controlled by an outside agency (no matter how friendly it is) that nation certainly is not responsibly governed.

"Hence, I have very respectfully to claim on behalf of the Congress complete control over the Army, Defence Forces and External Affairs. I put in this also so as to avoid having to speak on it when that subject comes up. To this conclusion we come with the greatest deliberation, that, if we do not get this control at the time of embarking on responsibility, I cannot conceive the time when, because we are enjoying responsibility on other matters, we would be suddenly found fit to control our own defence forces.

“My Dream”

“It should be the proud privilege, the proud duty, of Britain now to initiate us in the mysteries of conducting our own defence. Having clipped our wings it is their duty to give us wings whereby we can fly as they fly. That is really my ambition and, therefore, I say I would wait till eternity if I cannot get control of the defence. I refuse to deceive myself that I am going to embark on responsible Government although I cannot control Defence.

“After all, India is not a nation which has never known how to defend herself. All material is there. There are Mussalmans standing in no dread of foreign invasion. Sikhs will refuse to think that they can be conquered by anybody. The Gurkha, immediately he develops a national mind, will say, ‘I alone can defend India.’

“Then there are the Rajputs who are supposed to be responsible for a thousand Thermopylaes and not one little Thermopylae in Greece. Are you going to teach things to the people of India, who have never known how to wield arms? It follows that, if I shoulder the burden of responsibility, I mean that all these people are going to join hands.

“I endorse that I do not conceive of a single safeguard that will be only in the interests of India, not a single safeguard that will not be also in the interests of Britain, providing that we contemplate a partnership at will but a partnership on absolutely equal terms.

“The very reasons I have given you to-day for demanding that complete control of the army are also the reasons for pleading and for demanding the control of external affairs.

External Affairs

“Not being well-versed in what is really meant by the external affairs and having to plead my ignorance of what is stated in these reports of the Round Table Conference on the subject

I asked my friends, Mr. Iyengar and Sir T. B. Sapru, what was meant by External Affairs and Foreign Relations. I have got their reply before me. They state that the words mean relations with neighbouring powers, with the Indian States, with other powers in international affairs and with Dominions.

"If these are external affairs I think we are quite capable of shouldering the burden and discharging our obligations. We can undoubtedly negotiate terms of peace with our own kith and kin, our own neighbours, our own country, with the Indian Princes. We can cultivate very friendly relations with our neighbours the Afghans and across the seas with the Japanese and, certainly, we can negotiate with the Dominions also. If the Dominions will not have our countrymen live there in perfect self-respect, we can negotiate with the Dominions.

"Lord Chancellor, I cannot go further. I tender a thousand apologies for taking up the time of this meeting but you will understand the feeling swelling up in me, sitting here day after day, thinking day and night how these deliberations can come to a successful issue.

"You will understand the feeling actuating me, a feeling of absolute goodwill towards Englishmen and a feeling of absolute service to my countrymen."

Sankey's Stirring Reply

The Chairman said:

"Gandhiji, I have listened with the greatest interest to your appeal. I want you to be good enough to help me personally. I am very much impressed, firstly by what you call your dream—I cannot, of course, share it—and then I am very much impressed by your ideals. Those I—perhaps not to the height that you entertain them—share to a very great extent. I am just as anxious to secure the peace and happiness of India as you. I am just as anxious as you and Lord Irwin to carry out those conditions which he and you arrived at at the beginning of

the year and which in paragraph II read as follows: "Of the scheme there outlined Federation is an essential part, so also are Indian Responsibility and Reservations of Safeguards in the interests of India for such matters as, for instance, Defence, External Affairs, the position of Minorities, the financial credit of India and the discharge of obligations."

"I will ask you to assume that I am just as anxious as you to carry out that programme. I do not doubt your good faith. I ask you not to doubt mine. You said you hoped we should be able to teach you a lesson in self-defence. Nobody doubts the bravery of your fellow countrymen. It has been manifested through centuries, on many a stricken field. But, supposing, it is right, as I think it is, that what you say is correct, namely, that at the present moment Indians have to learn this lesson of self-defence. I agree with you.

"With much of what you say, I have the greatest sympathy, but, if you will forgive me saying so, Gandhiji, the difficulty I feel is the responsibility I should incur if I were a dictator and said 'To-morrow I will withdraw every British soldier'. It would be a terrible risk and, if anything happened to the peace and prosperity of India, I, for one, could never forgive myself for taking the decision to do that, when upon admission, the lesson has to be learned how Indians can conduct their own defence. It is because I feel that responsibility that, although I share your ideals, I feel it is asking me, at any rate, to go beyond what I really ought to agree to. I agree with you, Mr. Gandhi, that what we have to consider here are the interests of India, but give me, any way, the same credit that I give you, when I tell you that, honestly, I do not think it would be in the interests of India to comply with the immediate request to withdraw the Army. It is a responsibility that I think no statesman who has real regard for the interests of India—for-

give me putting it that way—could justify himself in assuming. A time may come, I hope it will—”

Mahatmaji interrupting, said :

“May I just correct you? I have not asked for the withdrawal of the British troops. I do not think there is a sentence in my remarks to that effect and if I did utter a sentence of that character I should like to withdraw it.”

The Chairman asked : “Will Pandit Malaviya withdraw it also?”

Pandit Malaviya replied :

that the removal of the internal security British troops should be considered and that the removal of the rest of the troops should be carried out progressively over a series of years.”

The Chairman asked:

“Do I understand you to say that it is impossible at present to have the complete withdrawal of the British Army?”

Pandit Malaviya replied :

“I do not say it is impossible. I think it is perfectly possible but we have not asked for it. If I could persuade my English friends that the whole of the British troops should be withdrawn to-day I would do so, but I have not asked for it because I want to carry my English friends with us as far as we can.”

“Well, my final reply to you is that that if you would take that responsibility you are a braver man than I—and forgive me for saying so,—you are not such a cautious man as I.”

Mr. Sastri

The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, who spoke next, said he wished with great deference to Mr. Gandhi to dissociate himself and some others from the opinions Mr. Gandhi had expressed. It required some hardihood to differ from him on so vital a point, but, in justice to themselves, they thought it necessary to reaffirm

the position which early this year they took on the matter.

“I continue to be of opinion that the Army and External Affairs had best remain Crown subjects during the period of transition. It was with great gratification that I listened to the speech of Lord Reading, in which among other things he re-affirmed the approval of Responsibility at the centre. It appears to me that the amount of responsibility for which we ask, even supposing these two great subjects of Army and External Affairs are excluded, is sufficient to constitute a great improvement in the present situation and I believe that it is an honourable and satisfactory basis for settlement.

“The essential fact, with regard to the Army, which Lord Reading has emphasised is that eventual responsibility should remain with the Viceroy. We agree that is an essential feature, but another essential feature that we have to remember is that, in as brief a period as is compatible with the efficiency of the Army, the transfer should take place from the Governor-General to the Legislature and it was in order to remember during the period of transition that the transfer was to take place that I think that Sir T. B. Sapru insisted on the condition that the Army member should be Indian. I support that recommendation and recommended it to both this committee and the Government. We are anxious that while responsibility should rest in the hands of the Viceroy arrangements should be set afoot and be continually kept in mind which will at the end of that period secure the transfer of the Army into capable and trustworthy Indian hands and I believe that the necessity will be best satisfied under the suggestion put forward by Sir T. B. Sapru.”

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed said that the Muslim delegation reserved their opinions pending a settlement of the com-

munal question, as until then, the discussion lacked reality.

Sardar Ujjal Singh associated himself with Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Sastri. While agreeing with the principle of opening the Army to all Indians he hoped that no attempt would be made to secure representation of all provinces, expressing the opinion that recruitment should be based solely on the quality of the material. He also urged the acceleration of the pace of Indianisation.

Nawab of Bhopal

The Nawab of Bhopal reminded the Committee that the Princes last year accepted the Defence Sub-Committee's Report. He said that they adhered to both the principle and spirit of Clause IV dealing with increasing the share of Indian people in the defence of India. He also drew attention to the undertaking given to the States in Clause V. Bhopal thought there was common agreement last year that Defence should be a reserved subject and said that so long as the Crown was responsible, it must determine how the responsibility was to be discharged. Bhopal added that the Princes were ready to stay in England if necessary and continue the same spirit of co-operation and enthusiasm till their work was finished.

The debate on the Army was concluded.

Debate on the External Relations

The discussion on External Relations was opened by Sir T. B. Sapru, who said that he adhered to the position he took up last year.

Sir T. B. Sapru strongly supported the reference in the Government of India's dispatch to "increasing the recognition of the individuality of India in a large

range of external relations", suggesting that a good deal of work of the Foreign Department such as, commercial treaties, could be transferred to popular control. He insisted that the protection of Indians overseas should be the responsibility of the Government of India. He, therefore, suggested that, as far as the Foreign Department of the Government of India was concerned, matters within its charge should be carefully examined and classified and while matters relating to peace, war and treaties of a political character should appertain exclusively to the Governor-General during transition, other matters, which really affected national and commercial life, should be within the scope of the legislature.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, explaining the Congress position, declared that they envisaged India having the same powers and status and the same responsibilities in respect of external affairs, as the Dominions. He said whatever difficulty there might be with regard to the control of the Army, the question of external affairs was much simpler, contending that no limitations should be introduced in the constitution.

Mr. Iyengar said that India, like the Dominions, would be obliged to consider the interests of the Empire as a whole and of other Dominions.

He added,

"There are, of course, many questions of diplomatic foreign relations connected with, what I may call, High Imperial policy or the larger foreign policy of the Empire in which India, I am sure, will follow the line of Britain in most matters."

With regard to the relations with the Princes, Mr. Iyengar expressed the opinion that the best method of

dealing with them was for the Princes unreservedly to enter the Federation.

Mr. Iyengar argued that the control of His Majesty's Government over India in foreign affairs should not be greater than that exercised over the Dominions.

Sir S. Hoare, intervening, said that a practical difficulty was that the question of defence was bound to react in the transitional period with the control of foreign affairs.

It seemed to him very difficult to have Foreign Affairs as a Responsible Portfolio with Defence still a Reserved subject. He suggested that the powers reserved to Whitehall would gradually fall into desuetude.

Mr. Iyengar agreed that Defence and Foreign Policy went together, but argued that since Defence would be under the control of the Legislature, Foreign Affairs should also be under the control of the Legislature.

Other Speakers

Mr. Wedgewood Benn said that, in view of the change of fiscal policy in this country, it was desirable that the Commercial Agreements of India should be made with the Indian Government. Otherwise, such commercial agreements would come under suspicion.

Sir S. Hoare dissented from Mr. Benn's contention and said that England had shown her bona fides in the past by the way she had carried out her fiscal Autonomy Convention and equally she would show her bona fides towards India, whatever might be her fiscal policy here.

Another subject was raised by Mr. Joshi, who urged that the Federal Legislature should be empowered

to deal with Labour questions and also questions arising from the ratifications of International Labour Conventions.

Lord Sankey pointed out that the Federation depended upon consent and the Federal Government and Legislature could have only such powers as the federating units conceded. He suggested that Mr. Joshi should discuss the matter with the States representatives.

Sir A. Hydari, in a contribution which really wound up the debate on External Relations, pointed out that the States stood by the sentence in the Premier's declaration that, with regard to all matters not ceded by the States to the Federation, their relations would be with the Crown acting through the Viceroy and as regards Defence, he said, the Nawab of Bhopal's statement represented the unanimous opinion of the States. They desired to leave all questions such as whether there should be a Minister of Defence and whether he should be an Indian or an European for decision by the Crown.

Sir A. Hydari invited particular attention to the paragraph in the Defence Committee's report in which an undertaking was mentioned that no committee should in any way abrogate treaty obligations with the States. He added that, as far as the Defence Minister being a member of the Cabinet was concerned, he personally did not desire to introduce an extraneous element and thereby destroy the unity of the Cabinet by making him a member. An educative liaison of functions could be performed better by an Advisory Council representing the various interests.

CHAPTER XIII

COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION

THE subject of Commercial Discrimination and safeguards may be said to be the most hotly debated in the Federal Structure Committee. Unlike that of the Army which though occupying a good deal of the committee's time, was purely political in nature, the subject of commerce gave occasion for the European delegates from India and the British delegation minus Labour to take an extremely active part in the debate as it particularly concerned the Europeans as a class in India.

Opening the debate on the Commercial Discrimination, Mr. Benthall said that the leaders of British commercial opinion had no desire whatever to stand in the way of India's constitutional advance on sound lines, but, unless the rights of the British commercial community were constitutionally protected, most clearly and unequivocally, they must reserve their consent to the transfer of political power.

What they claimed was what was laid down in the Government of India's Dispatch last year, namely, that subject to India's right to receive reciprocal treatment, citizens of any part of the Empire should be allowed to enter India freely and engage in any trade and should receive just treatment. What they claimed for the British community in India was exactly what was enjoyed by Indians in Great Britain. As British subjects they were entitled to any act which allowed State aid to the industry.

External Capital's Claims

India had reached the present stage largely owing to the British capital. Their first claim was for recog-

dition of their established rights which was part of the national economy. It was not only a question of justice but also of expediency, because external capital would not be attracted to India unless there was confidence of its security.

The objection that external capital was opposed to political progress no longer applied. Regarding the criticism that the European capitalists did not train Indians, he referred to the steps which were already being taken and held that it would be a blunder to force the pace.

The co-operation of Indians and Europeans was in the best interests of both and the British community was willing to accept the majority report of the External Capital Committee but they would not agree to Government having power to prescribe that some proportion of the directors should be Indians but they agreed that Government should approve of the composition of the Board.

Mr. Benthall asked for a recognition of the fact that the contemplated constitution would give India vast control. He said the Government should be master in its own house and what Europeans were asking for would not prevent its subsidising and nationalising the key industries. If the acquisition of the rights of existing companies was necessary, compensation should be paid.

Subsidies should not be racially discriminatory. For example if both Indian and English firms produced a particular kind of steel, subsidy should be given to both.

Mr. Jayakar

Mr. Jayakar, who said that there was much in Mr. Benthall's speech with which he agreed, suggested that Mr. Benthall should consider whether the formula on Commercial Discrimination reached at the last session should not be adopted for the present and wait until India was free for a proper Convention to be concluded. Mr. Jayakar was of opinion that the formula constituted a very wise compromise, which had the approval last year of almost everybody. He assured Mr. Benthall that India did not desire, generally speaking, to make racial discrimination. She had suffered from it in the past, and, when she was free, she would be careful to avoid it.

Mr. Jayakar referred, in this connection, to the recommendations of the Nehru Report, (quoted below) which represented the bulk of educated opinion in India. He was of opinion that the clause dealing with the Fundamental Rights, combined with the report's definition of a citizen, in which he was prepared to include companies and corporations, indicated the lines on which the solution was to be found.

Emphasising the need for possessing the power to regulate competition, Mr. Jayakar declared that it was not a question of Europeans and Indians but of protecting infant industries, which were endangered by the superior competition of other countries.

Dealing with the right of the future Government to lay down conditions as regards companies, capital, composition of directorates and admission of Indians for training, Mr. Jayakar declared that if the companies

wanted subsidy, the future Government must have the power to regulate these matters and on a question raised by Mr. Joshi, regarding limiting the proportion of foreigners employed, Mr. Jayakar said that the point came under the doctrine of reciprocity, which he advocated. He was prepared to give foreign nationals the same rights as their companies gave to Indians. He thought last year's formula ought to cover all these cases.

Sir P. Thakurdass

Sir P. Thakurdas in the course of the debate said, that what Mr. Benthall had said indicated, "You shall not touch anything in which any Britisher is interested and we want a provision for it from now." That was a tall and unjustifiable order. He did not underestimate the just apprehensions of the Britishers. but asked Mr. Benthall whether the restrictions indicated did not amount practically to shackles on the development of India, commercially and industrially, that had no parallel in any other British Dominion? If Mr. Benthall would only consider the position from that viewpoint Sir P. Thakurdas and his colleagues would enter into the spirit of the Britisher who sought protection from any aggression in future. British capital invested in India had brought handicaps. Indian railways were managed from London and instead of the industries for their maintenance being developed in India, materials were sent out from Britain. India wanted capital without political shackles, not capital which called for the safeguards they were discussing. Although Indians might have been taught racial discrimination by the Government of India the delegates were unanimous that they did not want to discriminate racially.

Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi said it was impossible to commit the Congress, much less the future Government of India, to a sweeping resolution of the character of the formula adopted in last session, providing for no discrimination between rights of the British mercantile community and Indian-born subjects. He expected that the future Government would be constantly obliged to discriminate in favour of famishing Indians against those who blended riches with other privileges, but, having said that, he associated himself completely with British merchants and European houses in their legitimate demands that there should be no racial discrimination.

He proposed the formula for which he had fought in South Africa.

“No disqualification not suffered by the Indian-born citizen of the State should be imposed on any persons lawfully residing or entering India merely on the ground of race, colour or religion.”

Gandhiji also proposed a further formula that

“No existing interest legitimately acquired and not conflicting with the best interests of the nation in general shall be interfered with except in accordance with the law applicable to such interests.”

Lord Reading

Lord Reading commented on the great measure of agreement which the discussion had revealed.

He thought that there was no difference of opinion on principle and said everybody, in principle recognised that, in trade, commerce and industry no distinction should be made. The question was how British rights were to be secured.

Lord Reading would prefer a convention by agreement, but said he would strongly object to a convention which had to be passed by the new legislature. It was essential that the convention should form part of the constitution.

Lord Reading pointed out that the Nehru Report regarded discriminatory legislation as inconceivable. Taking that as the starting point Lord Reading referred to the definition of "Citizen" and the declaration of "Fundamental Rights" and took exception to the definition as involving not only citizenship but something more, namely, that, in order to become a citizen of India, a person must cease to be a citizen of this country. This was fatal from the British viewpoint. They could not ask an Englishman to give up citizenship in his own country in order to get rights to carry on business in India and to get the same rights as Indian-born subjects.

Lord Reading made it clear that he would oppose root and branch any idea of discriminatory administration or legislation penalising by some means a powerful British concern in order to enable an Indian concern to flourish. If unfair competition had to be provided against, the general law of the land must apply. If the competition was unfair it was unfair not only in one particular trade but in every other trade and if they wanted to legislate against it they must legislate against it for all trades. If it happened in one particular trade only, they were obviously entitled to legislate against it, but if it was merely unfair because a concern happened to have achieved great and powerful influence by its capital, reputation or by the associations it had made they could not and ought not to attempt to

legislate against it. However difficult it might be for an Indian nascent company to progress where there was a powerful company in the same line next door they could not legislate or take administrative acts against the latter. Competition must determine the matter.

Sir T. B. Saprú

Sir T. B. Saprú dealt with the points raised by Lord Reading, particularly with reference to the part of the Nehru Report dealing with discrimination.

Paying a tribute to Pandit Motilal Nehru on his work in connection with the report Sir T. B. Saprú said that, if there was one man of his generation who was a full-blooded Nationalist, it was Mr. Motilal with whom Nationalism was a burning passion. Continuing, Sir T. B. Saprú said that it was in pursuance of a desire expressed by European trade and commerce that the definition of a "citizen" referred to by Lord Reading was incorporated in the resolution passed at the All-Parties Conference held in Lucknow in December, 1928. Sir T. B. Saprú said that, as far as the clause relating to citizenship was concerned, there was still room for improvement to cover all ideas exchanged at the Round Table Conference and it seemed to him that there was no room for apprehension. It was never intended by the authors of the Nehru Report that Englishmen should lose their original citizenship in India. All rights belonging to them as citizens of England would continue.

Concluding, Sir T. B. Saprú appealed to the Conference to settle as many points of difference as possible and said that the time had really come for a settlement with **Europeans**.

Sir P. Sethna

Sir Phiroze Sethna endorsed Mr. Benthall's statement that great advantages had been conferred on India by the investment of British capital, but simultaneously England and Englishmen had derived untold good from it. The advantages, therefore, had been mutual. The fears entertained by the British were unjustified.

Mr. Benthall and Lord Reading had referred to reciprocity between India and the British, but it was only theoretical. Sir P. Sethna subscribed to the recommendations of the External Capital Committee, but the proposal of Indian friends for a fixed percentage of Indian capital was impossible and unworkable, but he would certainly recommend that the rupee companies should offer at least 50 per cent of the capital to Indians in the first instance.

Gandhiji's Views

Mahatma Gandhiji congratulated Mr. Benthall on his admirable and temperate statement, but regretted that he had introduced a claim that Britishers had conferred certain benefits on India and also a condition that European support of the National Demand depended on Indians accepting the European demands.

Dealing briefly with its implications Gandhiji regretted that they were different from the deduction which Lord Reading sought to draw from the last session's formula. There would be no discrimination against a single European, for he proposed no distinction between Britishers and other Europeans, Americans or Japanese. He did not intend to copy the British colonies and Dominions which disfigured their statute books with legislation based on distinctions of

colour and race. He did not wish India to live in complete isolation and allow nobody to enter or trade within her borders but there were many things he must do in order to equalise the conditions.

If any of those enjoying privileges, whether Europeans or Indians, found that they were being discriminated against, he would sympathise but be unable to help for he would need their assistance to raise people from the mire. Gandhiji referred to the condition of "Untouchables" who were at present living at the mercy of the so-called higher classes and the state and said that in order to equalise conditions, the first act of the Legislature should be to give these people grants of land freely the cost of which should come from the monied classes, including Europeans. It would be a battle between the haves and the have-nots and he was afraid that the National Government would not come into existence if the haves maintained that the dumb millions should not have their own Government unless their possessions and rights were guaranteed. The Congress would not admit discrimination against non-nationals, as such. Any discrimination would be also ground for discrimination against Indian-born citizens.

Gandhiji proposed, in this connection, his second formula and explaining it, said that he bore in mind the Congress resolution in connection with taking over the present Government's obligations. There was no question of repudiation but of merely taking over under examination.

Sapru and Gandhiji

At the close of Mahatmaji's speech, Sir T. B. Sapru evidently objecting to his queer method of defining property, had a go at him when he asked whether Gandhiji

proposed that the future Government should investigate everyone's title to property and if so, whether any definite period would be specified.

Gandhiji, replied that everything would be above board. It would be done by legal machinery. "I think there will be no limitation running against a wrong."

Sir T. B. Saprú asked "Under your National Government, therefore, no title in India will be safe?"

Gandhiji replied, "Under our National Government, the Congress will decide these things and if there is any undue fear, I think it would be possible to satisfy every legitimate doubt. I am not going to say that I shall examine no right and no titles."

Though Gandhiji's discrimination formula was open to discussion, Indian leaders were disquieted owing to the likely effect of his speech defining the Congress position in intensifying the Conservatives' pressure on the Premier against immediate Central Responsibility. Conservatives' designs in this behalf were understood to be strongly entrenched by departmental experts pointing out the impossibility of bringing the Federation into operation under three years and producing a time-table.

Lord Sankey referred to two official committees sitting and drafting reports, one dealing with Provincial Autonomy and the other with Federation. It was reported the former was ready for presentation to Parliament based on communal *status quo*. The latter owing to many "loose ends" was unready and could not be presented to Parliament till the Princes decide to join the Federation and a communal settlement was arrived at.

Fears Re-Provincial Autonomy

This announcement confirmed the rumours current since some time and the fears entertained by the delegates as to the object of the Government, which, whatever might have been at the opening of the Conference was now clearly thought to be to deliberately push forward the Provincial Autonomy scheme and shelve the main question of federation and central responsibility into the back ground on the excuse afforded by the deadlock prevailing in the settlement of the communal issue and also the states' unreadiness to join the federation forthwith. There was considerable consternation among the delegates on this new move of the Government and it was frankly believed that the change of Government and the overwhelming Tory pressure on the Premier was the cause of this sudden change of policy. This was evident even at the beginning of the debate on Commercial safeguards when Sir S. Hoare wanted to wind up the proceedings as soon as the speeches were over, without allowing time as was done with regard to the other debates to discuss the draft reports on these subjects in the Committee before they were presented at the Plenary Session and in Parliament. The reason assigned by Sir S. Hoare for his haste was, that they had had enough of Conference and that it was high time that the proceedings were wound up to enable delegates to return in time after attending the Plenary Session. But it was freely believed that the motive behind this move was that the Conservative Secretary of State for India, the European group and the British delegation felt rather keenly on the subject of safeguards and did not want that the almost unanimous decision arrived at on the subject by the

leading Indian delegates should be brought for final discussion in the Committee and to avoid the practical steps which Government may be compelled to take in the matter. But, owing to the spirited protests raised by Mr. Benn and Mr. Lees Smith and the firm determination of the leading delegates to carry on the Conference inspite of the Government's move and the ominous silence exhibited by the Moslem delegation, coupled with the personal influence of Lord Sankey made the Government alter their decision and allow the Committee to proceed in the usual course. But still it was clearly evident that the subject of federation and central responsibility will be shelved on the basis of the innumerable technical difficulties in its way raised by experts and the absence of a communal solution. The delegates however determined to push on inspite of all these discouragements. The subject of Provincial Autonomy however retained the prominence with which it was invested by the Government.

Debate Continued

The debate on Commercial discrimination and safeguards was carried on, Mr. A. R. Aiyengar continuing the thread of debate observed that he was unable to agree that there should be no distinction between a mere sojourner and citizens Indian-born or domiciled after a definite period of residence or that absentee firms should have, besides the full rights of the British citizenship the additional rights of Indian citizenship.

Mr. Iyengar claimed that the future Government should be placed on exactly the same footing as other Dominions. He, therefore, urged that the future Indian Legislature and Government should be trusted and an

effort should be made to reach an honourable understanding on the immediate difficulties, the future being based on the goodwill thus created.

Right to Retaliate

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, referred to the claim that India should have the right to resort to retaliatory measures against injustice and inequity in immigration restrictions on British Indians within the Empire and said that he wanted that principle to extend equally to commercial and industrial matters. The safeguards proposed for British interests constituted 'a restriction of the sovereignty that no self-governing legislature could accept and which the British Government always discouraged Colonial Governors from enforcing through the reserve powers.

Mr. Sastri

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri recalling that when the matter was discussed at the last session it was recognised that India should have the same freedom in this matter as the British Parliament and that, by a convention based on reciprocity India should be asked to exercise the same forbearance towards the people of Britain and Ireland as they exercised towards the people of India, deprecated taking the matter further, as Europeans now seemed to be doing. He urged that India should be given legal power to impose discriminations and then, by a reciprocity convention, she should agree to forbear as the British had honourably forborne. "You will find that she will respond handsomely".

The nature of the British Empire was such that freedom was given to a Dominion to discriminate against its own nationals. Mr. Sastri pointed out that the

descendants of Indians settled in South Africa were subjected to the most humiliating discrimination. He said this happened in every Dominion. Indians gratefully recognised that Britain did not discriminate against Indians. Parliament, however, had power but the British people practised forbearance.

Lord Sankey, interrupting, said he hoped they had good sense as well as good-will.

Hurting National Self-Respect

Having urged the British to rely on Indian good-will, Mr. Sastri argued that, to impose a disability upon the projected Indian Dominion was to hurt unnecessarily the self-respect and national dignity of the Indian people, and serve no useful purpose.

Pandit Malaviya

Pandit Malaviya urged that foreigners and British subjects trading in India were entitled to ask for protection of the commercial right. They were not entitled to ask the same measure of protection and assistance to which Indian indigenous industries were entitled and he was of opinion that the last session's formula went far beyond the region of protection of commercial interests.

Supporting Mr. Gandhi's formula in which connection he declared that there was no justification for the suggestion that, if it was adopted, the title to every property would be unsafe, Pandit Malaviya suggested, in order to make it more definite, the adoption of a formula to the effect that no discriminative legislation should be passed or administrative action taken against any one lawfully residing or entering India merely on the ground of race, colour or religion.

Debate on Finance

Before the commencement of the debate on Finance Lord Sankey again reminded the Committee of the present difficulties in the financial world and opined that the present was not the time to relax safeguards or caution in dealing with them either in India or in England.

Lord Sankey begged the committee to remember that the Reservations and Safeguards must be in the interests of India and said a careless word or hastily expressed opinion might have repercussions outside the Conference and cause great damage not only in India but in England and elsewhere. Although he did not desire to curtail discussion Lord Sankey urged them, in the interests of India, to speak with the greatest caution.

Sir P. Thakurdas

Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas recognised that there was no necessity to deal with any special grievance of Exchange or Currency but India exercised very little influence as far as the international world was concerned. They were there to influence the Chairman and the British delegates and to submit to them the minimum aspirations of India and explain what form of Government and what particular safeguards in the interest of India would be acceptable. If anything more was imposed they would not recognise it as an advance.

The Government of India had argued that a sudden change alone was to be avoided. He asked where the suddenness was considering that they had been asking for the control of finance for at least ten years.

The manner in which the Government of India had managed the Currency and Exchange matters had tried

the patience of Indians. The future political reforms would be useless unless Finance was completely transferred.

No Minister responsible to the legislature would have permitted the scandalous military expenditure.

India's total indebtedness was half in England and half in India. Would India, therefore, be so rash as to ask for any system of reform which would endanger the safety of those in India who held Government paper? The interests of the British investor were tied up, with the interests of the Indian investor.

Sir P. Thakurdas pointed out that India's debt was comparatively small and mostly productive. There was, therefore, no reason for special caution regarding India's solvency. It was generally agreed that political influence should be eliminated from matters of Exchange and Currency.

Sir T. B. Sapru

Sir T. B. Sapru devoted his speech to the constitutional and legal position and said that Section 20 of the Government of India Act gave ample safeguards against the suggestion that a new and inexperienced legislature might play with public money and use it to other than legitimate purposes. Unless Gandhiji's suggestions were accepted that debts should be investigated and certain debts wiped out, the present statute provided the amplest safeguards for certain kind of securities including the debts of East India Company and the debts and liabilities lawfully contracted on behalf of the Government. Under the existing Act Parliament's control was complete and absolute and when they were told that Finance might, for a certain period, be under the control of the Secretary of State the implication was

that the ultimate control should vest in Parliament and, so long as that was so, responsible Government would be a maimed and paralysed sort of Government.

Draft Report on Defence

The draft report of the Federal Structure Committee on Defence and External Relations was submitted by Lord Sankey for final consideration of the Committee. It stated that the majority of the Committee consider it impossible to vest in Indian legislature, during the transition, constitutional responsibility for controlling Defence as long as the burden of actual responsibility cannot be simultaneously transferred and as regards External Relations the majority reaffirm the view expressed by the Committee's second report that the Governor-General should be responsible for them.

The Committee point out that the consideration of Defence is based on the principle enunciated by the last session's Defence Sub-Committee that Defence must be increasingly the concern of Indian people. The report says that some members strongly urged that no true responsibility should be conferred on India unless Defence, involving control of the Army in India, including British troops, is immediately placed in the hands of an Indian ministry responsible to the legislature with any safeguards that can be shown to be necessary. The majority, however, do not share this view. They therefore, reaffirm the conclusion reached by the Federal Structure Sub-Committee at the last session that the "assumption by India of all powers and responsibilities hitherto resting on Parliament cannot be made at one step and that, during the transition, the Governor-General shall be responsible for Defence" assisted by a Minister responsible to him and not to the

legislature. There is no disagreement, however, that the legislature must be deeply concerned in many aspects of Defence. It is undeniable that such opportunities as the legislature at present possesses of discussing and thereby influencing Defence administration cannot be diminished.

The size, composition and cost of the Army are to be essentially matters for those on whom responsibility rests and their expert advisers. Yet they are not questions on which there can be no voicing of public opinion through constitutional channels.

The Legislature would thus continue to be brought into the counsels of the administration in discussing such outstanding problems as the carrying out of Indianisation. Further, there must be the correlation of military and civil administration where the two spheres overlap.

The suggestion was made in this connection that a body analogous to the Committee of Imperial Defence should be established in India.

Three Proposals

The report says that various suggestions were made to secure this participation in the counsels of the administration, the cardinal feature of which generally was the precise position of the Minister appointed by the Governor-General to take charge of Defence. The report mentions three proposals:

(1) The Minister while primarily responsible to the Governor-General should be responsible to the Legislature only as regards certain aspects of Defence.

(2) The Minister, though responsible to the Governor-General, should be Indian and might be chosen from the Legislature and

(3) The Minister, as contemplated in the second proposal, should be considered as a member responsible to the Ministry participating in the discussions, enjoying joint responsibility and resigning in the event of defeat in the Legislature over a question not relating to the Army.

The report says that, while some of these suggestions contain the germs of possible lines of development, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that, as long as the Governor-General is responsible for Defence, the constitution must provide that the Minister should be appointed by the unfettered discretion of the Governor-General and be responsible to him alone.

Further, the Ministers' relations with the rest of the Ministry and the legislature must be left to the evolution of political usage within the framework of the constitution.

Regarding supply, the report mentions the view expressed that this should not be subject to the annual vote but an agreement should be sought on the basic figure for a stated period, subject to joint review by the Legislature and the Crown representatives at the end of the period with special powers in the Governor-General to incur emergency expenditure.

The report says that the details of any such plan should be further carefully examined.

Draft Report on External Relations

Dealing with External Relations the report says that similar considerations apply as in the case of Defence and generally the views expressed followed closely members' opinions regarding Defence. The report adds that there is a difficulty in connection with External Relations, namely, defining the content of the sub-

ject. The reserved subject of External Relations would be confined primarily to the subject of political relations with countries external to India and the relations with Frontier tracts. Commercial economic and other relations would fall primarily within the purview of the Legislature and Ministers, but, to a degree, questions of the latter category might react on the political question. Special responsibility will devolve on the Governor-General to secure that they do not conflict with his responsibility for the control of External Relations.

Close co-operation by whatever means experience may prove most suitable will be needed accordingly between the Minister holding the External Relations portfolio and his colleagues, "Responsible" Ministers.

The report mentions that misunderstanding has arisen by the Committee's second report including in External Relations "relations with States outside the Federal sphere" and says that, as stated in the Premier's declaration at the close of last session, the "connection of States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that, with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation, their relations will be with the Crown acting through the Viceroy".

The report points out that the Committee when discussing the two subjects with which it deals and also financial safeguards and commercial discrimination (draft reports on which will be circulated later) did not have the advantage of hearing the views of British Indian and Muslim delegates, who reserved their opinion until a satisfactory solution was found of the problems, which confronted the Minorities Sub-Committee

and adds that some other representatives of Minorities have similarly reserved their opinion.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PLENARY SESSION

THE Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference opened on the 27th of November. It met again around last year's famous oval table and in consequence of the increases in the number of delegates, two tables were placed within the enclosed space.

Lord Sankey

Lord Sankey, Mr. Thomas and Sir W. Jowitt sat to the Premier's immediate left and then came Mrs. Naidu, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya, while the remainder of the British Delegation were seated on the Premier's right almost opposite. The representatives of the Minorities, the Aga Khan and other Muslims forming a large block sat at the tables within the oval.

In order that every aspect of the work of the Round Table Conference might be open to discussion during the final Plenary Session, Lord Sankey and the Prime Minister began proceedings by formally proposing the adoption of the reports of the Committee of the Federal Structure and Minorities. Fifty delegates had notified that they wished to speak and at the end of the session, the Premier was to make a statement of the Government's Policy.

Lord Sankey emphasised the solid nature of the work of the Federal Structure Committee for the new Indian Constitution and expressed the belief that Mr. MacDonald would be remembered as the architect of the Federal Constitution of India. The Committee had endorsed the report, but he called attention to the fact

that Muslim members and some other minority representatives had reserved their opinion on the subjects of Defence, External Relations, Financial safeguards and Commercial discrimination until a satisfactory solution was found to the minority problems.

The general debate was then begun by the Raja of Korea.

The Raja of Korea

The Raja of Korea generally supported the views of the States' Delegation as enunciated from time to time by the Nawab of Bhopal on Federal problems and appealed for the sympathetic consideration of the claims of the smaller States. He opined that the constitution of the Princes' Chamber was an unsatisfactory basis for the appointment of States' seats in the Federal Legislature and urged the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee to give a binding decision on this subject, if the Chamber did not reach an agreement satisfactory to all.

Sir A. P. Patro

Sir A. P. Patro thought that the general result of the Conference was far from satisfactory, although much good work had been done. Federation was fraught with difficulties, but he did not despair. The practical question was how long the struggle would take to complete. If it was likely to be delayed it was indispensable promptly to introduce responsibility in the Centre in British India.

Sir Abdul Qaiyum

Sir Abdul Qaiyum advanced the Frontier's case for equal status with other provinces. He said that the people of that province would not tolerate anything less.

The report of the last Sessions' Sub-Committee did not suffice. The position was so serious that prompt action alone would avert a revolution.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir

Sir Cowasji Jehangir pointed out that Moderates demanded complete transference of power to the provinces unhampered by the reservations to the Governor except in order to avert a breakdown of the administration. Speaking as one determined to fight for British connection, Sir C. Jehangir uttered a note of warning against the grant of merely provincial autonomy and said: "If you make a mistake at the present critical juncture, you will wipe out men like myself from public life. We are not going to join the non-co-operation movement but there will not be a school of thought to which we can belong. Don't let the masses believe that non-co-operation is the only method of gaining liberty. Otherwise you will not have a friend left in India and you will wipe out those friends who throughout their life have stood by the British connection."

Dr. Narendranath Law

Dr. Narendranath Law regretted communal failure but adhered to his opposition to communal electorates and while accepting a declaration of fundamental rights, declared that he was unable to support the Minorities agreement pointing out *inter alia* that it did not provide for the representation of such economic interests as commerce, landholders and labour. The speaker criticised the financial proposals in relation to Bengal and said that unless the province had adequate resources, Dominion status would be poor comfort.

H. H. The Nawab of Bhopal

The Nawab of Bhopal declared that all representatives of the States at that Conference were prepared to co-operate wholeheartedly for completing the work of building up the Federation which would bring satisfaction to the whole country. Nothing could dim the steady flame of India's desire to be equal partner in the British Commonwealth. Nobody denied that the realisation of this desire must be subject to such reservations as were necessary in the interests of the Indian Empire. The Nawab of Bhopal concluded by paying a tribute to Lord Sankey. He said that all desired to see him in India at the earliest possible moment to continue the work of the Conference.

H. H. The Maharajah of Dharbhanga

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, combating the suggestion that the protection of important interests conflicted with Nationalist ideals, advanced landlords' claim for adequate safeguarding of their rights. They needed proper representation in all legislatures through special electorates. The Maharaja of Darbhanga advocated second chambers in the provinces and urged that lands under permanent settlement should be regarded as a solemn and inviolable pledge. He urged that the tendency of the Indian legislatures recently to interfere in religious and social customs should be checked.

Mr. Fazlul Huq

Mr. Fazlul Huq contended that under responsible Government, Hindus being in a majority in most of the provinces, would have seventeen shillings in the pound. Moslems desired that they and other communities should have a proper share of the remaining three shillings.

He said that he personally, though not speaking on behalf of the Moslem Delegation, was prepared to accept joint electorates in Bengal provided Mussalmans received their full quota on a population basis. He declared that in view of the backwardness of the Moslems they would be unable in open election on equal electoral roll to secure the position to which their numbers entitled them. Mr. Fazlul Huq added that the Round Table Conference had dispelled the calumny that British Parliament wished to place obstacles in the way of Indian constitutional advance. There was not a single delegate who was not impressed with the fervour and singleminded devotion of the attempt to help Indians solve their own difficulties.

Sir P. Ginwala

Sir P. Ginwalla advocated a further conference when a constitution was put into final shape. He concluded that the Round Table Conference was at least unanimous in condemning Untouchability and suggested that it should record its opinion that swift action was necessary to wipe out this blot on Indian civilisation.

Mr. V. V. Giri

Mr. Giri expressed the opinion that the Conference was largely a failure because comparatively minor issues received prominence, while vital matters relating to full responsible Government were dealt with after hurried discussion.

Mr. Hafiz Hussain

Mr. Hafiz Hussain, after reaffirming the Moslem standpoint, drew attention to the difficulties in the establishment of Federation and said that there was not

reason for British India marking a time. Pending the entry of the Princes, he suggested that provinces themselves should federate and create a Central Federal Government for British India.

Mr. J. N. Basu

Mr. Basu emphasised the objection of non-Muslim communities in Bengal to placing power permanently in the hands of the majority community through separate electorates and stressing the universality of the desire in India for self-rule, said, that the communal difference, though it must be dealt with did not constitute the predominant factor of Indian life. The case for trusting the people was therefore the strongest possible.

H. H. The Maharaja of Indore

The Maharaja of Indore, in his speech, replied to the objection against his scheme and proceeded to urge that it was inadvisable to thrust an undiluted democracy on the States, for democracy, despite its advantages was not an unmixed blessing. India therefore should benefit by the experience of other countries and model her future institutions with regard to the traditions, sentiments and temperament of the people.

The Nawab of Chattari

The Nawab of Chattari, regretting the failure to solve the communal question, thanked the Premier for help and said that except on the question of electorates there was complete unanimity among Muslims. He considered that when all other safeguards for Muslims were embodied in the constitution and Muslims realised that the safety of the minorities rested on the goodwill

of the majority, they would willingly give up separate electorates.

Reviewing rural agitation in India the Nawab of Chattari said that its cause was mainly economic. He strongly urged that property rights should be included among the fundamental rights.

Raja Narendranath

Raja Narendranath wholeheartedly supported the protest against divorcing Provincial Autonomy from Central Responsibility, for the questions to be solved in connection with the former were more difficult than those connected with Central Responsibility.

Raja Narendranath strongly opposed the method of recruitment to the public services suggested in the Minorities Pact and said that it would be preferable to meet the claims of all classes by reserving for transitional period a proportion of the appointments for which such claims might be considered and for the rest declare merit to be the sole criterion.

Mr. B. V. Jadhav

Mr. Jadhav generally agreed with Sir A. P. Patro and also with Sir Cowasji Jehangir regarding commercial discrimination. He expressed the opinion that at least partial Central Responsibility was necessary and said that if the Princes could not enter Federation soon, power should be given to British India alone to work a federal constitution. Mr. Jadhav urged the necessity to provide for the just representation of the rural population and declared that separate electorates were indispensable for the Depressed Classes.

Sir Hubert Carr

Sir Hubert Carr affirmed that the Europeans urged the maintenance of the efficiency of the services because they wanted Government to start with such weapons as would enable them to ensure peace and prosperity. They would have preferred Provincial Autonomy before central changes, but realised the deplorable fact that there was not sufficient confidence between India and Britain to-day for India to be content merely with Provincial Autonomy and the declared intention for central development. They therefore endorsed the demand of fellow delegates that the whole framework of the Federation and Provincial Autonomy would be introduced province by province, the varying needs of each being recognised in its constitution. The Europeans' demand to be allowed to take an equal share with Indian fellow subjects in the commercial and industrial development of India was vital to them, but did not imply any disadvantage to India or handicap on her industrial development. The generous spirit in which their demands has been received in almost every quarter constituted a good augury for the future. Sir H. Carr hoped that as a result of a contract between Indian politicians and His Majesty's Government, all parties would feel bound to throw their whole influence in the task of allaying of unrest in India and preparing for the calm conditions in which India would rise from the present economic distress.

Mr. Jarmanidas

Mr. Jarmanidas said that the Federation had been accepted by all and differences of opinion between the Princes concerned only the method of selecting repre-

sentatives. Mr. Jarmanidas thought that a *via media* between the conflicting views on this subject should be possible. He was of opinion that population and salutes would not provide satisfactory basis for the distribution of seats. He referred in this connection to Sir Akbar Hydari's scheme and said that the Federation was doomed if that scheme was adopted. Salutes did not constitute the real criterion of the State's importance and the majority of Sovereign States would remain outside the Federation if they were not accorded proper representation.

Mr. C. Barooah

Mr. Barooah also insisted that the Conference far from being a failure as some people wanted the world to believe had been a great success and proved that India was united and earnest in the demand for complete self-government. If the communities differed they did so only on details and not on the fundamental principles. Points on which they agreed outnumbered the disagreements and the latter had been narrowed down to such an extent that they might now be left to the sagacity and fairness of British statesman for a satisfactory settlement. He appealed to the Premier to take communal differences into his own hands and by persuading some and overruling others settle the matter in a manner conducive to the best interests of all.

The Raja of Bobbili

The Raja of Bobbili, on behalf of the landlords, affirmed that they did not desire to thwart India's unanimous desire for Dominion Status, but they required guarantees in the form of special representation in all legislatures, establishment of Provincial Bicameral Le-

gislatures and the inclusion in the Fundamental Rights of a clause securing the inviolability of their agreements and sanads received from the Paramount Power.

Bobbili proceeded to urge Andhras' claim for a separate province and said on behalf of Madras landholders that Justices emphatically supported the Depressed Classes' claim for special representation and also a similar claim for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians.

Mr. A. R. Aiyengar

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar declared that the Government's intention to hand over responsibility to the Indian Legislatures was implicit in the declaration of last January. He said it was inconceivable that Provincial Autonomy alone satisfied that condition.

Mr. Iyengar urged that the Government should have been more definite regarding the safeguards that they considered necessary. He was of opinion that an agreement was still possible if the Government took leaders such as Mahatmaji into confidence and discussed with them, if necessary, *in camera*. He affirmed that if that was done there would be practically no difficulty in proceeding with the introduction of a Bill in Parliament.

Sir M. Mehta

Sir Manubhai Mehta stated that he had received a message from the Maharaja of Bikaner asking him to place a request before the Plenary Session for the enlargement of the Federal Chamber.

Sir Manubhai Mehta thought that the States' views regarding the future programme were insufficiently placed before the Conference. He declared that Central Responsibility, Federal

Government and Safeguards went together and Provincial Autonomy, with centralised control, was meaningless. There cannot be a Federation unless there is central responsibility. We are prepared to federate only if there is a Responsible Centre and unless our financial rights are fully safeguarded we would not agree to any transfer of powers to the Provinces which cannot become autonomous without our agreeing to such a transfer. The statesmen of the Empire must find a solution of this dilemma.

Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhiji began his speech five minutes past midnight and delivered for 70 minutes one of his greatest speeches—noble, cogent and pacificatory. Emphasising the representative, authoritative, powerful and determined position of the Congress he pleaded for a peaceful settlement with it. He appealed to the Government not to distrust the great and powerful political organisation after it had been invited.

Gandhiji suggested it was too late to try to resist Civil Disobedience. He stood at the parting of the ways. "I will count no sacrifice too great if I can pull through an honourable settlement. You will find me always having the greatest spirit of compromise that is working in the Congress, namely, that India must have real liberty.

"But so long as they did not agree regarding liberty's implications so long was a compromise impossible. A nation of 350 millions did not need the assassin's dagger, the poison bowl, the sword, the spear, or the bullet. It needed only a will of its own and ability to say 'no'. The Indian nation is learning to do that.

Gandhiji proceeded, "whilst, I shall not abate by a tittle the claim that I have registered on behalf of the Congress, while I do not withdraw a word from the speeches I have made at

the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, I am here to compromise, and to consider every formula that the British or Indian ingenuity can prepare. But, for Heaven's sake, give me a frail man, 62 years gone, a little bit of a chance. Find a little corner for him and the organisation that he represents. You distrust that organisation though you may seemingly trust me. I am infinitely smaller than the organisation. I have no authority except what I derive from the Congress."

Gandhiji did not expect that anything he said would influence the decision of the Cabinet, which it had probably already taken. The liberty of practically a whole continent could hardly be settled by negotiation.

He said he dissented from most of the reports submitted to the Conference, but felt that he could not truly represent the Congress unless he did so. Having claimed universality for the Congress, Gandhiji said that it was a calamity from the viewpoint of the work before the Conference that the Congress was considered as merely one political party. He wished he could convince the public and Government that the Congress was capable of delivering the goods. It would have made a great difference if the claim had been recognised. If they recognised that fact they would welcome an organisation which could run a parallel Government without any force at its command even under adverse circumstances. Although the Congress had been rejected and although it was impossible for him to prove that claim here, he asserted it because a tremendous responsibility rested on him.

Referring to Mr. Ghuznavi's statement that school boys in Calcutta were taught anti-British hatred, Gandhiji said that charges of that nature had been brought against the Congress times without number and repeatedly refuted but, if it was true, he was there to tender an apology on behalf of the Calcutta Corporation.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar

Mr. Jayakar emphasised the expectancy with which 350 millions were awaiting the next day's fateful declaration. He commented on the degree of unanimity accorded to the three-fold scheme of Federation, Central Responsibility and Safeguards, the soundness of which had been confirmed as the Conference went into details. He said that his only fear was that, in order to satisfy Parliamentary exigencies, the scheme might be mutilated and India might be offered less than a complete plan for the scheme stood or fell as a whole.

Lord Reading

Lord Reading, who re-affirmed amidst applause that he stood exactly where he stood last January, aroused further applause by declaring that the method of Conference had been completely vindicated and he hoped that it would continue.

In his view, the policy which must warm the hearts of all Indians and also British who loved India, was the great policy of All-India Federation, which possessed limitless possibilities for the future of India.

Discussions had encouraged his belief that the final outcome of the proceedings would be a great step forward in the progressive march of India to her ultimate destiny.

Lord Reading observed that the presence of Mr. Gandhi and other delegates who did not participate in the previous session had enhanced the influence and authority of the Conference. The discussions had been conducted with the utmost frankness, but the courtesy and patience of all had triumphed.

Speaking as the oldest member of the Conference with no political ambitions but the all-pervading ambition to serve his country and the Empire.

Lord Reading said that he devoutly prayed that he might live to see an All-India Federation in being and that a pros-

perous and happy federated India might remain a willing partner in the Empire.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu asked whether Britain to-morrow would respond to agony or to hope of people of India? They were dying under the sweat and anguish of slavery and no more promises, however, sweet, would assuage their pain. When the delegates returned to India they must take back some substantial alternative to the demand for Independence. She referred to Lord Reading's allusion to equal partnership and said that that was something the best mind in India could appreciate but only on its own terms. Other Dominions were held by the silken cord of kinship but India at present was held by fetter and until the fetter was broken there could be no talk of equal friendship. She asked the Premier to make the ideal of equal partnership real.

Many arguments, including the communal difference, had been advanced on the subject of India's preparedness for freedom. She maintained that it was in welding together all divergent interests that the glory of India could be maintained. It was not by mathematical calculations alone that one could solve the vital issue of liberty.

Referring to the Depressed Classes Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that the Hindu community should be pledged to remove the blot and give them an equal place in all things. She eulogised the attitude of the Princes in declaring in favour of the Federation. They had realised that they were Indians first and Princes afterwards and their only security lay in the allegiance of their own people.

Mr. Wedgewood Benn

Mr. Benn said, much had been done to reach an agreement and if no bargain was reached it was due to the fact that the

Government's intentions were not definitely known. There were still great difficulties to be overcome and he advised the Premier not to allow "the work to be continued by experts to be inspired by diehards."

Mr. Benn urged that the first step should be the continuance of the work by the present Conference, for, if rightly understood and handled, the Conference could do no more for good understanding and sound constitutional arrangement between Britain and India than all the blue-books in the world. The Conference should be the Secretary of State's bodyguard. The delegates should not be allowed to return until pledges of co-operation had been exacted from them.

Mr. Benn argued that no final decision was possible until the communal problem was solved, but he suggested that the Conference should draw up heads of understanding between Britain and India imposing reciprocal obligations on both British and their Indian colleagues. That was the second step. The third step was for the Premier to get Parliamentary ratification.

"Go from this Indian assembly at St. James's", said Mr. Benn, "to the British assembly at St. Stephens and ask them to ratify the heads of understanding. Then ask the colleagues here to take them back and invite and secure ratification there."

Mr. Benn did not forget the work before the Secretary of State. His problem was urgent. Violence and anarchy were raising their heads. Crime must be punished and punished swiftly.

Whatever Government was in power a strong Government in India was needed, but a strong Government was not one supported solely by route marches, ordinances, short credits obtained by exorbitant rates of interests and guns. Government could only be really strong if it rested on the assent of people.

"We can get the co-operation of good citizens and a strong Government backed up by patriots? It is here. Here is willing co-operation, if we can only seize it."

Mr. Wedgewood Benn, concluding amid prolonged applause a speech in which he stressed the responsibility resting both in the Premier and the Secretary of State, said, "Do not let tomorrow be a day of pronouncement followed by compliments. Let it be a day of reciprocal takings. Let it be a Treaty of Goodwill".

Sir T. B. Saprú

Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú strongly repudiated the suggestion that the Conference had been a failure. He said the idea of an All-India Federation had taken deep root. It was the only possible programme to which he would cling unless its absurdity and the impossibility were demonstrated. The Princes were democratic enough to identify themselves with India's national interest. It was neither just nor fair to allege that they had gone back on the idea.

Sir T. B. Saprú added that any scheme of mere Provincial Autonomy was doomed to failure. No party in India would accept it. Sir T. B. Saprú begged the Government to think twice before adopting the old-fashioned instalment system of reforms. He urged Government not to abandon the Conference method but to have plans ready and put them into operation in continuation of the work of the Conference.

Sir Akbar Hydari

Sir Akbar Hydari declared that the Federation was more firmly entrenched than ever. He suggested that simultaneously with Provincial Autonomy the Centre should be reconstructed on the lines of all-India Federal Centre with necessary safeguards and reservations. He contemplated in this connection the constitution, as a temporary measure, of a Joint Standing

Committee from both Houses of the present legislature, with which should be associated representatives of the Chamber of Princes and also of the States which had not joined that Chamber.

Sir A. Hydari said that Berar must be regarded as an Indian State unit under the sovereignty of the Nizam. Sir A. Hydari added that, while safeguarding his rights, the Nizam did not wish to deny the subjects of Berar as great a measure of autonomy as British Indian Provinces.

Sir G. H. Hidayatullah

Sir G. H. Hidayatullah agreed that Provincial Autonomy alone would not work. He appealed to Mr. Gandhi to solve the communal problem as, if it was not settled, Mussalmans would resort to Civil Disobedience, with resulting chaos. India welcomed the adhesion of the Princes because they had accepted the principle of Democracy and their action would lead to a united India.

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao

Mr. Ramachandra Rao generally agreed with the Federation scheme but regretted that the viewpoint of the States' peoples had been inadequately considered. He appealed to the Princes to make all reasonable concessions to their subjects' political aspirations.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao drew attention to the importance of redistribution of the frontiers of British Indian Provinces. He criticised the pace of Indianisation of the Army and declared that Provincial Autonomy alone would not be acceptable.

Sir P. Sethna

Sir P. Sethna contested the view that the Conference had failed and though he would have referred the Government to make their intentions known beforehand, he declared that the

Round Table Conference had acquainted the British with the exact position in India and awakened them to a sense of their responsibility.

Sir P. Sethna sounded a warning as to the disastrous consequences of introducing only Provincial Autonomy and having examined the proposed safeguards with regard to which he found some points for criticism, he said that the time had come for British trusteeship to cease and he was confident that it would cease because he relied on British fairplay and justice. Sir P. Sethna also entered a plea that a few members of the Indian Round Table Conference should be added to Burma Round Table Conference.

Mr. Sher Mahomed

Mr. Sher Mahomed dealt with Defence. He supported the proposed Indian Defence Committee, which should include a representative of the enlisted classes. He warned against imperilling the country's safety by a reduction of the fighting forces.

Referring to the proposals for opening the enlistment to all classes, he insisted that it was essential not to allow the deterioration of the present standard declaring that the units raised during the war from non-enlisted classes had proved a hopeless failure. Finally, he urged that ex-soldiers should enjoy the franchise and receive adequate representation in legislatures.

Sardar Sampuran Singh

Sardar Sampuran Singh drew attention to the grave economic condition in India and, while agreeing with the inadvisability of reducing the size and efficiency of the Army he suggested that retrenchment could be effected by substituting the Indian troops for British. Sardar Sampuran Singh urged the necessity of restoring faith in British justice and fairness.

The Maharao of Cutch

The Maharao of Cutch said that the Federation deserved sympathetic consideration though the right method for the Princes to enter the Federation was still to be determined. He noted with satisfaction the British Government's assurances that the rights and interests of the States and their people would be safeguarded. The consideration shown to the maritime states was an example that such attention would encourage the states to enter the Federation enthusiastically. The Princes were second to none in their desire to promote India's progress but they adhered rigidly to the British connection. The promises made to India must be fulfilled. Otherwise he was afraid to think of the consequences but he was sure that the Government would give the right lead.

Dr. B. S. Moonji

Dr. Moonji contended that neither the communal failure nor the Princes' hesitancy constituted a bar to achieving Dominion Status which he had come to demand on behalf of the Mahasabha.

He would welcome the Princes into the Federation, but pending their decision a constitution for British India should be evolved. He expressed the opinion that the agreed solution of the Minorities' problem should follow on the attainment of full Responsible Government. Otherwise it could be referred to the League of Nations.

He pleaded for greater representation to the Central Provinces in the Federal Legislature. He claimed a declaration of Fundamental Rights for States' subjects. He criticised the Minorities Agreement and said he was opposed to stereotyping Untouchability by giving the Depressed Classes separate electorates.

Mr. R. Srinivasan

Mr. Srinivasan reiterating the demands of the Depressed Classes insisted on the necessity of special representation by Separate Electorates, which must not be regarded from the viewpoint of their effect on Hindu religion and society, but whether they would give the Depressed Classes real representation. Mr. Srinivasan complained that the claims of the Depressed Classes were denied recognition in some quarters and said that in those circumstances they were not prepared to support any scheme of responsible Government, but if they were given sufficient representation for their protection they would consent to the fullest responsibility consistently with their safety. He added that their rights and safeguards must be embodied in the constitution.

Dr. Datta

Dr. Datta believed that representation should be by vocation and not by religion and upon a vocational basis the communal problem should be solved. The alternative was proportional representation. The States should be democratised before entering the Federation. The release of the Provinces from Central Control was indispensable to ensure the economic progress of the masses and Responsibility at Centre must be simultaneous.

Diwan Bahadur T. Raghaviah

Mr. Raghaviah gave the general support of Travancore, Cochin and Pudukottah to the main principles of the Federal Committee's reports, but said that there were certain points which required exploration and adjustment before they were decided finally.

With regard to Federation he urged larger Federal Houses in order to provide adequate representation of the States. He concluded by saying that Young India demanded responsibility

at the centre and a Federation which would ensure that it would bring the two Indias into Dominions co-operation.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan explaining the abstention of Moslems from the debates on Defence and other vital questions hoped that their attitude that it was impossible to discuss these problems until the governing problem was settled would be understood as indubitably right. He completely agreed with the principle of the Federation but thought that it would take a considerable time to work out.

Meanwhile, it was essential to satisfy the legitimate claims of the Provinces. Provincial Autonomy must be conferred without delay and immediately the Round Table Conference was over, machinery should be established to work out a Federal constitution.

Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan

Mrs. Subbarayan declared that the Federal Structure Subcommittee had made considerable advance in the development of Federation which alone could realise Indian aspirations. She recognised the necessity of safeguards, but begged their English friends to remember that galling restrictions would only provoke resistance. There was a strong sense of financial responsibility in India and some events in the present legislatures had constituted an abnormal reaction to the existing constitution. Delegates in the past few weeks had suffered torturing anxieties.

Provincial Autonomy was as impracticable without a communal settlement as Central Responsibility. She hoped that the Government would not take the fatal step apprehended and concluded by reminding them of the necessity of safeguarding the interests of women.

Mr. Ghuznavi

Mr. Ghuznavi declared that the Moslems would never, in any circumstances, accept a constitution which did not embody the minimum safeguards that they believed to be vital to their welfare. Referring to Bengal he said that the most urgent need was for a Government which would ensure stability and safety of property and the lives of law-abiding citizens.

He was of opinion that the Federation was a distant ideal. Government should introduce Provincial Autonomy immediately and pave the way for Central Responsibility later.

Mr. Meher Shah

Mr. Meher Shah also asserted that Moslems would not accept a constitution unless their demands were met. He said the time had come for Government to solve the communal problem which was serious. He supported advance both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

Mr. Jamal Mahomed

Mr. Jamal Mahomed said that nobody in India would be satisfied with anything less than Responsibility at the Centre, simultaneously with Provincial Autonomy. Indians demanded full and unrestricted control of all affairs. The Indian debt was small before the War. Its present magnitude was the result of the currency policy. Indians would provide funds for Defence from self-interest. If internal disturbances arose Indians would be the sufferers and naturally they would provide against them. He feared that military safeguards would account for the taxation involved.

Sir H. Gidney

Sir Henry Gidney agreed that Provincial Autonomy alone was insufficient. He said that Anglo-Indians looked to the British Government for justice, for without Anglo-Indians India would have waited for decades for her present develop-

ment. He hoped that if the Conference proceedings were to continue in India through committees and otherwise Anglo-Indians would be represented.

Sir H. Gidney advocated a committee of inquiry into the present unsatisfactory position of the I. M. S., in order to remove the distinction between Indians and British and so destroy colour prejudice which was India's greatest curse.

Mr. G. D. Birla

Mr. Birla did not share the view that the Conference was a success. He said that the future Government would not have a shadow of control over the Finance Department. He doubted whether the Commerce Department would be transferred without safeguards and pointed out that out of a 90 crores budget 70 crores would be reserved.

Mr. Birla emphasised the necessity of reducing expenditure particularly on the Army, which should be reduced at least to the 1913 level. Mr. Birla proceeded to press for the examination of India's obligations and, referring to the demand that City financiers should be reassured, said that the Indian investor who was not represented at the Round Table Conference had equally to be considered, for he would provide money for future development.

He concluded that to-morrow he might see a change of heart, but at present he saw no sign of it.

He averred that the people of Berar did not desire in any way different treatment from British Indian provinces.

Sir P. Thakurdas

Sir P. Thakurdas dealt with the present economic conditions amidst a worldwide blizzard and referred to the taxation, currency and Gold Standard and said that the linking of the rupee to gold constituted an injustice. Sir P. Thakurdas advocated confining the borrowing to India, except with the au-

thority of the Legislature. He said that there was no question of repudiation of debt, but no further sterling debt should be incurred except to meet the existing debt. England must not say, "Because you have our money you shall not have freedom."

Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar

Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar deprecated criticism of the Conference as unsuccessful. He referred to the handicap caused by the failure of the communal settlement and also said that there was on the present occasion a lack of the last session's driving force by the British Government. Mr. Mudaliar said that "Justicites" were of opinion that it was impossible to work Provincial Autonomy alone.

Sir C. Setalvad

Sir C. Setalvad urged the difficulties in the way of a Federation, the investigation of which should not be used as a pretext for delaying Self-Government. Any scheme for reforms by instalments was doomed. Minorities must be satisfied that the majority community would go to great lengths to reach a settlement. The communal question had been exaggerated. There was no doubt that points of agreement far outnumbered points of disagreement.

Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

Mr. Sastri wound up the debate, which had continued with two brief intervals from 10-30 in the morning until 2-12 the next day, with a moving appeal to Mr. Gandhi not to return in despair to the arid fields of Non-Co-operation.

"Yes, Mahatma, your duty hereafter is with us. You have acquired unparalleled reputation. Your influence is unequalled. Your spiritual power to command men and raise them above themselves is acknowledged throughout the world. Shall not

these great gifts be harnessed to the constructive work of the nation? Have you the heart still to lead your people, trustful and obedient, through the Valley of Humiliation if it is unnecessary?—and I contend it is no longer necessary. The thing is in our hands to-day. In your hands, more than those of any other single Indian, lies our future progress. We can be of some use. Take us in hand. With you and your chosen associates we can fashion our constitution to great ends. India will have cause to be truly thankful that you changed your plans and came here. I have read some history. British people often do wrong and take unwise courses. Nevertheless, in the long run, they return to the ways of reason, moderation and justice. This is one of the occasions when it seems to me they are in a most winning and admirable mood. Take them now and victory is ours.”

The Premier paid a tribute to Mr. Sastri's magnificent statement, which showed an insight into the heart both of India and of Britain and “approached in that way, is bound to be irresistible.”

Delegates agreed amidst applause to the Premier's proposal to send in the name of the Conference a message to the King-Emperor tendering loyal and heart-felt gratitude for favours they have again received from His Majesty adding they are deeply conscious of His Majesty's unflinching solicitude for the well-being of Princes and people of their motherland. They believe that His Majesty needs no assurance that in other parts of his realm there is a livelier sense of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty's Throne and Person.

The Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference concluded its session in a setting of the same subdued enthusiasm as last year. The Prime Minister's parting message of hope and his assurance of the Government's determination steadily to pursue the programme chalked out last year, brought

back in clear outline, the picture which some had apprehended had almost faded away.

Queen Anne's drawing room, in which the last Plenary Session was held, was packed with delegates, distinguished visitors and representatives of the press.

A large number of visitors and Press correspondents were also accommodated in the adjoining room, listening in to the speeches through loud speakers.

Precisely at 11-30 a.m., the Prime Minister rose to address the Conference and read the statement, which had the full authority of the Cabinet. He spoke for 35 minutes.

The speech was punctuated with cheers, particularly the announcement of the Frontier into a Governor's Province and the appointment of Committees in India to implement work of the Conference. His personal appeal to the communities to settle differences without the intervention of the Government made a deep impression and when the curtain was rung down on this year's session, wide expression was given by the delegates to the feeling of personal debt of gratitude to the Prime Minister, who had laboured most heroically to bring the Conference to a successful close.

The announcement that the Conference was "adjourned" was regarded as significant, several leading delegates remarking that the Conference had ended under good auspices.

The full text of the Prime Minister's speech is given in the Appendix.

CHAPTER XV PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

THE general elections and the consequent change in the position of the respective parties in England, exerted a very adverse effect on the progress of the Round Table Conference. The Labour party which was, to the best of its ability, consistently in India's favour, had suddenly lost its foothold and found itself in

a very small minority after the elections. The general election was fought more on class lines, than on important issues of political policy. Most of the wealth, organisation and social influence were ranged on one side, while the working classes were divided among themselves, a certain section electing to follow the lead of the Prime Minister. During the whole elections, no mention was made about India by any party. This glaring omission,—especially at a time when the representatives of entire India were present in London engaged in a most momentous discussion vitally affecting both India and England, on the satisfactory conclusion of which depended the future welfare of Britain to a great extent—was noted with grave misgivings by the leaders of the Indian delegation.

Indian Leaders' Statement

The fear entertained by the Indian leaders, was justified soon after the formation of the new National Government. Strong rumours began to float that the Government had decided to wind up the Conference after announcing the immediate grant of Provincial Autonomy leaving the main question of responsibility at the centre and Federation to later discussions in India. This rumour, though at first denied by the Government, later on became so persistent as to make the Indian leaders believe in its truth. A few of the Round Table delegates were also found to support this decision. The Indian leaders, meanwhile, to prevent any irrevocable decision on the part of the Cabinet regarding the question, issued a statement signed by Sir Tej Bahadur Saprū, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir P. Sethna, Mrs. Subbarayan, Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Ramachandra Rao. Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar,

Mr. Jadhav, Mr. Tambe, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Giri and Mr. Shiva Rao.

The statement was as follows :

"It is our considered opinion that no political party of any standing in India will in the slightest degree favour the introduction of Provincial Autonomy as the first instalment, with a mere promise of establishing responsibility on a Federal basis in future. The Conference was not called for this purpose.

"None of us would have taken the trouble to come to England to achieve merely Provincial Autonomy, which, indeed, was recommended by the Simon Commission's report. We think in the first place that no genuine Provincial Autonomy can be established without Responsibility at the Centre.

"Even if it could be established we are clearly of opinion that no party in India will be prepared to take it, and if it is intended to rely on the support of any particular class or any minority among the people of India for the working of Provincial Autonomy then we think that the position, instead of being improved, will become one of great complexity and instability and give rise to a situation which, in the best interests of both the countries, must be avoided.

"If His Majesty's Government intend to take this step it must be understood that it will not be with our consent but that it is wholly contrary to our advice and the Government must prepare to take full and sole responsibility for their action.

"We claim early fulfilment of the declaration of His Majesty's Government made on 19th January last which was explicitly reaffirmed only a few days ago by the Prime Minister on behalf of the National Government.

"Mere reiteration of it in a fresh declaration or in the preamble of a Bill for Provincial Autonomy leaving the establishment of Responsibility at the Centre to some future date will receive no support from us and will be strongly resented in

India as a complete breach of faith and as wholly inadequate to the needs of the country."

Moslems Fall in Line

In the debate which followed in the Federal Structure Committee regarding Government's policy the British Labour delegation was warmly supported by the Indian leaders in their condemnation of the Provincial Autonomy scheme without Central Responsibility. Even the Moslem delegates, who were still declining to take active part in the proceedings, expressed their disapproval of the mere Provincial Autonomy Scheme. Mr. Jinnah speaking on behalf of the Moslems stated that

"Mussalmans also feel that mere Provincial Autonomy will not command the support of better minds in India, but remember also that no constitution will be acceptable to Mussalmans unless their demands are complied with."

The European group also endorsed the same view.

Mr. Gavin Jones on behalf of the Europeans said that they stood by the principles agreed at the last session. He did not think that a measure dealing with Provincial Autonomy would be adequate.

Sir S. Hoare's Reply

Sir Samuel Hoare in reply pointed out the difficulty of the problems and said, "a number of problems which it had been hoped would be solved this year had not yet been solved. In view of this fact the Government had been considering most carefully the grave issues and when we ask you to come and consult us we ask because we wish to hear your views and not because we have already made up our minds."

"I shall convey to the Premier the views expressed by several influential members. They all expressed one view, no

doubt a very weighty view, but it is obvious that even upon the kind of questions we have been discussing this morning there is no unanimity, even though this morning's speeches are unanimous. What I undertake to do is to see that the views expressed will immediately receive the very careful attention of the Premier."

Lord Sankey Thanked

The Federal Structure Committee had finished its labours. The draft reports on the various vital questions discussed, were approved of in principle. There was a general agreement exhibited by the delegates on the solution of all the questions excepting the communal one which prevented the Moslem delegates from taking their full share in the debates. However, the Moslems falling in line with the other sections on the question of Provincial Autonomy was considered as a great gain.

As Lord Sankey was about to declare the proceedings ended, Mr. Sastri said, that he must first express the delegates' feelings of utmost confidence in Lord Sankey. The Committee's work had been of the greatest importance and although there had sometimes been sharp differences a most wonderful spirit of cordiality had prevailed on all sides. This was largely secured by the absolute impartiality of the Chairman, who never allowed the ideal of a united integral India to fade from their minds and for that as well as other reasons, they were deeply indebted to him. They could never wish in similar circumstances to have greater good fortune than to have a chairman of Lord Sankey's type and character.

Other speakers including Sir T. B. Sapro, Mr. Jinnah, the Nawab of Bhopal on behalf of the Princes and Mrs. Subbara-

van warmly thanked Lord Sankey for his able conduct of the proceedings.

Lord Sankey's Reply

Lord Sankey, who was obviously deeply moved, confessed that he was very much touched. He said that he thought Civil Servants should have the chief share of any praise. He mentioned in this connection that, since the last session he had been presiding over Committees of seven or eight civil servants which discussed questions which came before the Federal Structure Sub-Committee. They held scores of meetings and produced memorandums of the greatest possible assistance.

Lord Sankey continued that his task though difficult, had been very pleasant. He added :

"I want to say this that, first and last and for all time, I favour a Federal India. I am not going to desert you. I am going to take good care that nobody deserts you and do not think that anyone desires to do so. In my view a Federal India is not only possible but probable and the sooner we satisfy your aspirations, the better for everybody."

"I am not going to say goodbye. I hope, I shall meet you again somewhere, some day and hope that I shall be one of the first to congratulate India on achieving what I know to be its ambition, what I know will bring peace and prosperity at last. I thank you." (Loud applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.

CHAPTER XVI

DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

At the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference the Prime Minister made a statement explaining the policy of the Government with regard to the Conference and the Indian demand as expressed by the delegates during the proceedings. His statement was

governed to a large extent by the results of the private conversations which he carried on with the leaders of the various delegations rather than on the actual views expressed by the delegates during the Conference.

Very strong pressure was brought to bear on the Prime Minister by a section of the Conservative members of Parliament led by Mr. Winston Churchill to have a debate in the Commons before the speech at the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference summing up of the results of the session and restating the Government's policy was delivered. Mr. Bracken, a Conservative member asked for an undertaking from the Prime Minister that no statement of the Government's future policy on India would be given before first obtaining the approval of Parliament. But Mr. MacDonald declined to give any such undertaking.

Premier's Motion

On December 1st, a paper setting out the Government's policy on Indian affairs was circulated to the members of Parliament. On 2nd December, the Premier moved the following motion on Indian policy in the Commons.

"That this House approves the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government as set out in the Command Paper (Indian Round Table Conference) presented to Parliament on December 1."

Mr. MacDonald referred to the various pledges given to India first by Queen Victoria and then by her successors and also by the successive Prime Ministers and said that the time had come to fulfil those pledges. He referred further to the Government of India Act of 1919 and the Simon Commission and traced the gradual growth of the idea of the Round Table Confe-

rence. He emphasised that the expression "gradual development" must not be interpreted by the House as something it could fulfil at its own leisure. Those words, he said must be interpreted to mean that the House was vigilantly and carefully watching the progress of affairs in India and when the right time arrived, to increase the amount of self-government that India enjoyed. He also observed that the political capacity of India was solid, widespread and had enormously increased during recent years. He referred to his attempts to solve the communal problem and his failure and observed that the non-solution of the communal problem must not be considered as a bar to further progress in India's political development.

Sir S. Hoare's Speech

Sir S. Hoare in a lengthy but powerful speech explained more clearly the Government's policy than was done by Mr. MacDonald. His speech was clear and unambiguous and gave out the exact position of the Government on Indian policy. He said,

that the pledge given in last January by the Labour Government must be fulfilled. He was of the opinion that phrases and generalities often mislead people both Indian and English. He did not attach much value to such phrases as "Dominion Status" and "Central Responsibility" but will consider the actual facts, as these phrases are interpreted one way by some and another way by others. Regarding Safeguards, he said that they were not shackles on India's liberty but necessary stays without which the new Indian constitution would lack stability.

Sir S. Hoare, was constantly interrupted in the course of his speech by Mr. Winston Churchill, who proposed an amendment to the Premier's motion as follows:

"Provided also that the Government's policy effectively safeguards British trade with and in India from adverse prejudicial discrimination; further provided that no extension of Self-Government in India at this juncture shall impair the ultimate responsibility of Parliament for peace, order and good Government in the Indian Empire."

Result of the Debate

Sir John Simon, Sir Austin Chamberlain, Mr. Lansbury, Mr. Baldwin, Miss Eleanor Rathbone and others spoke opposing the amendment and supported the Premier's motion.

Mr. Churchill's amendment was defeated by 369 votes to 43.

Mr. MacDonald's motion was carried without a division only a few Labourite Left Wingers standing up to oppose it.

Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Maxton, Mr. Kirkwood and Mr. McGovern had given notice of an amendment urging the Government to restore full Independence to India but there was no time for moving it as the debate automatically ended at 11 p.m.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LORDS' DEBATE

ON 8th December, Lord Lothian, on behalf of the Government, moved a resolution in the House of Lords for the approval of Government's Indian policy.

In the course of his speech, he said that in the long run, repression was no remedy and political discontent required a political cure. He then proceeded to review Indian policy since 1917. He believed that Mr. MacDonald's statement commanded the agreement of the great mass of responsible opinion in India.

"If we went faster, we would imperil the structure of the Indian Government and therefore the peace, liberty and the secu-

rity of the Indian people. If we went slower we would be deprived of the consent and the co-operation of Indians without which the policy of 1917 could not be realised.

"The Round Table Conference would re-assemble in some form and thereafter Government would present a draft constitution for the consideration of Parliament."

Lord Lloyd's Amendment

Lord Lloyd in moving criticised the White Paper as dangerously vague and said if all the safeguards were effective, responsibility would be a mere shadow while if real responsibility was introduced the safeguards would be worthless.

Lord Sankey

Lord Sankey declared that the British record in India had stood the test of time. He paid a tribute to British achievements in many spheres and said that as a result of the British policy of ordered evolution, a body of educated and cultured opinion, nurtured in British political ideals and sharing British political ambition was to-day pressing for a further step along a road which it was ready to tread with us. He was convinced that Government's policy would produce a happy and contented India and appealing to Lord Lloyd to withdraw the amendment as likely to excite suspicion in India, expressed the opinion that only India's doubt of Britain's sincerity could prevent success and nothing would more effectively dispel such a doubt than the House of Lords' unopposed affirmation of the Government's declaration. Concluding he said, "a niggardly advance would mean chaos in India. The present opportunity may never recur. Let us seize it."

Other Members

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Reading, Lord Lytton, Lord Snell, Lord Peel, The Marquis of

Zetland, Lord Hailsham, Lord Islington and some others supported the motion, while Lords Lamington, Sumner, Brentford, Salisbury and others supported the amendment. Lord Middleton moved for an adjournment of the debate.

Lord Irwin

Lord Irwin, in a maiden speech, declared that the Round Table Conference had abundantly vindicated the conference method and he had not the slightest doubt that the chances of a solution of the great Imperial problem had been immeasurably advanced by giving India the right to be joint architect of her constitution. Lord Irwin agreed that it would be a folly to underestimate the immense difficulties, but it would equally be a folly to underestimate the amount of common ground achieved by the Round Table Conference.

Lord Irwin did not doubt that Parliament was prepared to give whatever powers appeared necessary against terrorists or any potential resumption of civil trouble, but pointed out the futility of mere repression as a remedy for political discontent and said that only a Government that was able to convince reasonable men that it was pursuing vigorously and determinedly with a real intention to achieve a constructive policy aiming at an agreement could appeal for their support if it was compelled to employ severe measures in other directions.

Lord Irwin proceeded to argue that it was a profound mistake to treat the Indian difficulty as the work of an insignificant minority. He revealed that before the beginning of civil disobedience, he consulted experienced men in India on the possibility of treating the situation by inaugurating such a rigid repression as would create "a desert which we should then call peace." The steps examined included suppression not only the Press and public speech and the closing of the Councils, but he had always returned to the conclusion that it would lead to retrogression and

not to progress. Therefore they had to turn their minds to a well constructed agreement.

Revolt of the East

Referring to Lord Lloyd's speech, Lord Irwin said:

Lord Lloyd had referred to a litter of paper constitutions in eastern countries, but were they not to learn anything from the stirrings in Turkey, Iraq, Persia, China and Japan which had manifested themselves in different ways? He believed it was a profound delusion to treat the events in India as the work of a minority which, firmly and effectively handled, would fade away and give no more trouble. He expressed the opinion that if a system of political democracy did not suit India, once she was allowed freedom to choose she would evolve the necessary variations. He welcomed the fact that the Prime Minister's statement had raised British policy above fear of infraction by political accidents.

Result

The Earl of Middleton's motion for the adjournment of the debate on the Government's Indian policy was defeated by 106 votes to 58.

The Government's motion approving of their Indian policy was agreed to.

Lord Lloyd did not press his amendment to a division.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE STATES' PEOPLES' DELEGATION

ON September 14th the Working Committee of the Indian States' Peoples Conference passed a resolution appointing Prof. Abhyankar and Amrithlal D. Shet as members of their delegation to proceed to England and put forward their minimum demands before the Round

Table delegates. The delegation sailed on the 19th by the *S. S. Kaisar-i-Hind*.

Their Work in London

The work of the delegation in London may be gathered from an extract from a cable despatched by them to the Publicity Officer, Indian States' Peoples Conference at Ranpur, dated October 23rd :

"The delegation did important propaganda this week about the Federal Court, demanding safeguards for the protection of States Peoples' fundamental rights. The delegation demanded that a provision should be made in the Federal constitution enabling the States peoples to proceed against their States if the Federal law of fundamental rights is violated.

"Four members of the Round Table Conference, as also Mahatmaji, have promised strongly to support this demand. Mahatmaji reiterated his promise to remain adamant on our three demands and would break the Conference if necessary for the same.

"Lord Olivier, who shows great interest in the States' Peoples' problem, promised to raise a debate for States Peoples in the House of Lords. The Princes and British Indians are agreed on the financial proposals based on Mahatmaji's formula, which suggests the status quo at present and the consent of the States to be obtained when the new taxation is necessary. Though the Princes are agreed, Moslem members want the States to be taxed from the start. Negotiations therefore are proceeding for the final decision. The States are agreed to accept the Federal Court's jurisdiction in the case of violation of the Federal laws.

"Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao has agreed to place before the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference the minimum demands of the States Peoples as embodied in the resolution of the third session of the Indian States People's Conference."

Prof. Abhyankar's Views

On return of the delegation to India, Prof. Abhyankar, interviewed by the correspondent of the *Hindu* regarding the result of their mission said among other things,

It was not possible to get any sympathetic hearing from the Conservative leaders. The British Indian leaders were already committed to their views expressed in the last session of the Federal Structural Committee. They however saw some who were newly appointed to the Committee. They saw Mr. Lansbury and Lord Olivier who promised to help when the Government measure would be before Parliament. Dr. Laski also promised his support when anything definite was placed before the public by Government.

Gandhiji's Advice

They were strictly following the advice of Mahatma Gandhi and as he did not favour any public agitation either in the Press or on the platform their work lay only in lobbying important people. Mahatmaji believes that we should not close the door of negotiations with the Princes and embarrass him by an open agitation against the Princes. We were under restraint so to speak and had to work. We sent three statements to the Lord Chancellor on the Federal Court, on the fundamental rights to the States' people and on the representation on the Federal legislature."

Attitude of Princes

Regarding the attitude of the Princes' delegation Mr. Abhyankar said they were quite hostile to our aspiration. They strongly insisted on sending their nominees to both the Houses of the Federal legislatures. The question of fundamental rights did not come up for discussion.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail

Sir Mirza Ismail, the distinguished Dewan of Mysore consented to agree to giving the right of appeal to the States' people to the Federal Court. Sir Ismail also wished the States to send representatives of the people at least to the popular House. Sir Ismail in addition did a great service to the second and third class States by rigidly insisting on the appointment of an independent committee to distribute seats between the various States. Sir Ismail's proposals about the Upper Chamber were very thoughtful and would serve to remove many of the anomalies that would be created by excessive weightages and nominees of the Princes. Mahatma favoured this proposal, if at all any Upper House was devised.

Confidence in Congress

If any workable constitution is evolved and to which Mahatmaji agrees we are confident that he would insist on the representation of the States' people, on fundamental rights being guaranteed to them in the constitution and on giving the jurisdiction to the supreme court to protect them. He has reassured us of his undoubted support in this respect. In the absence of the support of any other British Indian political parties, this sympathy with our cause of the sole representative of the Indian National Congress is very encouraging and our appeal to the Working Committee of the Congress has not proved in vain.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CURRENCY QUESTION

EVER since the suspension of the gold standard in England and following that event, the linking of the rupee with the sterling, Indian financiers, businessmen and members of the Assembly have been protesting

against the act as being inimical to the best interests of India. Leading Indian members of the Round Table delegation determined to make every effort possible to persuade the Secretary of State for India to alter his decision on the Currency question of India. Sir Samuel Hoare on the other hand, wanted to convince the Indian delegates about the fairness and soundness of his decision on the question.

Sir S. Hoare's Speech

In the course of a speech delivered before the members of the Federal Structure Committee on the gold crisis in Britain, on the very day of the suspension of the gold standard, Sir Samuel Hoare after briefly narrating the events which led to the decision referred to its effects on India and said,

"I feel a special responsibility in this crisis for India. Since the fixing of the rupee by statute at 18d. sterling has until to-day been synonymous with gold and for all practical purposes the stability of the Indian exchange has been based on sterling as Indian trade is financed through sterling. The greater part of Indian's external obligations is in terms of sterling. To follow gold and so increase the sterling value of the rupee at this juncture is, I am sure, you will agree, out of the question."

"It has therefore been decided to maintain the present currency standard on a sterling basis. I am satisfied that this is the right course for India and is most conducive to Indian interests. The Government of India will, accordingly, continue the policy under which stability in terms of sterling has in the past been secured."

Various meetings were held at the India Office with a view to discuss the question more elaborately and arrive at a common agreement in which the leading Round Table delegates including the Rulers of Bikaner and

Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Mirza Ismail, The Aga Khan, Sir T. B. Sapru, Sir Mahomed Shafi, Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Sirdar Ujjal Singh, Mr. Jinnah, Sir M. Dadabhoy, Sir P. Sethna and Mr. Benthall were present. At some later meetings, Pandit Malaviya, Sir P. Thakurdas and Mr. Birla were also present. The discussions ranged over a wide field and the searching questions put by the Indian delegates were answered by Sir Henry Strakosh, the financial expert.

Gandhiji on Currency

Gandhiji clinched the issues by demanding answers regarding the desperate condition of the agriculturists owing to the unthinkable fall in prices compelling them to sell jewellery and pay taxes and the money lenders. He asked why price stimulation through the fall of gold value should be arrested by the rupee being pegged to the sterling and how the Government proposed to relieve the agriculturist by a proper currency and fiscal policy.

It was admitted that the fall in the rupee below 18d. was prevented, a rise above was not prevented and that so far steps had not been taken to prevent the export of private gold.

Thakurdas and Birla

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas pointed out that the last Currency Commission had recorded a preference for the Gold Exchange Standard.

Sir H. Strakosh replied that it was then never contemplated that so many countries would abandon the Gold Standard.

Mr. Birla maintained that the rupee was not strictly linked with the sterling since the Government of India did not accept sterling against rupees as the result of which, though the rupee could not fall below 1s. 6d. it theoretically could rise above. Gold

was exported as the result of the Government of India's buying price being below the world price.

Sir Henry Strakosh maintained that India would have to export gold to meet her liabilities whatever her currency system, to which it was pointed out that Britain had stopped the export of gold and it was explained that the remedy lay in stimulating exports and discouraging imports.

Sir H. Strakosh instanced the results of the heavy depreciation of other currencies and pointed out that debtors and those with capital abroad gained, but wage-earners lost while India would have to pay more in respect of her sterling liabilities.

Though the subject was discussed in all its bearings together with the allied problems of debt, taxation, finance, etc., all of which resulted in a more or less satisfactory solution, the currency problem alone could not obtain a satisfactory solution. The subject was also ventilated at other meetings, as for instance, when Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar addressed a select group of Commons members interested in Indian finance and currency questions explained,

"How Indian currency was at Whitehall's mercy and how Indian advice in successive currency commissions had been rejected and stressed the need for a currency free of official control."

CHAPTER XX

GANDHIJI'S OTHER ACTIVITIES

MAHATMAJI'S attendance at the Round Table Conference formed only a small part of his activities in England. He spent more time in interviewing members of the Government and other leading personages in England. A good part of his time was also devoted to unofficial meetings with the other delegates to the Conference for discussing various outstanding questions

including the communal one. The short intervals that ensued in the midst of his Conference duties were devoted to visiting various places of interest in England where he freely mixed with representatives of all classes of people in the country. In spite of his "strange" political opinions, with which none in England, nor many among the Round Tablers seemed to be in agreement, he was received wherever he went with the utmost kindness and hospitality. The crowds mobbed him in the streets wherever he was found. The members of the Government treated him with the utmost deference. He was invited to the Buckingham Palace to a party given to the Round Table delegates where he went with his loin-cloth on and had a few minutes' conversation with Their Majesties the King and Queen. Mahatmaji was deeply impressed by the universal kindness with which he was received in England.

Visit of Charlie Chaplin

The strangest visitor he came across in England, with whom he could have had absolutely nothing in common was, the world-famous comedian of the films, Charlie Chaplin, and it was stranger still to know that Mahatmaji had never heard his name before. The comedian, however, suited himself to the scene and gaily chatted with Gandhiji on the subject, it is reported, of the good or evil of machines. Chaplin sat for a while with Gandhiji, prayed with him on the carpet and then went away immensely pleased.

Visit to Manchester

Mahatma Gandhi, the most uncompromising advocate of the boycott of foreign cloth in India, paid a visit to Manchester, the biggest centre of the trade where

he was received with a friendly warmth which was truly remarkable. He met mill-owners and operatives and in informal talks gave expression to his views regarding India's future trade in foreign cloth. He dispelled any hopes which they might have had of regaining their former trade with India, but he, at the same time assured them that there was nothing to prevent India giving a preference to Manchester cloth of such qualities as she may desire to import from abroad.

Eton, Oxford & Cambridge

Gandhiji visited the famous educational centres of Britain, notably Eton, Oxford and Cambridge, where he was warmly welcomed by professors with whom he talked on various topics. He also addressed various student organisations on the trend of current politics.

Reception by London Indians

The Indian residents of London, comprising mostly of merchants and students gave separate receptions to Gandhiji where he addressed them chiefly on political matters. He also advised the Indian students as to how they should fashion their life and conduct consistent with their national dignity and self-respect. In a reception arranged for him at the Guildhouse, London, Gandhiji was presented with a purse containing £575 by the Indian community of which £400 was said to have been collected by the Indian Chamber of Commerce.

Visits to Celebrities

Among the noted celebrities whom Gandhiji visited in England were Mr. George Bernard Shaw, Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. Lloyd George. Gandhiji had about

three hours talk with Mr. Lloyd George. He met Col. Maddock, the famous English Surgeon, who saved his life by performing a difficult operation on him for appendicitis while he was last in Yerrawadda Jail in 1924. He also met Lord Irwin with whom he no doubt had a detailed talk on the political situation.

Prof. Einstein's Message

Gandhiji received a message from Prof. Einstein, the great German Scientist and Philosopher as follows :

“You have shown by all you have done that we can achieve the ideal even without resorting to violence. We can conquer those votaries of violence by the non-violent method. Your example will inspire and help humanity to put an end to a conflict based on violence with international help and co-operation guaranteeing peace to the world.

“With this expression of my devotion and admiration I hope to be able to meet you face to face.”

Meeting with Prelates

Gandhiji paid a visit to Canterbury, the residence of the Archbishop and famous for its Cathedral. He was the guest of Dean Johnson. He had very cordial conversation with the Archbishop and several other Bishops. He also attended evening service at the Cathedral.

Gandhiji's Birthday

Gandhiji's birthday the 2nd of October was celebrated by the Independent Labour Party, the Gandhi Society and the Congress League with a fruitarian dinner, to which he was invited. About 300 people were

present. A spinning wheel was presented to him on behalf of those present.

Visit to other Places

Besides the above, Gandhiji visited various other places in England, chief of them being Chichester, Nottingham and Birmingham. He also visited the Islington Dairy Show, where, the goat which was feeding him with milk and which had been named after him won the first prize.

Other Visitors

Mrs. Robeson, wife of the celebrated Negro actor Paul Robeson visited Gandhiji and had a few minutes' talk with him. Mrs. Ghose, wife of Mr. Sailendranath Ghose, President of the American Section of the Indian National Congress and her two daughters, Miriam Ghose and Lilavati Ghose aged seven and four years respectively, called on Mahatmaji and invited him to America. But Gandhiji regretfully declined the proposal.

Other Addresses

Gandhiji addressed various other meetings in England, chief among them being the Temperance Council, Peace Workers' meeting, the School Students' Union and the Postal Workers' Union. He gave an impressive rendering to the Columbia Gramophone Company of his reflections on the existence of God which lasted six and a half minutes. He broadcasted a message to America on the very day of his arrival in England a newspaper extract of which is given below :

"Hitherto nations had fought like brutes. But Indians felt that the law governing brute creation was not the law that

should guide the human race. He would personally wait, if necessary for ages rather than seek to attain freedom of India by bloody means. The world was sick to death of blood-spilling and he flattered himself with the belief that perhaps it would be the privilege of India to show the world the way out.

He invited all the great nations of the earth heartily to co-operate with India in her mighty struggle. He expressed deep humiliation that Hindus and Moslems were flying at each other's throats and Hindus regarded millions of their own kin as "Untouchable." He emphasised that in the struggle for self-purification Indians had assigned the foremost place to the removal of the curse of Untouchability, the attainment of national unity and the abolition of the curse of drink.

He appealed to the conscience of the world on behalf of the semi-starved millions of India."

Foreign Invitations

Gandhiji received pressing invitations from civic, social and religious organisations from America, France, Germany, Italy, Palestine, Egypt, Hungary and Denmark.

The Rev. J. H. Holmes cabled to Gandhiji to postpone his visit to America.

American Negroes also pressed upon Gandhiji an invitation to visit them.

CHAPTER XXI

GANDHIJI'S RETURN

As had already planned, Mahatmaji was to have visited various countries in Europe after the close of the Round Table Conference before reaching India. He had received invitations from several organisations—political, social, religious, temperance and humanitarian—as well as from famous *savants*, from various

countries in Europe, most of which, if not all, Mahatmaji was willing to accept. But, as regards to America, he had no intention of visiting that country inspite of numerous invitations, and though as a matter of fact, appreciation about the Mahatma appeared to have been greater in that country than in any other. His reason for declining to visit America was not definitely known but it was thought it might have been due to the Rev. J. H. Holmes' early warning to Mahatmaji not to visit America at that time.

As it afterwards happened, Mahatmaji's proposed tour of Europe had also to be curtailed considerably in consequence of messages received by him from India, according to which, though his presence was desired in this country, it was left to his option whether to return immediately or not. But Mahatmaji decided on returning quickly.

Return Programme

Gandhiji had eventually decided to leave England on the 5th December, when all functions connected with the Round Table Conference would have been over. Reaching the continent by the cross channel boat, he would spend the remaining part of that day at Paris and thence proceed to Switzerland. In Switzerland, Mahatmaji intended to stay with Romain Roland at his beautiful country residence at Villeneuve for a few days and afterwards proceed through Italy, *via* Rome to Brindisi and embark on board the *S. S. Pilsna* reaching Bombay on the 28th. A flying visit to Cairo in the course of his voyage was also included in his programme.

On the Eve of Departure

On the day previous to his departure, Gandhiji had a long interview first with the Prime Minister and

afterwards with Sir Samuel Hoare. He also had private interviews with leading delegates to the Round Table Conference in the course of which it was understood that the future work of the Round Table Committees were discussed. Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu decided to stay in London for some more time.

Departure

On the morning of the day of his departure from England, Mahatmaji rose as usual at 4 a.m. and after attending to his morning routine, went through the touching ceremony of leave-taking with the inmates of Kingsley Hall. Neighbours crowded the streets and wished him *bon voyage*. He drove direct to Victoria Station at 8-30 a.m. Gandhiji's staff had already arrived at the platform to see that all arrangements were complete. A large number of friends, both Indian and English had gathered at the station among whom Messrs. Sen Gupta, Horace Alexander, Reginald Polak, Lansbury, Dr. Datta and Pandit Ma Mrs. Naidu was to accompany Gandhiji up to Fol As the train steamed out of the platform, Mahatmaji and party stood at the carriage window and smiling acknowledged the cheers and cries of "Bande Matam" and "Gandhi-ki-Jai", enthusiastically raised by his friends on the platform. It was noted that a large number of Gandhi caps were worn by Gandhiji's at the platform both Indian and English.

Parting Message

On arrival at Folkstone, Mahatmaji was the station master, who accompanied him to the tunnel steamer on which he immediately embarked

Naidu returned to London. In a parting message to the British people, Mahatmaji said to Reuter :

"I am glad to be returning to India, but sorry to have to leave England. That is my happy condition". "The English people should believe me" continued Gandhiji "when I say that, if it falls to my lot to fight them, I will be engaged in a fight never out of hatred, but most surely out of love, even as I have fought some of my dearest relations. Hence, I am determined to make every effort to continue co-operation as far as it is consistent with national self-respect.

Gandhiji added that he had always asked Indians to fight for liberty without hatred against the English. As the result of his visit to England, he felt it more incumbent on him now to impress on his fellow-countrymen that they should have no bitterness against the English."

Welcome at Paris

Paris, the gayest city of the world, turned out at its best to welcome heartily the ascetic of India. On the station, Mahatmaji was met by members of the Indian community and a posse of police at the head of the Commissioner, who escorted him walking arm in arm, through the surging crowd. After facing a battery of cameras, Mahatmaji drove straight to the Hotel at St. Lazare, where he put up during his few hours' stay in the gay capital. He was in much demand during that short interval to attend various functions arranged in his honour all of which he fulfilled. He addressed a meeting largely composed of youths, in the course of which he urged upon the French to study the Indian Independence movement based on truth and non-violence.

With Romain Roland

“Villa Lionette,” the picturesque country house of Romain Roland situated on a poetic spot overlooking the little town of Villeneuve on the extremity of Lake Geneva was prepared several days beforehand to accommodate Mahatmaji for a few days on his return to India. Mahatmaji was extremely glad to accept the hospitality of Romain Roland, one of the most famous of *savants* and pacifists in Europe. Though it was not customary in Switzerland to milk goats at that time of the year, M. Roland had persuaded the peasants to break their tradition in order to supply Mahatmaji with milk. Keeping Villeneuve as his headquarters, Mahatmaji made short excursions to Lausanne and Geneva and also visited some Swiss villages and studied the conditions of their life.

At Lausanne

Speaking at Lausanne to a crowded audience at the Town Hall, Gandhiji said :

“Europe was suffering from a malady caused by the burden of armaments and most countries were on the verge of moral and material bankruptcy”.

He continued that the contagion had spread to Asia, but hope was coming from India, which was endeavouring to secure independence by pacific means. He invited his hearers to study the movement impartially and critically “and if you conclude that the movement is conducted non-violently and truthfully, place yourselves on our side. You can mould European opinion.”

At Geneva

Geneva, the capital of Switzerland, the seat of the League of Nations and the city of international repute,

where many important peace conferences had been held even in former times, was the scene of Gandhiji's visit on the 10th December. Though Gandhiji did not visit the League Secretariat, his activities in that city were none the less important.

Addressing a crowded audience at the Victoria Hall, (built by an Englishman and dedicated to the memory of the great Queen) Gandhiji "referred to India's experience in non-violence and suggested its adoption by the League of Nations for enforcing its decisions. He also urged other nations to follow Switzerland's example of disarmament and declared that non-violence was made of sterner stuff than conscription."

Visiting some villages in the vicinity, Mahatmaji was impressed with the spinning and weaving activities carried on by the peasants in their homes. He was greatly interested in the demonstration of weaving of mats from strips of rags and himself took a hand at the loom.

Through Italy

Leaving Villeneuve and its pleasant memories, Mahatmaji entrained for Rome, *en route* to Brindisi. As the train slowed at Milan, Mahatmaji opened his carriage window and smilingly waved to the small crowd gathered to see him. The station-master offered Gandhiji a first-class carriage free, which he gladly accepted.

The train reached Rome on the 12th morning, and Mahatmaji alighting, was taken straight to his Villa by General Moris, formerly head of civil aviation in Italy, whose guest he was during his stay in Rome. Gandhiji could not see the Pope as he never gave audience in the evening, nor on a Sunday as the next day happened to be. Gandhiji, however, visited the Vatican Museum

and Library and also inspected the Royal School of the Montessori method.

Mahatmaji visited Signor Mussolini at 6 p.m. on the same day and had a private conversation with him. The details of the conversation were however not known but it was stated that the Duce Chief put a volley of searching questions re: the Indian situation.

Princes Maria, the youngest daughter of the King of Italy, unexpectedly paid a visit to Gandhiji shortly before Gandhiji left for Brindisi.

The Princess conversed with Gandhiji for half an hour and also attended evening prayers with him.

On Board S. S. "Pilsna"

On the 14th December, Gandhiji embarked on board the S. S. *Pilsna* at Brindisi, bound for Bombay.

At Port Said, Mahatmaji met a number of deputationists including one of the "Wafd" party of Egypt. Though he was invited by Nahas Pasha, the leader of the "Wafd" party of Egypt, to pay a flying visit to Cairo on his return voyage and Mahatmaji had accepted it, he had to abandon the programme in view of the shortness of the steamer's stay at Suez. This caused a great disappointment, not only to Egyptians but also to the large number of Indian residents in Egypt, who were enthusiastically preparing to honour Gandhiji.

Landing at Bombay

Gandhiji was given a very enthusiastic reception on landing on the morning of the 28th December.

The S. S. *Pilsna* berthed at 8 a.m. When the gangway was lowered, Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, the members of the Working Committee and prominent Congressmen went on board.

Gandhiji, patted Mrs. Gandhi when the latter approached him with hands clasped and touched his feet.

Mr. Vallabhbhai garlanded Mahatmaji amidst deafening cries of "Gandhi-ki-Jai". Gandhiji looked happy at meeting his co-workers, and embraced Dr. Ansari and Mr. Abbas Tyabji. Gandhiji, however did not speak, as he was observing his day of silence.

The Bombay Congress Committee had made elaborate arrangements for receiving Gandhiji. By arrangement with the steamship company, they had issued special passes for select friends to go on board to meet Gandhiji. Admission to the Mole Station was by tickets issued free by the Congress Committee.

The Mole Station was gaily decorated with tri-coloured Congress flags, banners and buntings. A special dais was erected in the centre of the station-hall.

Gandhiji was conducted from the boat to the special platform where representatives of various organisations, and all the Provincial Congress Committees garlanded him.

Garlanding over, Gandhiji inspected the guard of honour presented by the Seva Dal lady volunteers corps, dressed in their orange-coloured uniforms.

Gandhiji was then taken in a procession to "Mani Bhuvan" in a car decorated with garlands and flags. To his left in the car, was sitting Mr. Vithalbai Patel, ex-President of the Assembly, who also returned with Gandhiji from Europe.

A fleet of cars carrying the members of the Working Committee and other prominent leaders, followed Gandhiji's car. The procession was headed by the Seva Dal volunteers corps who marched in fours, waving tri-coloured flags, with band and other music. The

road from the gate of the pier to "Mani Bhuvan" was tastefully decorated.

Gandhiji was lustily cheered by the public, who thronged the route. People came from the suburbs and neighbouring towns as early as daybreak and lined the route to have "dharsan" of the Mahatma. Ladies from the balconies showered flowers on Gandhiji when the car passed them.

Gandhiji reached "Mani Bhuvan" at 10-30 a.m. There was a surging crowd of humanity which clamoured for *darshan* of Gandhiji who had to come out every ten minutes to the balcony.

A huge crowd collected on the Laburnam Road in front of the Mani Bhuvan and clamoured for the Mahatma's "dharshan". Gandhiji was at the time pre-occupied with granting interviews to some Liberal leaders. The crowd in the meantime got impatient and insistent, and kept on raising vociferous cheers, and disorder and stampede ensued.

The news that the crowds were getting impatient reached Gandhiji and he came over to the balcony overlooking the street.

Mahatma Gandhi then stretched his hands and waved the crowds to maintain silence and keep order. The crowds maintained complete silence which enabled Gandhiji to address a few words which were perfectly audible to the large audience.

"Addressing the throng the Mahatma requested the crowds not to wait and waste their valuable time

which they could otherwise engage in the national work. He remarked that he expected to stay among them in Bombay for a day more. He also appealed to the crowds not to make demonstrations or touch his feet as he was driving out to the evening prayer meeting. He humourously observed that he counted himself as an "Untouchable", and, therefore, they should not touch him. "He then asked the crowds to disperse and commanded 'Now, you go home.'"

And the street was soon cleared of the crowds."

THE END.

APPENDIX I.

TRUCE TERMS

The following statement by the Governor-General in Council is published for general information:—

(1) Consequent on the conversations that have taken place between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, it has been arranged that the civil disobedience movement be discontinued and that, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, certain action be taken by the Government of India and Local Governments.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

(2) As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there outlined, Federation is an essential part; so also are Indian responsibility and reservations of safeguards in the interests of India, for such matters as, for instance, Defence, External Affairs, the position of minorities, the financial credit of India and the discharge of obligations.

(3) In pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister in his Announcement of the 19th of January 1931, steps will be taken for the participation of the representatives of the Congress in the further discussions that are to take place on the scheme of constitutional Reform.

(4) The Settlement relates to activities directly connected with the Civil Disobedience movement.

CALLING OFF OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(5) Civil disobedience will be effectively discontinued and reciprocal action will be taken by the Government. The effec-

tive discontinuance of the Civil Disobedience movement means the effective discontinuance of all activities in furtherance thereof by whatever methods pursued and in particular the following: (a) the organised defiance of the provisions of any law, (b) the movement for the non-payment of land revenue and other legal dues, (c) publication of news sheets in support of the Civil Disobedience movement, (d) Attempts to influence civil and military servants or village officials against Government or to persuade them to resign their posts.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

(6) As regards the boycott of foreign goods there are two issues involved: firstly the character of the boycott and secondly the methods employed in giving effect to it. The position of Government is as follows: They approve of the encouragement of Indian industries as part of the economic and industrial movement designed to improve the material condition of India and they have no desire to discourage methods of propaganda, persuasion or advertisement pursued with this object in view which do not interfere with the freedom of action of individuals, or are not prejudicial to the maintenance of Law and Order. But the boycott of Non-Indian goods (except of cloth, which has been applied to all foreign cloth) has been directed during the Civil Disobedience Movement chiefly if not exclusively against British goods and in regard to these it has been admittedly employed in order to exert pressure for political ends. It is accepted that a boycott of this character, and organised for this purpose, will not be consistent with the participation of representatives of the Congress in a frank and friendly discussion of constitutional questions between representatives of British India, of the Indian States and of His Majesty's Government and political parties in England which the settlement is intended to secure. It is therefore, agreed that the discontinuance of the Civil Disobedience movement connotes the definite

discontinuance of the employment of the boycott of British commodities as a political weapon and that, in consequence, those who have given up during a time of political excitement the sale or purchase of British goods must be left free without any form of restraint to change their attitude if they so desire.

PICKETING

(7) In regard to the methods employed in furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods or against the consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs, resort will not be had to methods coming within the category of picketing except within the limits permitted by the ordinary law. Such picketing shall be unaggressive and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public or any offence under the ordinary law. If and when any of these methods is employed in any place, the practice of picketing in that place will be suspended.

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE

(8) Mr. Gandhi has drawn the attention of the Government to specific allegations against the conduct of the police and represented the desirability of a public enquiry into them. In the present circumstances, the Government see a great difficulty in this course and feel that it must inevitably lead to charges and counter charges and so militate against the re-establishment of peace. Having regard to these considerations Mr. Gandhi agreed not to press the matter.

CALLING OFF REPRESSION

(9) The action that the Government will take on the discontinuance of the Civil Disobedience movement is stated in the following paragraphs.

(10) Ordinances promulgated in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement will be withdrawn. Ordinance No. 1 of 1931 relating to the terrorist movement does not come within the scope of the provision.

APPENDIX I

(11) Notifications declaring associations unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 will be withdrawn provided that the notifications were made in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement. The notifications recently issued by the Burma Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act do not come within the scope of the provision.

(12) Pending prosecutions will be withdrawn if they have been filed in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement and relate to offence which do not involve violence other than technical violence or incitement to such violence, (ii) the same principles will apply to proceedings under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, (iii) where a local Government has moved any High Court or has initiated proceedings against the conduct of legal practitioners in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement it will make application to the court concerned for permission to withdraw such proceedings provided that the alleged conduct of the person concerned does not relate to violence or incitement to violence. (iv) Prosecutions if any against soldiers and police involving disobedience of orders will not come within the scope of this provision.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

(13) (i) Those prisoners will be released who are undergoing imprisonment in connection with the civil disobedience movement for offences which did not involve violence other than technical violence or incitement to such violence. (ii) If any prisoner who comes within the scope of (i) above has been also sentenced for a jail offence not involving violence other than technical violence or incitement to such violence, the latter sentence also will be remitted or if a prosecution relating to an offence of this character is pending against such a prisoner it will be withdrawn. (iii) Soldiers and police convicted of offences involving disobedience of orders in the very few cases

that have occurred will not come within the scope of the amnesty.

(14) Fines which have not been realised will be remitted. Where an order for the forfeiture of security has been made and the security has not been realised it will be similarly remitted. Fines which have been realised and securities forfeited under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and realised under any law will not be returned.

(15) Additional police imposed in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement at the expense of the inhabitants of a particular area will be withdrawn at the discretion of the Local Governments. Local Governments will not refund any money in excess of the actual cost that has been realised.

RETURN OF MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

(16) (a) Movable property which is not an illegal possession and which has been seized in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement under the Ordinances or the provisions of the Criminal Law will be returned if it is still in the possession of Government; (b) Movable property forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues will be returned unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period, special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulters, while willing to pay genuinely, require time for the purpose and if necessary, the revenue will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration; (c) compensation will not be given for deterioration; (d) where movable property has been sold or otherwise finally disposed of by the Government compensation will not be given and the sale proceeds will not be returned except in so far as they are in excess of the legal dues for which

the property may have been sold; (e) it will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the attachment or seizure of property was not in accordance with the law.

(17) (a) Immovable property of which possession has been taken under Ordinance IX, of 1930, will be returned in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance, (b) Land and other immovable property in the possession of Government which has been forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues will be returned unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulter while willing to pay genuinely requires time for the purpose and, if necessary, the revenues will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration, (c) Where immovable property has been sold to third parties the transaction must be regarded as final so far as Government are concerned, (Note): Mr. Gandhi has represented to Government that, according to his information and belief, some at least of these sales have been unlawful and unjust. The Government, on the information before them, cannot accept this contention. (d) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the seizure or attachment of property was not in accordance with the law.

(18) The Government believe that there have been very few cases in which the realisation of dues has not been made in accordance with the provisions of the law. In order to meet such cases, if any, Local Governments will issue instructions to District Officers to have prompt enquiry made into any specific complaint of this nature and to give redress without delay if illegality is established.

POSTS OF INCUMBENTS WHO HAVE RESIGNED

(19) Where the posts rendered vacant by resignations have permanently filled, the Government will not be able to reinstate the late incumbents. Other cases of resignation will be considered on their merits by the Local Governments who will pursue a liberal policy in regard to the reappointment of Government servants and village officials who apply for reinstatement.

MANUFACTURE OF SALT

(20) Government are unable to condone breaches of the existing law relating to the salt administration, nor are they able, in the present financial conditions of the country, to make substantial modifications in the Salt Acts. For the sake, however, of giving relief to certain of the poorer classes they are prepared to extend their administrative provisions on lines already prevailing in certain places in order to permit local residents in villages immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected or made to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale within such villages but not for sale to or trading with individuals living outside them.

(21) In the event of Congress failing to give full effect to the obligations of this settlement, Government will take such action as many, in consequence, become necessary for the protection of the public and individuals and the due observance of law and order.

(Sd.) W. EMERSON,

Secretary of the Government of India.

Working Committee's Resolution

The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee of the Congress on 5-3-31.

"The Working Committee having considered the terms of the provisional settlement arrived at between the Government of India and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, endorses

them and directs all Congress Committees to take immediate action in accordance with them. The Committee hopes that the country will carry out the terms agreed to in so far as they relate to various Congress activities and is of opinion that on a strict fulfilment of obligations undertaken on behalf of the Congress will depend the advance of India towards Purna Swaraj”.

A telegram has been sent accordingly to all Provincial Congress Committees.

Instruction to P. C. C.'S

Dr. Syed Mahmud, General Secretary of the Congress, has wired to all Provincial Congress Committees as follows:—

“In view of the provisional settlement arrived at between the Working Committee on behalf of the Congress and the Government of India, I request you to take immediate steps to inform all Congress Committees in your province to act in accordance with it. Civil Disobedience and No-Tax campaigns are to be discontinued and there should be no further defiance of laws of regulations.

Boycott of British goods as such is to be discontinued and complete freedom regarding them given, but boycott of intoxicating drink and drugs and of all foreign cloth and liquor shops is permitted and should be continued wherever necessary. Such picketing should not be aggressive, and should not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to public or any offence under the ordinary law. If these conditions are not satisfied in any area picketing is to be suspended there. Insistence on Swedeshi goods in preference to all foreign goods is also to be continued.

There should be no organised disobedience of salt laws and no raids, but villagers residing in areas where salt is collected or made are permitted to continue to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale in the neighbourhood, but there

should be no sale or trading outside. Unauthorised news sheets should be stopped.

Tax-payers should prepare for payment of land revenue and return to village where vacated. In cases of economic distress or inability of payment, other methods for remission or suspension should be adopted. In view of the pending release of prisoners, special directions for election of delegates to Karachi Congress are being issued to the Press."

APPENDIX II

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech at the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference :

Prime Minister and friends: Prime Minister, you will extend to me the indulgence of a physically incapable man and therefore you and this Assembly will please excuse me for my inability to stand up to address you.

The Chairman: Certainly, Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi: Thank you. I wish that I could have done without having to speak to you but I felt that I would not have been just to you or just to my principle if I did not put in what may be the last word on behalf of the Congress. I live under no illusion.

I do not think that anything that I can say this evening can possibly influence the decision of the Cabinet. Probably the decision has been already taken. Matters of liberty of practically a whole continent can hardly be decided by mere argumentation, even negotiations. Negotiations have their purpose and have their play, but only under certain conditions. Without those conditions negotiations are a fruitless task. But I do not want to go into all these matters. I want as far as possible to confine myself within the four corners of the conditions that you, Prime Minister, read to this Conference at its opening meeting. I would, therefore, first of all say a few words in connection with the reports that have been sub-

mitted to this Conference. You will find in these reports that generally it has been stated that so and so is the opinion of a large majority. Some, however, have expressed an opinion to the contrary, and so on. Parties who have dissented have not been stated. I had heard when I was in India and I was told when I came here, that no decision or no decisions will be taken by the ordinary rule of majority, and I do not want to mention this fact here by way of complaint that the reports have been so framed as if the proceedings were governed by the test of majority. But it was necessary for me to mention this fact, because to most of these reports you will find that there is a dissenting opinion, and in most of the cases that dissent unfortunately happens to belong to me. It was not a matter of joy to have to dissent from fellow delegates, but I felt that I could not truly represent the Congress unless I notified that dissent.

There is another thing which I want to bring to the notice of this Conference, namely: what is the meaning of the dissent of the Congress? I said at one of the preliminary meetings of the Federal Structure Committee that the Congress claimed to represent over 85 per cent of the population of India, that is to say the dumb, toiling, semi-starved millions. But I went further: that the Congress claimed also by right of service to represent even the Princes, if they would pardon my putting forth that claim, and the landed gentry, the educated class. I wish to repeat that claim and I wish this evening to emphasise that claim.

All the other parties at this meeting represent sectional interests. Congress alone claims to represent the whole of India, all interests. It is no communal organisation: it is a determined enemy of communalism in any shape or form. Congress knows no distinction of race, colour or creed; its platform is universal. It may not always have lived up to the creed. I

do not know a single human organisation that lives up to its creed. Congress had failed very often to my knowledge. It may have failed more often to the knowledge of its critics. But the worst critic will have to recognise, as it has been recognised, that the National Congress of India is a daily growing organisation that its message penetrates the remotest village of India; that on given occasions the Congress has been able to demonstrate its influence over and among these masses who inhabit its 700,000 villages.

“ A Parallel Government ”

And yet here I see that the Congress is treated as one of the Parties. I do not mind it; I do not regard it as a calamity for the Congress; but I do regard it as a calamity for the purpose of doing work for which we have gathered together here. I wish I could convince all the British public men, the British Ministers, that the Congress is capable of delivering the goods. The Congress is the only all-India wide national organisation bereft of any communal basis; that it does represent all the minorities which have lodged their claim here and which, or the signatories on their behalf, claim—I hold unjustifiably—to represent 46 per cent of the population of India. The Congress I say claims to represent all these minorities. What a great difference it would be to-day if this claim on behalf of the Congress was recognised. I feel that I have to state this claim with some degree of emphasis on behalf of peace, for the sake of achieving the purpose which is common to all of us, to you Englishmen who sit at this Table and to us the Indian men and women who also sit at this table. I say so for this reason; Congress is a powerful organisation; Congress is an organisation which has been accused of running or desiring to run a parallel Government; and in a way I have endorsed the charge. If you could understand the working of the Congress, you would welcome an organisation which could run pa-

rallel Government and show that it is possible for an organisation, voluntary, without any force at its command, to run the machinery of Government even under adverse circumstances. But no. Although you have invited the Congress you distrust the Congress. Although you have invited the Congress, you reject its claim to represent the whole of India. Of course it is possible at this end of the world to dispute that claim, and it is not possible for me to prove this claim; but all the same, if you find me asserting that claim, I do so because a tremendous responsibility rests upon my shoulders.

The Congress represents the spirit of rebellion. I know that the word "rebellion" must not be whispered at a Conference which has been summoned in order to arrive at an agreed solution of India's troubles through negotiation. Speaker after speaker has got up and said that India should achieve her liberty through negotiation, by argument and that it will be greatest glory of Great Britain if Great Britain yields to India's demands by argument. But the Congress does not hold that view, quite. The Congress has an alternative which is unpleasant to you.

I heard several speakers—and let me say I have endeavoured not to miss a single sitting; I have tried to follow every speaker with the utmost attention and with all the respect that I could possibly give to these speakers—saying what a dire calamity it would be if India was fired with the spirit of lawlessness, rebellion, terrorism and so on. I do not pretend to have read history, but as a school boy I had to pass a paper in history also, and I read that the page of history is soiled red with the blood of those who have fought for freedom. I do not know an instance in which nations have attained their own without having to go through an incredible measure of travail. The dagger of the assassin, the poison bowl, the bullet of the riflemen, the spear and all these weapons and methods of destruction have been upto now used by what I consider blind

lovers of liberty and freedom and the historian has not condemned him. I hold no brief for the terrorists. Mr. Ghuznavi brought in the terrorists and he brought in the Calcutta Corporation. I felt hurt when he mentioned an incident that took place at the Calcutta Corporation. He forgot to mention that the Mayor of that Corporation made handsome reparation for the error into which he himself was betrayed and the error into which the Calcutta Corporation was betrayed through the instrumentality of those members of the Corporation who were Congressmen.

Congress and Terrorism

I hold no brief for Congressmen who directly or indirectly would encourage terrorism. As soon as this incident was brought to the notice of the Congress, the Congress set about putting it in order. It immediately called upon the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation to give an account of what was done and the Mayor, the gentleman that he is, immediately admitted his mistake and made all the reparation that it was then legally possible to make. I must not detain this Assembly over this incident for any length of time. He mentioned also a verse which the children of the forty schools conducted by the Calcutta Corporation are supposed to have recited. There were many other mis-statements in that speech which I could dwell upon, but I have no desire to do so. It is only out of regard for the great Calcutta Corporation and out of regard for truth and on behalf of those who are not here tonight to put in their defence that I mention these two glaring instances. I do not for one moment believe that this was taught in the Calcutta Corporation schools with the knowledge of the Calcutta Corporation. I do know that in those terrible days of last year several things were done for which we have regret, for which we have made reparation. If our boys in Calcutta were taught those verses which Mr. Ghuznavi has recited I am here to tender an apology on their behalf, but I should want it proved

that the boys were taught by the schoolmaster of these schools with the knowledge and encouragement of the Corporation. Charges of this nature have been brought against Congress for times without number, and times without number these charges have also been refuted, but I have mentioned these things at this juncture. It is again to show that for the sake of liberty people have fought, people have lost their lives, people have killed and have sought death at the hands of those whom they have sought to oust. The Congress then comes upon the scene and devises a new method not known to history, namely, that of civil disobedience, and the Congress has been following that method up. But again I am up against a stone wall and I am told that that is a method that no Government in the world will tolerate. Well, of course, the Government may not tolerate, no Government has tolerated open rebellion. No Government may tolerate civil disobedience, but Governments have to succumb even to these forces, as the British Government has done before now, even as the great Dutch Government after eight years of trial had to yield to the logic of facts. General Smuts, a brave General, a great statesman, and a very hard taskmaster also, but he himself recoiled with horror from even the contemplation of doing to death innocent men and women who were merely fighting for the preservation of their self-respect, and the things which he had vowed he would never yield in the year 1908, reinforced as he was by General Botha, he had to do in the year 1914, after having tried these civil resisters through and through. And in India Lord Chelmsford had to do the same thing; the Governor of Bombay had to do the same thing in Bursa and Bardoli. I suggest to you, Prime Minister, it is too late to-day to resist this, and it is this thing which weighs me down, this choice that lies before them, the parting of the ways probably. I shall hope against hope, I shall strain every nerve to achieve an honourable settlement for my country if I can do so without having

to put the millions of my countrymen and countrywomen and even children through this ordeal of fire. It can be a matter of no joy and comfort to me to lead them on again to a fight of that character, but if a further ordeal of fire has to be our lot I shall approach that with the greatest joy and with the greatest consolation that I was doing what I felt to be right, the country was doing what it felt to be right, and the country will have the additional satisfaction of knowing that it was not at least taking lives, it was giving lives; it was not making the British people directly suffer, it was suffering. Professor Gilbert Murray told me—I shall never forget that—I am paraphrasing his inimitable language. He said: You do not consider for one moment that we Englishmen do not suffer when thousands of your countrymen suffer, that we are so heartless? I do not think so. I do know that you will suffer; but I want you to suffer because I want to touch your hearts; and when your hearts have been touched will come the psychological moment for negotiation. Negotiation there always will be; and if this time I have travelled all these miles in order to enter upon negotiation, I thought that your countryman Lord Irwin had sufficiently tried us through his ordinances, that he had sufficient evidence that thousands of men and women of India and that thousands of children had suffered; and that, ordinance or no ordinance, lathis or no lathis, nothing would avail to stem the tide that was on rushing and to stem the passions that were rising in the breasts of the men and women of India who were thirsting for liberty.

Whilst there is yet a little sand left in the glass, I want you to understand what this Congress stands for. My life is at your disposal. The lives of all the members of the Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, are at your disposal. But remember that you have at your disposal the lives of all these dumb millions. I do not want to sacrifice those lives if I can possibly help it. Therefore please remember that I will count no sacrifice

too great if by chance I can pull through an honourable settlement. You will find me always having the greatest spirit of compromise if I can but fire you with the spirit that is working in the Congress, namely, that India must have real liberty. Call it by any name you like: a rose will smell as sweet by any other name, but it must be the rose of liberty that I want and not the artificial product. If your mind and the Congress mind, the mind of this Conference and the mind of the British people, means the same thing by the same word, then you will find the amplest room for compromise, and you will find the Congress itself always in a compromising spirit. But so long as there is not that one mind, that one definition, not one implication for the same word that you and I and we may be using, so long there is no compromise possible. How can there be any compromise so long as we each one of us has a different definition for the same words that we may be using. It is impossible, Prime Minister. I want to suggest to you in all humility that it is utterly impossible then to find a meeting ground, where you can apply the spirit of compromise. And I am very grieved to have to say that up to now I have not been able to discover a common definition for the terms that we have been exchanging during all these weary weeks.

What is a Dominion?

I was shown last week the Statute of Westminster by a sceptic, and he said: "Have you seen the definition of "Dominion". I read the definition of "Dominion", and naturally I was not at all perplexed or shocked to see that the word "Dominion" was exhaustively defined, and it had not a general definition but a particular definition. It simply said: the word "Dominion" shall include Australia, South Africa Canada and so on ending with the Irish Free State. I do not think I noticed Egypt there. Then he said: "Do you see what your Dominion means?" It did not make any impression upon me. I do not

mind what my Dominion means or what complete independence means. In a way I was relieved.

I said I am now relieved from having to quarrel about the word "dominion", because I am out of it. But I want complete independence, and even so, so many Englishmen have said "Yes, you can have complete independence, but what is the meaning of complete independence?", and again we come to different definitions. Therefore I say the Congress claim is registered as complete independence.

One of your great statesmen—I do not think I should give his name—was debating with me, and he said 'Honestly I did not know that you meant this by complete independence.' He ought to have known but he did not know. I shall tell you what he did not know. When I said to him "I cannot be a partner in an Empire," he said "Of course, that is logical." I said "But I want to become that. It is not as if I shall be if I am compelled to, but I want to become a partner with Great Britain. I want to become a partner with the English people; but I want to enjoy precisely the same liberty that your people enjoy, and I want to seek this partnership not merely for the benefit of India, and not merely for mutual benefit; I want to seek this partnership in order that the great weight that is crushing the World to atoms may be lifted from its shoulders."

This took place ten or twelve days ago, strange as it may appear, I got a note from another Englishman whom also you know and whom also you respect. Among many things, he writes, "I believe profoundly that the peace and happiness of mankind depend on our friendship" and, as if I would not understand that, he says "your people and mine." I must read to you, what he also says "And of all Indians you are the one that the real Englishman likes and understands."

He does not waste any words on flattery, and I do not think he has intended this last expression to flatter me. It will not

flatter me in the slightest degree. There are many things in this note which, if I could share them with you, would perhaps make you understand better the significance of this expression, but let me tell you that when he writes this last sentence he does not mean me personally. I personally signify nothing, and I know I would mean nothing to any single Englishman, but I mean something to some Englishmen because I represent a cause, because I seek to represent a nation, a great organisation which has made itself felt. That is the reason why he says this.

“It is Friendship I Crave”

But, then, if I could possibly find that working basis, Prime Minister, there is ample room for compromise. It is friendship I crave. My business is not to throw overboard the slave holder and tyrant. My philosophy forbids me to do so and to-day the Congress has accepted that philosophy not as a creed, as it is to me, but as a policy, because the Congress believes that it is the right and best thing for India, a nation of 350,000,000, to do.

A nation of 350 million people does not need the dagger of the assassin, it does not need the poison bowl, it does not need the sword, the spear or the bullet. It needs simply a will of its own, an ability to say No and that nation is to-day learning to say No.

But what is it that that nation does? To summarily or at all to dismiss Englishmen? No. It's mission is to-day to convert Englishmen. I do not want to break the bond between England and India but I do want to transform that bond. I want to transform that slavery into complete freedom for my country. Call it complete independence or whatever you like, I will not quarrel about that word, and even though my countrymen may dispute with me for having taken some other word, I shall be able to bear down that opposition so long as the content of the word that you may suggest to me bears the same

meaning. Hence I have times without number to urge upon your attention that the safeguards that have been suggested are completely unsatisfactory. They are not in the interests of India.

Three experts from the Federation of Commerce and Industry have in their own manner, each in his different manner, told out of their expert experience how utterly impossible it is for any body of responsible Ministers to tackle the problem of administration when 80 per cent of her resources are mortgaged irretrievably. Better than I could have shown to you they have shown out of the amplitude of their knowledge what these financial safeguards mean for India. They mean the complete cramping of India. They have discussed at this table financial safeguards but that includes necessarily the question of Defence and the question of the Army. Yet while I say that the safeguards are unsatisfactory as they have been presented I have not hesitated to say, and I do not hesitate to repeat that the Congress is pledged to giving safeguards, endorsing safeguards which may be demonstrated to be in the interests of India.

At one of the sittings of the Federal Structure Committee I had no hesitation in amplifying the admission and saying that these safeguards must be also of benefit to Great Britain. I do not want safeguards which are merely beneficial to India and prejudicial to the real interests of Great Britain. The fancied interests of India will have to be sacrificed. The fancied interests of Great Britain will have to be sacrificed. The illegitimate interests of India will have to be sacrificed. The illegitimate interests of Great Britain will also have to be sacrificed. Therefore again, I repeat if we have the same meaning for the same word, I will agree with Mr. Jayakar, with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other distinguished speakers who have spoken at this Conference.

I will agree with them all that we have after all, after all these labours, reached a substantial measure of agreement, but my despair, my grief, is that I do not read the same words in the same light. The implications of the safeguards of Mr. Jayakar I very much fear are different from my implications, and the implications of Mr. Jayakar and myself are perhaps only different from the implications that Sir Samuel Hoare, for instance, has in mind; I do not know. We have never really come to grips. We have never come to brass tacks as you put it, and I am anxious—I have been pining—to come to real grips and to brass tacks all these days and all these nights, and I have felt: why are we not coming nearer and nearer together, and why are we wasting our time in eloquence, in oratory, in debating, and in scoring points? Heaven knows, I have no desire to hear my own voice. Heaven knows I have no desire to take part in any debating. I know that liberty is made of sterner stuff and I know that the freedom of India is made of much sterner stuff. We have problems that would baffle any statesman. We have problems that other nations have not to tackle. But they do not baffle me; they cannot baffle those who have been brought up in the Indian climate. Those problems are there with us. Just as we have to tackle our bubonic plague, we have to tackle the problem of malaria. We have to tackle, as you have not, the problem of snakes and scorpions, monkeys, tigers and lions. We have to tackle these problems because we have been brought up under them. They do not baffle us. Somehow or other we have survived the ravages of these venomous reptiles and various creatures. So also shall we survive our problem and find a way out of those problems. But to-day you and we have come together at a Round Table and we want to find a common formula which will work. Please believe me that whilst I abate not a little of the claim that I have registered on behalf of the Congress, which I do not pro-

pose to repeat here, while I withdraw not one word of the speeches that I had to make at the Federal Structure Committee, I am here to compromise; I am here to consider every formula that British ingenuity can prepare every formula that the ingenuity of such constitutionalists as Mr. Sastri, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Jinnah, Sir Mahomed Shafi and a host of other constitutionalists can weave into being.

I will not be baffled. I shall be here as long as I am required because I do not want to revive civil disobedience. I want to turn the truce that was arrived at at Delhi into a permanent settlement (Applause). But for Heaven's sake give me, a frail man, 62 years gone, a little bit of a chance. Find a little corner for him and the organisation that he represents. You distrust that organisation though you may seemingly trust me. Do not for one moment differentiate me from the organisation of which I am but a drop in the ocean. I am no greater than the organisation to which I belong. I am infinitely smaller than that organisation; and if you find me a place, if you trust me, I invite you to trust the Congress also. Your trust in me otherwise is a broken reed. I have no authority save what I derived from the Congress if you will work the Congress for all it is worth, then you will say goodbye to terrorism; then you will not need terrorism. To-day you have to fight the school of terrorists which is there with your disciplined and organised terrorism, because you will be blind to the facts or the writing on the wall. Will you not see the writing that these terrorists are writing with their blood? Will you not see that we do not want bread made of wheat, but we want bread of liberty; and without that liberty there are thousands to-day who are sworn not to give themselves peace or to give the country peace.

"The Writing on the Wall"

I urge you then to read that writing on the wall. I ask you not to try the patience of a people known to be proverbially

patient. We speak of the mild Hindu, and the Mussalman also by contact good or evil with the Hindu has himself become mild. And that mention of the Mussalman brings me to the baffling problem of Minorities. Believe me, that problem exists here, and I repeat what I used to say in India—I have not forgotten those words—that without the problem of Minorities being solved there is no Swaraj for India, there is no freedom for India. I know that; I realise it; and yet I came here in the hope perchance that I might be able to pull through a solution here. But I do not despair of some day or other finding a real and living solution in connection with the Minorities problem. I repeat what I have said elsewhere that so long as the wedge in the shape of foreign rule divides community from community and class from class, there will be no real living solution; there will be no living friendship between these communities. It will be after all and at best a paper solution. But immediately you withdraw that wedge the domestic ties, the domestic affections, the knowledge of common birth—do you suppose that all these will count for nothing?

Were Hindus and Mussalmans and Sikhs always at war with one another when there was no British rule, when there was no English face seen there? We have chapter and verse given to us by Hindu historians and by Mussalman historians to say that we were living in comparative peace even then. And Hindus and Mussalmans in the villages are not even to-day quarrelling. In these days they were not known to quarrel at all. The late Maulana Mahomed Ali often used to tell me and he was himself a bit of an historian. He said: "If God"—"Allah" as he called God—"gives me life, I propose to write the history of Mussalman rule in India; and then I will show through documents that British people have preserved that Aurangazeb was not so vile as he has been painted by the British historian; that the Mogul rule was not so bad as it has been shown to us in British

history; and so on. And so have Hindu historians written. This quarrel is not old; this quarrel is coeval with this acute shame. I dare to say it is coeval with the British advent, and immediately this relationship, the unfortunate, artificial, unnatural relationship, between Great Britain and India is transformed into a natural relationship when it becomes, if it does become, a voluntary partnership, to be given up, to be dissolved at the will of either party, when it becomes that you will find that Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Christians, untouchables, will all live together as one man.

I want to say one word about the Princes, and I shall have done. I have not said much about the Princes, nor do I intend to say much to-night about the Princes, but I should be wronging them and I should be wronging the Congress if I did not register my claim, not with the Round Table Conference but with the Princes. It is open to the Princes to give their terms on which they will join the Federation. I have appealed to them to make the path easy for those who inhabit the other part of India, and therefore I can only make these suggestions for their favourable consideration, for their earnest consideration. I think that if they accepted, no matter what they are, but some fundamental rights as the common property of all India, and if they accepted that position and allowed those rights to be tested by the Court, which will be again of their own creation, and if they introduced elements—only elements—of representation on behalf of their subjects, I think that they would have gone a long way to conciliate their subjects. They would have gone a long way to show to the world and to show to the whole of India that they are also fired with a democratic spirit that they do not want to remain undiluted autocrats, but that they want to become constitutional monarchs even as King George of Great Britain is.

The Frontier Province

Sir a note has been placed in my hands by my friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum, and he says, will not I say one word about the Frontier Province. I will, and it is this. Let India get what she is entitled to and what she can really take, but whatever she gets whenever she gets it, let the Frontier Province get complete autonomy to-day. That Frontier will then be a standing demonstration to the whole of India, and therefore the whole vote of the Congress will be given in favour of the Frontier Province getting provincial autonomy to-morrow. Prime Minister, if you can possibly get your Cabinet to endorse the proposition that from to-morrow the Frontier Province becomes a full fledged autonomous province I shall then have a proper footing amongst the Frontier tribes and convene them to my assistance when those over the border cast an evil eye on India.

Last of all, my last is a pleasant task for me. This is perhaps the last time that I shall be sitting with you at negotiations. It is not that I want to sit at the same table with you in your closets and to negotiate and to plead with you and to go down on bended knee before I take the final leap and final plunge. But whether I have the good fortune to continue to tender my co-operation or not does not depend upon me. It largely depends upon you. But it may not even depend upon you. It depends upon so many circumstances over which neither you nor we may have any control whatsoever. Then let me perform this pleasant task of giving my thanks to all from Their Majesties down to the poorest men in the East End where I have taken up my habitation.

In that settlement which represents the poor people of the East End of London I have become one of them. They have accepted me as a member, and as a favoured member of their family. It will be one of the richest treasures that I shall carry with me. Here too I have found nothing but courtesy and noth-

ing but a genuine affection from all with whom I have come in touch. I have come in touch with so many Englishmen. It has been a priceless privilege to me. They have listened to what must have often appeared to them to be unpleasant, although it was true. Although I have often been obliged to say these things to them they have never shown the slightest impatience or irritation. It is impossible for me to forget these things. No matter what befalls me, no matter what the fortunes may be of this Round Table Conference, one thing I shall certainly carry with me—that is, that from high to low I have found nothing but the utmost courtesy and the utmost affection. I consider that it was well worth my paying this visit to England in order to find this human affection. (Applause). It has enhanced, it has deepened my irrepressible faith in human nature that although Englishmen and Englishwomen have been fed upon lies so often that I see disfiguring your Press, that although in Lancashire the Lancashire people had perhaps some reason for becoming irritated against me, I found no irritation and no resentment even in the operatives. The operatives, men and women, hugged me. They treated me as one of their own. I shall never forget that.

I am carrying with me thousands upon thousands of English friends. I do not know them but I read that affection in their eyes as early in the morning I walk through your streets. All this hospitality, all this kindness will never be effaced from my memory no matter what befalls my unhappy land. I thank you for your forbearance.” (Applause).

APPENDIX III

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S SPEECH

The following is the text of the Premier's closing speech delivered at the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference :

The Premeir said :

We have now had two sessions of the Round Table Conference and the time has come to survey the important work

which has been done first of all in setting out the problems which in the task of Indian constitution-building we have to surmount and then in trying to find how to surmount them. The reports presented to us now bring our co-operation to the end of another stage and we must pause and study what has been done and the obstacles which we have encountered and the best ways and means of bringing our work to a successful end as rapidly as possible.

"I regard our discussions and our personal contact here as of the highest value and make bold to say that they have raised the problem of Indian constitutional reform far above the mere technicalities of constitution-making, for, we have won that confidence in and respect for each other, which has made the task one of helpful political co-operation. That, I am confident, will continue to the end. By co-operation alone can we succeed.

2. "At the beginning of the year, I made a declaration of the policy of the then Government and I am authorised by the present one to give you and India a specific assurance, that it remains their policy. I shall repeat the salient sentences of that declaration.

"The view of His Majesty's Government is, that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the legislatures. Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during the period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances and also with such guarantees as are required by the Minorities to protect their political liberties and rights. In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India

through the new constitution to full Responsibility for her own Government.

3. "With regard to Central Government, I made it plain that subject to defined conditions, His Majesty's late Government were prepared to recognise the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature if both were constituted on an All-India Federal basis.

"The principle of Responsibility was to be subject to the qualification, that, in the existing circumstances, Defence and External Affairs must be reserved to the Governor-General and that, in regard to Finance, such conditions must apply as would ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance, unimpaired, of the financial stability and credit of India.

4. "Finally, it was our view that the Governor-General must be granted the necessary powers to enable him to fulfil his responsibility for securing the observance of the constitutional rights of minorities and for ultimately maintaining the tranquillity of the State.

5. "These were, in broad outline, the features of the new constitution for India, as contemplated by His Majesty's Government at the end of the last Conference.

6. "As I say, my colleagues in His Majesty's present Government fully accept that statement of January last as representing their own policy. In particular, they desire to reaffirm their belief in an All-India Federation as offering the only hopeful solution of India's constitutional problem. They intend to pursue this plan unswervingly and to their utmost to surmount the difficulties which now stand in the way of its realisation.

"In order to give this declaration the fullest authority, the statement which I am now making to you, will be circulated to-

day as a White Paper to both Houses of Parliament and the Government will ask Parliament to approve it this week.

“The Difficulties”

7. “The discussions which have been proceeding during the past two months have been of value in showing us more precisely the problems we have to solve and have advanced us towards the solution of them. But they have also made it plain that others still require further examination and co-operative consideration. There is still difference of opinion, for instance, as to the composition of powers of the Federal Legislature and I regret that owing to the absence of a settlement of the key question of how to safeguard the Minorities under a Responsible Central Government, the Conference has been unable to discuss effectively the nature of the Federal Executive and its relationship with the Legislature. Again, it has not yet been possible for the States to settle amongst themselves their place in the Federation and their mutual relationship within it. Our common purpose will not be advanced by ignoring these facts nor by assuming that the difficulties they present will somehow solve themselves.

“Further Discussions Required”

“Further thought, discussion and reconciliation of different interests and points of view are still required before we can translate the broad general aims into the detailed machinery of a workable constitution. I am not saying this to indicate the impossibility of nor to foreshadow any pause in our work. I only wish to remind you that we have put our hands to a task which demands alike from His Majesty’s Government and from the leaders of Indian opinion care, courage, and time, lest, when the work is done, it may bring confusion and disappointment and, instead of opening the way to political progress, may effectively bar it. We must build like good craftsmen well and truly. Our duty to India demands that from all of us.

8. "What then is the general position in which we find ourselves as regards a practical programme for the advancement of our common aims? I want no more general declarations which carry us no further in our work. The declarations already made and repeated to-day are enough to give confidence in the purpose of the Government and to provide work for the Committees to which I shall refer. I want to keep to business. The great idea of an All-India Federation still holds the field. The principle of a responsible Federal Government subject to certain reservations and safeguards through the transitional period remains unchanged. And we are all agreed that the Governor's provinces of the future are to be responsibly-governed units enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere.

Future of Frontier Province

9. "I should explain at once in connection with that the last point that we contemplate as one feature of the new order that the North-West Frontier Province should be constituted a Governor's Province, but with due regard to the necessary requirements of the Frontier and that, as in all other Governor's provinces, the powers entrusted to the Governor to safeguard the safety and tranquillity of the Province shall be real and effective.

Sind to be Separate Province

10. His Majesty's Government also accept, in principle, the proposition which was endorsed at the last Conference that Sind should be constituted a separate Province if a satisfactory means of financing it can be found. We, therefore, intend to ask the Government of India to arrange for a conference with the representatives of Sind for the purpose of trying to overcome

the difficulties disclosed by the report of the expert financial investigation which has just been completed.

“Federation not to be achieved in a Month”

11. But I have digressed from the question of a programme in the light of the accepted factors—Federation as the aim and self-governing provinces and the Indian States as its basis. As I have said, our discussions have made it clear to all of us that a Federation cannot be achieved in a month or two. There is a mass of difficult constructive work still to be done and there are important agreements to be sought by which the structure must be shaped and cemented.

“It is equally plain that the framing of a scheme of Responsible Government for the Provinces would be a simpler task which could be more speedily accomplished. The adjustments and modifications of the powers now exercised by the Central Government which would obviously have to be made in order to give real Self-Government to the Provinces should raise no insuperable difficulties. It has, therefore, been pressed upon the Government that the surest and speediest route to a Federation would be to get these measures in train forthwith and not to delay the assumption of full responsibility by the Provinces a day longer than is necessary. But it is clear that a partial advance does not commend itself to you. (Applause.) You have indicated your desire that no change should be made in the constitution which is not effected by one all-embracing statute covering the whole field and His Majesty’s Government have no intention of urging a responsibility, which, for whatever reasons, is considered at the moment premature or ill-advised. It may be that opinion and circumstances will change and it is not necessary here and now to take any irrevocable decision.

“We intend and have always intended to press on with all possible despatch with the Federal plan.

"It would clearly be indefensible, however, to allow the present decision to stand in the way of the earliest possible constitutional advance in the North-West Frontier Province. We intend therefore to take the necessary steps as soon as may be apply to the North-West Frontier Province, until the new constitutions are established, the provisions of the present Act relating to Governor's Provinces.

The Communal Question

12. "We must all, however, realise that there stands in the way of progress, whether for the Provinces or the Centre, that formidable obstacle, the communal deadlock. I have never concealed from you my conviction that this is, above all others, a problem for you to settle by agreement amongst yourselves. The first of the privileges and the burdens of a self-governing people is to agree how the democratic principle of representation is to be applied, or, in other words, who are to be represented and how it is to be done. This Conference has twice essayed this task. Twice it has failed. I cannot believe that you will demand that we shall accept these failures as final and conclusive.

13. "But time presses. We shall soon find that our endeavours to proceed with our plans are held up (indeed they have been held up already).

"If you cannot present us with a settlement acceptable to all parties as the foundations upon which to build, in that event His Majesty's Government would be compelled to a provisional scheme, for they are determined that even this disability shall not be permitted to be a bar to progress.

"This would mean that His Majesty's Government would have to settle for you not only your problems of representation, but also to decide as wisely and justly as possible, what checks and balances the constitution is to contain to protect the minori-

ties from an unrestricted and tyrannical use of the democratic principle expressing itself solely through the majority power. I desire to warn you that if the Government have to supply, even temporarily, this part of your constitution which you are unable to supply for yourselves and, through it will be our care to provide the most ample safeguards for minorities, so that none of them need feel that they have been neglected, it will not be a satisfactory way of dealing with this problem.

"Let me also warn you that if you cannot come to an agreement on this amongst yourselves it will add considerably to the difficulties of any Government here which shares our views of an Indian constitution and it will detract from the place which that constitution will occupy amongst those of the other nations. I, therefore, beg of you once more to take further opportunities to meet together and present us with an agreement.

14. "We intend to go ahead. We have now brought our business down to specific problems, which require close and intimate consideration, first of all by bodies which are really Committees and not unwieldy conferences and we must now set up machinery to do this kind of work.

"Working Committee of Conference"

"As that is being done and conclusions presented we must be able to continue consultations with you. I propose, therefore, with your consent to nominate in due course a small representative Committee—a Working Committee of this Conference—which will remain in being in India, with which, through the Viceroy, we can keep in effective touch. I cannot here and now specify precisely how this Committee can best be employed. This is a matter which must be worked out, and must, to some extent, depend on the reports of the Committees we propose to set up. But in the end we shall have to meet again for a final review of the whole scheme.

"The plan in a word is this. I would like you to carry it in your mind that these two sessions have provided now a mass of details. You have sketched out in a general way the kind of constitution you want. Then, you have said, 'This wing of it, has not yet been drawn in detail by any architect' and we now have to consider the stresses upon the fabric—the best way to protect it, to safeguard it and to carry it. With that material in front of us we appoint this Committee, that Committee and other Committees to study the matter and to produce proposals for us for dealing with them. That is what you would call the detailed work that must be pursued.

"And you know perfectly well, my friends, that a Conference as large as this or a Committee as large as some of those Committees that have been meeting under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor cannot do that work. There are too many long speeches. (Laughter.) There are too many written speeches. There is not enough intimate, practical and pointed exchange of view sharp across a table, without ten minutes speeches—two seconds observations met by another two seconds observations. Only in that way are you going to work it out. But whilst this is being done, we have to keep in contact with what I would call the large, representative political body—a body of this nature, a body which this typifies. That is the plan, the conception of His Majesty's Government—of quick, effective, scientific and certain work in the building up of the great constitution of India, to which reference has been made.'

15. "It is our intention to set up at once the Committees whose appointment the Conference has recommended viz.,

(A) To investigate and advise on their revision of the franchise and constituencies.

(B) To put to the test of detailed budgetary facts and figures the recommendations of the Federal Finance Subcommittee and

(C) to explore more fully the specific financial problems arising in connection with certain individual states.

"We intend that these Committees shall be at work in India under the Chairmanship of distinguished public men from this country as early in the new year as possible. The views expressed by you here on the other outstanding Federal problems will be taken into consideration at once and the necessary steps taken to get better understanding and agreement upon them.

16. "His Majesty's Government have also taken note of the suggestion made in paragraph 26 of the Federal Structure Committee's third report with the object of facilitating an early decision on the distribution among the states of whatever quota may be agreed upon for their representations in the legislature.

"It follows from what I have already said that they share the general desire for an early agreement on this question among the States and His Majesty's Government intend to afford the Princes all possible assistance by way of advice in this matter. If it appears to the Government that there is likely to be undue delay in their reaching an agreement amongst themselves the Government will take such steps as seem helpful to obtain a working settlement.

Safeguards for Minorities

17. "I have already alluded to another matter to which you have given ample evidence that you attach great importance, and to which you will expect me to refer. A decision of the communal problem, which provides only for representation of the communities in the legislatures is not enough to secure what I may call 'natural rights'. When such provisions have been made the minorities will still remain minorities and the constitution must therefore contain provisions which will give all creeds and classes a due sense of security that the principle of Majority Government is not to be employed to their moral or

material disadvantages in the body politic. The Government cannot undertake here and now to specify in detail what those provisions should be. Their form and scope will need the most anxious and careful consideration with a view to ensuring on the one hand that they are reasonably adequate for their purpose and on the other that they do not encroach to an extent which amounts to stultification upon the principles of representative Responsible Government.

"In this manner the Committee of Consultation should play an important part, for here also, just as in regard to the method and proportions of electoral representation, it is vital to the success of the new constitution that it should be framed on a basis of mutual agreement.

18. "Now, once again, we must say each other goodbye.

"For a time we shall meet individually and we shall meet. I hope, on committees carrying on this work to which we have set our hands. Not 'we' in the sense of His Majesty's Government, but 'we' in the sense of you and us together.

"Great strides have been made; greater, I am sure you will find, than the most optimistic think. I was glad to hear, in the course of these debates speaker after speaker taking that view. It is the true view.

"These Conferences have not been failures in any sense of the term. These Conferences had to meet. These Conferences had to come up against obstacles. These Conferences had to be the means by which the diversity of opinion had to be expressed. These Conferences enabled us not only to mobilise the goodwill of India and England, but also enabled us to mobilise the great problems, the historical problems, of India. These problems have enabled us all, you and we together, to come down and face hard reality and to gather from mutual conference the spirit and the determination to overcome difficulties.

"We have met with obstacles but one of those optimists, to whom humanity owes most of its progress, said that "obstacles were made to be overcome." In that buoyancy of spirit and the goodwill which comes from it, let us go on with our task. My fairly wide experience of the Conferences like this is that the road to agreements is very broken and littered with obstructions to begin with and the first stages often fill one with despair. But quite suddenly and generally unexpectedly the way smoothes itself out and the end is happily reached. I not only pray that such may be our experience, but I assure you that the Government will strive unceasingly to secure such a successful termination to our mutual labours."

Vote of thanks to Premier

After the Premier's speech, Mr. Gandhi proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

He said that he did so with the greatest pleasure. It would not be expected of any of them and, least of all, of him to comment on the weighty pronouncement of the Chairman. He had a double duty, one to conduct the Conference and the other to convey the decisions of His Majesty's Government. It was more pleasant to Mr. Gandhi to refer to the first duty. He congratulated the Chairman on the lessons he had given them in time since he would try to pass that lesson on to his countrymen. The Prime Minister had shown amazing industry and worked to exhaustion old men like Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Sastri and himself. "Therefore I have the greatest pleasure in moving a vote of thanks."

"But there is an additional reason, and it is perhaps the greater reason," Gandhiji continued, "why I should shoulder this responsibility and the esteem and the privilege that have been given to me.

"It is somewhat likely—I would say only somewhat likely because I would like to study your declaration once, twice,

thrice and as often as may be necessary, scanning every word thereof and reading the hidden meaning in it, crossing all the T's and dotting all the I's—and if I then come to the conclusion, as just now seems likely—that, as far as I am concerned, we have come to the parting of the ways and that our ways take different directions, it does not matter to us. Even so, you are entitled to my hearty and sincerest vote of thanks.

“We must face the storms of Life”

“It is not given to us always to expect a meticulous regard for each other's opinions and always be accommodating so that there is no principle left. On the contrary the dignity of human nature requires that we must face the storms of life. Sometimes even blood brothers have to go each his own way, but if at the end of their quarrel, at the end of their differences, they can say that they bore no malice and that even so they acted as becomes a gentleman, a soldier, if it be possible at the end of the chapter for me to say that of myself and my countrymen and if it is possible for me to say that of you, Mr. Prime Minister, and of your countrymen, I will say that we parted also well.

“I do not know in what directions my path will lie, but it does not matter to me. Even then, although I may have to go in an exactly opposite direction, you are still entitled to a vote of thanks from the bottom of my heart.” (Loud applause.)

Sir A. Qaiyum

Sir Abdul Qaiyum, seconding, confessed that he was overwhelmed by the announcement of the fate of his province and in view of the honour of seconding the vote, his happiness was unbounded. He sincerely and heartily supported the vote. The Premier's statement on behalf of the Government was quite satisfactory to him and though every delegate might not be satisfied, there was one from the far off corner of India who was quite satisfied with the fate of his own province. (Applause.)

Sir Abdul Qaiyum expressed his gratitude to the Government and all the members of the Conference for the announcement. He said that he hoped that the best interpretation would be placed on the words "with due regard to the requirement for the defence of the frontier" and that they would be allowed even if they occasionally committed mistakes, every opportunity of acquiring experience of the new constitution.

H. H. The Nawab of Bhopal

The whole-hearted support of the Princes to the vote was expressed by the Nawab of Bhopal who assured full co-operation of the States with the British Government and British India in the noble task of creating a Greater India. The Princes were very grateful to the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor and Sir S. Hoare for the courtesy, kindness and goodwill. They were grateful to every Englishman for the hospitality of England. They were carrying back the happiest memories and hoped they would soon meet again, perhaps this time in India. The Conference had strengthened the indissoluble links uniting the two countries.

The Premier's Reply

The Prime Minister, replying to the vote, said that he was deeply touched by the warmth of the reception. His old friends knew perfectly well how close to his heart India and her people lay. He would feel very happy, if, when he retired from active life, a settlement between India and British had been reached that would make India content and give reason to the British people to be proud of their capacity to handle the very delicate subject and cement for all time the finest and most spontaneous friendship between India and Britain.

"Go by the Path of Goodwill"

The Premier hoped that they were going away determined to co-operate. It was no good going on any other path. "The path

of reason and mutual goodwill of the two peoples uniting to take the road to aim which we now profess together to have in common is the path of the future, whatever may have been the path of the past."

The Premier said that he was much obliged for Gandhiji's kind and friendly words and continued that there was only one thing to quarrel with him. "Why does he refer to himself in relation to me as an old man? (Laughter). The Mahatmaji has got years to his advantage. It was a young man who spoke at twelve last night. (Laughter). It was an old man in the chair. I do not know which of us looks older, but the records show that in the ordinary course of nature I am much nearer the end of my time than Gandhiji himself and if there is anybody who has got a grievance about prolonged sitting, it is not the young man who spoke. It is the old man who presided whom you kept out of bed until 2-30 in the morning and then made to get up at 6 a.m., in order to come here with a prepared statement. That is where the grievance is, but here I have none, not a particle, not a shadow, if it has been in the interests of India."

I am so glad my old friend, Sir Abdul Qaiyum, seconded the resolution. It was a great achievement to get Mr. Gandhi and him together. That is a foretaste of what is going to happen (applause) when the Muslim and the Hindu (Mr. Gandhi interjected, "not Hindu.")

The Chairman said: Mr. Gandhi understands the lapses of the untrained human tongue.

Mr. Gandhi: I forgive it.

The Chairman: He understands lapses of the untrained human tongue such as mine, Mussalmans and others (laughter and applause) together. I am beginning to pick up Mr. Gandhi's thoughts, because he has always told us that you were sections and he comprehended you all.

Mr. Gandhi: Of course.

The Chairman: But look at the effect of you two coming together in order to co-operate and express gratitude to a Scotsman. My dear Mahatma, let us go on in this way. It is the best way. You may find it to be the only way. It is certainly the way that will enable both of us to take great pride in our work and to relate our political action with those glorious spiritual impulses which lie at the sources of all our being.

The Premier concluded by wishing all a very good voyage home and a very happy, prosperous returning. "And do remember, we are enlisted in the same cause and that we are bound by the same loyalty to India herself. Do remember to stand shoulder to shoulder with us in exchange of views, and by mutual co-operation and with good luck and good fortune, we shall solve the problems that now confront us and see India stand self-governing and self-respecting in the world (Loud applause).

"For the last time, I declare that the Conference now adjourns."

Dramatic Closing Scene

The closing scene at the second Indian Round Table Conference will be remembered for its quiet drama. At the conclusion of his closing speech, Mr. MacDonald raised the Chairman's mallet in tense silence and with a responding hit upon the table, said, "For the last time, I declare that the Conference now adjourns".

The silence continued for a few seconds and then the Prime Minister moved towards Mr. Gandhi and clasped him by the hand. The two looked straight into each other's eyes and talked in very low tones of the future?

Then Mr. MacDonald wished farewell to one delegate after another.

ERRATA:—Page 78, fourteenth line from bottom; Instead of the present read "Mahatmaji thought that the Finance Sub-Com-"

THE
ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

INDIA'S DEMAND FOR DOMINION STATUS

SPEECHES

BY

*THE KING, THE PREMIER, THE BRITISH
PARTY LEADERS AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRINCES
AND PEOPLE OF INDIA.*

Rs. Two

G. A. NATESAN & Co.,
MADRAS

NOTE

The circumstances that led to the Round Table Conference and the discussions therein have attracted considerable attention both in India and abroad. There have indeed been differences of opinion in the country regarding the outcome of the deliberations. To some the Conference is a historic and momentous gathering, the declaration of the Princes to join a Federation with British India and the Premier's statement are the charter of a new freedom for India; while others have no good word to say of them. But all the same everybody is agreed that India's demand for Dominion Status has been re-inforced with remarkable eloquence and authority at the Round Table. The discussions, "were most valuable in informing and shaping public opinion" alike in England and in India. The speeches herein collected are thus of timely interest and the publishers have made every endeavour to present the full text of the speeches of members of the various delegations.

To add to the usefulness of the volume the publishers have included the full text of H. E. the Viceroy's Statement on the Genesis of the Conference as also a summary of the House of Commons debate on the Round Table Conference.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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H. E. THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT : NOV. 1, 1929

THE GENESIS OF THE R. T. C.

I have just returned from England where I have had the opportunity of a prolonged consultation with His Majesty's Government. Before I left this country, I said publicly that, as the King-Emperor's representative in India, I should hold myself bound to tell my fellow countrymen as faithfully as I might, of India's feelings, anxieties and aspirations. In my endeavour to discharge that undertaking, I was assisted by finding, as I had expected, a generous and sincere desire not only on the part of His Majesty's Government but on that of all persons and parties in Great Britain to hear and to appreciate everything that it was my duty to represent.

These are critical days, when matters by which men are deeply touched are in issue and when, therefore, it is inevitable that political feeling should run high and that misunderstandings, which would scarcely arise in conditions of political tranquillity, should obtain a firm foothold in men's minds. I have nevertheless not faltered in my belief that behind all the disquieting tendencies of the time, there lay the great mass of Indian opinion overflowing all divisions of race, religion or political thought fundamentally loyal to the King-Emperor and, whether consciously or not, only wanting to understand and to be understood. On the other side, I have never felt any doubt that opinion in Great Britain, puzzled as it might be by events in India,

or only perhaps partially informed as to their true significance, was unshaken in its determination that Great Britain should redeem to the full the pledges she has given for India's future. On both countries, the times have laid a heavy and, in some ways, a unique responsibility, for the influence on the world of a perfect understanding between Great Britain and India might surely be so great that no scales can give us the measure either of the prize of success or the price of failure in our attempts to reach it.

In my discussions with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State, it was inevitable that the principal topic should have been the course of events in India. It is not profitable on the other side to discuss to what extent or with what justification the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission two years ago has affected the general trend of Indian thought and action. Practical men must take facts and situations as they are and not as they would have them to be.

SIMON COMMISSION

Sir John Simon's Commission, assisted as it has been by the Indian Central Committee, is now at work on its report, and until that report is laid before Parliament, it is impossible, and even if it were possible, it would, in the view of His Majesty's Government, clearly be improper, to forecast the nature of any constitutional changes that may subsequently be proposed. In this respect, every British party is bound to preserve to itself complete freedom of action. But what must constantly engage our attention, and is a matter of deep concern to His Majesty's Government, is the discovery of the means by which, when the Commission has reported, the broad question of British Indian constitutional advance may be approached in co-operation

with all those who can speak authoritatively for opinion in British India.

I would venture to recall some words which I used in addressing the Assembly eight months ago on a reference to the then existing political situation. On the one side, I said it is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem as it would be short-sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India. We shall surely stray from the path at the end of which lies achievement if we let go either one or the other of these two main guiding principles of political action.

INDIAN STATES

But there has lately emerged from a totally different angle another set of considerations which is very relevant to what I have just stated on this matter to be the desire of His Majesty's Government. The Chairman of the Commission has pointed out in correspondence with the Prime Minister, which, I understand, is being published in England, that as their investigation has proceeded, he and his colleagues have been greatly impressed in considering the direction which the future constitutional development of India is likely to take with the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may at some future time develop between British India and the Indian States. In his judgment, it is essential that the methods by which this future relationship between these two constituent parts of greater India may be adjusted should be fully examined. He has further expressed the opinion that if the Commission's report and the proposals subsequently to be framed by the Government take this wider range it would appear

necessary for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure as at present proposed. He suggested that what might be required after the reports of the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee have been made, considered and published but before the stage is reached of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, would be the setting up of a Conference in which His Majesty's Government should meet representatives both of British India and of the States for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament. The procedure by Joint Parliamentary Committee conferring with delegations from Indian Legislature and other bodies which was previously contemplated and is referred to in Sir John Simon's letter to myself of 6th February 1928 would still be appropriate for the examination of the Bill, when it is subsequently placed before Parliament, but would, in the opinion of the Commission, obviously have to be preceded by some such conference as they have suggested. With these views, I understand that His Majesty's Government are in complete accord, for while they will greatly desire when the time comes to be able to deal with the question of British Indian political development under conditions the most favourable to its successful treatment, they are with the Commission deeply sensible of the importance of bringing under comprehensive review the whole problem of the relations of British India and the Indian States. Indeed, an adjustment of these interests, in their view, is essential for the complete fulfilment of what they consider to be the underlying purpose of British policy, whatever may be the method for its furtherance which Parliament may decide to adopt.

1917 DECLARATION

The goal of British policy was stated in the Declaration of August 1917 to be that of providing for 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 British Empire. As I recently pointed out, my own Instrument of Instructions from the King-Emperor expressly states that it is His Majesty's will and pleasure that the plans laid down by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain its due place among his Dominions. The Ministers of the Crown, moreover, have more than once publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should, in the fulness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Dominions. But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government, in enacting the statute of 1919, I am authorised, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to state clearly that in their judgment, it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

In the full realization of this policy, it is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place and, even if we cannot, at present, exactly foresee on what lines this development may be shaped, it is from every point of view desirable that, whatever can be done, should be done to ensure that action taken now is not inconsistent with the attainment of the ultimate purpose which those, whether in British India,

or the States, who look forward to some unity of all India, have in view. His Majesty's Government consider that both these objects, namely, that of finding the best approach to the British Indian side of the problem, and secondly of ensuring that in this process the wider question of closer relations in the future between the two parts of greater India is not overlooked, can best be achieved by the adoption of procedure such as the Commission has outlined. When, therefore, the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports and these have been published, and when His Majesty's Government have been able in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them separately or together; as circumstances may demand, for the purpose of a conference and discussion in regard both to the British Indian and the All-Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that, by these means, it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent.

It is not necessary for me to say how greatly I trust that the action of His Majesty's Government may evoke response from and enlist the concurrence of all sections of opinion in India, and I believe that all, who wish India well, wherever and whoever they are, desire to break through the webs of mistrust that have lately clogged the relations between India and Great Britain.

I am firmly assured that the course of action now proposed is at once the outcome of a real desire to bring to

the body politic of India the touch that carries with it healing and health and is the method by which we may best hope to handle these high matters in the way of constructive statesmanship.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The opening of the Round Table Conference in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords on Wednesday the 12th November 1930 was attended with stately splendour. As has been observed, for the first time in the history of British connection with India the King of England presided over the Conference and gave his Royal blessings to a historic gathering called upon to deal with the momentous problem of India's future constitution. There were 86 delegates in all: 16 from the Indian States, 57 representing British India and 13 the British political parties. The central figure in the scene was the King himself. The Premier, Princes and their Ministers sat to the right of the throne, Mr. Benn and other British delegates to the left and the British Indian delegation to the front. Among the keenly interested visitors were the Prime Ministers of the Dominions.

PLENARY SESSION—FIRST DAY.

H. M. THE KING EMPEROR

IN opening the Conference H. M. the King said:—

It affords me much satisfaction to welcome to the capital of my Empire representatives of the Princes, Chiefs and People of India and to inaugurate their Conference with my Ministers and representatives of other parties composing the Parliament in whose precincts we are assembled.

More than once a Sovereign has summoned historic assemblies² on the soil of India but never before have British and Indian statesmen and rulers of Indian States met, as you now meet, in one place and round one table

to discuss the future system of Government for India and seek an agreement for the guidance of my Parliament as to the foundations upon which it must stand.

Nearly ten years ago, in a message to my Indian Legislature, I dwelt upon the significance of its establishment in the constitutional progress of India. Ten years is but a brief span in the life of any nation, but this decade has witnessed not only in India but throughout all nations forming the British Commonwealth a quickening and growth in ideas and the aspirations of nationhood which defy the customary measurement of time.

It should, therefore, be no matter for surprise to men of this generation that, as was then contemplated, it should have become necessary to estimate and review the results of what was begun ten years ago and to make further provision for the future.

Such a review was lately carried out by the Statutory Commission, appointed by me for that purpose and you have before you the outcome of their labours, together with other contributions which have been, or can be made to the solution of the great problem confronting you. No words of mine are needed to bring home to you the momentous character of the task to which you have set your hands.

Each one of you will, with me, be profoundly conscious how much depends for the whole of the British Commonwealth on the issue of your consultations. This community of interest leads me to count as of happy augury that there should be present to-day representatives of my Government in all sister States of the Commonwealth. I shall follow the course of your proceedings with the closest and most sympathetic interest, not indeed without anxiety but with a greater confidence.

The material conditions which surround the lives of my subjects in India affect me dearly and will be ever present in your thoughts during the forthcoming deliberations. I have also in mind the just claims of the majorities and minorities, men and women, town dwellers and tillers of the soil, land-lords and tenants, strong and weak, rich and poor, of races, castes and creeds of which the body politic is composed.

For these things I care deeply. I cannot doubt that the true foundation of Self-Government is the fusion of such divergent claims in mutual obligations and in their recognition and fulfilment.

It is my hope that the future Government of India, based on this foundation, will give expression to her honourable aspirations.

May your discussion point the way to a sure achievement of this end and may your names go down in history as those of the men who served India well and whose endeavours advanced the happiness and prosperity of all my beloved people! I pray that Providence may grant you in a bounteous measure wisdom, patience and goodwill.

THE RT. HON. RAMSAY MACDONALD

My first duty, as Chairman, is to ask your consent—I know it is forthcoming in full measure—to convey our humble duty to His Majesty and the expression of loyal gratitude with which we have welcomed his gracious presence here and the inspiration his words have given us. I know also that you would have me include our loyal and grateful appreciation of the kindly solicitude of Her Majesty the Queen, which my Indian friends, have been privileged to experience. Nor are we unmindful that it is to His Majesty's gracious permission that we owe the honour of holding our meeting in this Chamber to-day and hereafter in the Royal Palace of St. James's. We are deeply sensible of these signal marks of Their Majesties' sympathy and favour. I am very conscious of the responsibility you have put upon me.

But the responsibility lies heavily on us all, for we are now at the very birth of new history. Declarations made by the British Sovereigns and statesmen from time to time, that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare for Self-Government have been plain. If some say that they have been applied with woeful tardiness, I reply that no permanent evolution has seemed to anyone going through it to be anything but tardy.

I am never disturbed by people who say that I have not fulfilled my pledges, provided I am fulfilling them. We have met to try to register by agreement a recognition of the fact that India has reached a distinctive point in her constitutional evolution. Whatever that agreement may be there will be, some who will say that it

is not good enough or that it goes too far. Let them say so. We must boldly come out and appeal to the intelligent and informed public opinion.

The men who co-operate are pioneers of progress. Civil disorder is the way of reaction. It destroys social mentality wherefrom all constitutional development derives its source and whereupon all stable internal administration is based.

The task ahead of us is beset with difficulties for a solution of which the past affords no ready-made guide. There are stubborn diversities of view still to be brought together and conflicting interests that have hitherto proved irreconcilable. Could any issues be more momentous? Could any be more enticing to men who love to make rough places smooth? We must bring to our task all the resources of mutual trust, practical sagacity and statesmanship which we can command.

This is not the time for reciting, to say nothing of prejudging, our problems. We shall meet them as we proceed. Let us face them as men determined to surmount them. Why not? What problems of growth and development in liberty and institution have our peoples not faced? And united we remain despite our diversities, because of our skill in harmonising the differences by a reasonable mutual accommodation. What better example could we have than the goodly array of distinguished Prime Ministers who have been with us consulting about dominion affairs?

His Majesty's presence at the opening of our deliberations has enabled us to understand both the strength and flexibility of the bond binding our whole Commonwealth of Nations together in loyalty and devotion to the Crown. The attendance of the representatives of the Dominion Governments is an earnest of the interest and

goodwill with which sister-states of the Commonwealth of Nations will follow our labours. The association of Princes for the first time in a joint conclave with representatives of the people of British India is symbolical of the gradual moulding together of India into one whole and, when I turn to the representatives of British India I am mindful of India's different communities, languages and interests, but I am reminded still more of the quickening and unifying influences which have grown irresistibly from her contact with Great Britain and of the aspirations for a United India which were in the minds of her philosophers and her rulers before the first English traders set foot on her shores.

Nor is it without significance that we who though not of India, also seek India's honour, are drawn from all the three parties in this Parliament and on the interplay of whose rivalries no less than ideals, is built up our British system of Government.

But, apart from these things, surely the simple fact that we have come here to sit at one table with the set and sole purpose of India's advancement within the companionship of the Commonwealth is in itself an undeniable sign of progress towards that end and also an inspiring challenge to reach an agreement.

We must now begin our labours. Things have been said in the past whether in anger or blindness or for mischief, which we had better forget at this table. Whatever be the story that is to be written of this Conference, be assured that it will be written. Let us strive to make it worthy of the best political genius of our peoples and add by it to the respect paid by the world to both our nations.

H. H. THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA

The Gaekwar of Baroda voiced the sense of privilege in saying a few words on behalf of the Indian States delegation and said that they were deeply beholden to His Majesty, to whom he begged of the Premier to convey their sentiments of loyalty to his throne and person. He said: "These historic precincts have witnessed many conferences fraught with import, but I doubt if ever before they have been the scene of one like this when the issues at stake involve the prosperity and contentment of India's millions and greatness of the British Empire. By the concession in a generous measure of the aspirations of the Princes and peoples of India and by that alone can the realisation be given to the noble words of the great Queen Victoria as expressed in the famous proclamation namely, 'In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best regard.' May we all labour whole-heartedly with mutual trust and goodwill for the attainment of so great an end."

THE MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR

The Maharaja of Kashmir expressed deep gratitude for His Majesty's cordial welcome and prayed Providence to grant them the vision and will to realise the hopes expressed in the inspiring words of their beloved King Emperor. He drew attention to the unprecedented nature of the gathering and continued:—"Allied by treaty with the British Crown, and within our territories independent rulers, we have come with a full sense of the responsibility to our states and all India. As allies of Britain we stand solidly by the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land of our birth, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our lands the enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth. Our desire to cooperate to the best of our ability with all sections of the Conference is genuine as also is our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation. Neither England nor India can afford to see this Conference end in failure. We must resolve to succeed. The difficulties shall not be insuperable. We must exercise patience, tact and forbearance and be inspired by mutual understanding and goodwill. We must give and take. If we succeed, England no less than India gains. If we fail India no less than England loses. The task is gigantic. In the case of no people would such aim as ours be easy to accomplish. In the case of India, the complexity of the factors is unique, but, by the grace of God, with goodwill and sympathy on both sides the difficulties shall be surmounted and with the words of the King-Emperor still ringing in our ears we Princes affirm that the Conference shall not fail through any fault of ours."

SIR AKBAR HYDARI

Sir Akbar Hydari declared that His Majesty's address, full of personal sympathy to which every Indian heart immediately responded would prove an inspiration and guide to all of them. The Nizam counted "Faithful Ally of British Government" among the proudest of his titles. For 150 years the Nizams had held steadfastly to the "alliance in perpetuity" as the treaties proudly proclaimed it. "As with the Hyderabad so with all the States and I can assure the peoples of the Empire and the world at large that no hand shall sever the ties binding the Princes to the Crown. At the same time the States, autonomous within their own borders, can fully sympathise with the aims and ideals of the people of British India and be ready to work in harmony with them for a Greater United India, which we all hope will be the outcome of our deliberations. In this spirit we enter the Conference and shall do our utmost to assist in the solution of the problems to our country's satisfaction of her aspiration. Every race, creed and religion has its own distinct contribution to make to the Commonwealth and we of the States bring no mean inheritance, traditions and culture handed down from the spacious days when in politics, arts and science, India was amongst the foremost of the peoples of the world. We approach a task beset with so many difficulties in all humility, not trusting in our own power, but in the guiding hand of Divine Providence."

THE RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI

The gracious and inspiring words of His Majesty contain lessons which we must learn to practise if we would succeed in the enterprise about to begin, Sir, under your gracious and well proved guidance. The Crown is the symbol of both power and unity and draws our hearts in willing homage and reverence.

It is, moreover, the fountain of justice, freedom and equality among the various peoples of the Commonwealth and loyalty, therefore enjoins faithful and unceasing pursuit of these ideals and we should be failing in our duty to the Crown if we knowingly tolerated anywhere under the British flag conditions that produced injustice, inequality or undue restrictions on the growth of communities.

This Conference will enable all parties interested in India to bring together their ideas as the subjects of her contentment and peaceful advance to the fulfilment of her destiny. Bold and candid speech is required, but also moderation, forbearance and a readiness to appreciate different views. Above all a vision of India as a whole must be the sovereign consideration governing all our plans. You will hear, Sir, many claims and counsels. Some may be in mutual conflict. Our common prayer is that somehow through the magic of your personality these claims may be reconciled and these fragmentary counsels gathered into one complete scheme so that this table may be hereafter remembered as the table of rounded wisdom and statesmanship.

Through all clouds of prejudice and misunderstanding that have darkened the problem two statements of policy shine like bright guiding stars and both have the authority of His Majesty's Government. Firstly of the Viceroy last year to the effect that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as contemplated in the declaration

of August 1917 is the attainment of Dominion Status : secondly in July of this year he promised India the enjoyment of as large a degree of management of her own affairs as could be shown to be compatible with the necessity of making provisions for those matters in regard to which she is not yet in a position to assume responsibility.

Our allotted task is to interpret these statements liberally and to translate them courageously into positive measures for the benefit of India and the increased glory of of the Commonwealth.

MR. U. BA PE

Mr. Ba Pe, on behalf of Burma, appreciated the honour by the selection of a Burman to speak on the momentous occasion and assured His Majesty of Burmans' loyalty and hoped that His Majesty would live long to preside over the destinies of the Great Empire. He voiced the gratitude to His Majesty's Government for arranging the Conference and believed that a friendly discussion would remove the obstacles that would have otherwise looked insurmountable. He pointed out that the case of Burma, in some ways, was a special one, but they brought the fullest measure of goodwill and co-operation, confident that the deliberations would promote the political progress of Burma, satisfy the aspirations of the people and increase their prosperity and happiness. They had brought high hopes that in the words of Mr. MacDonald uttered recently 'our liberty will be broadened in self-government, which is essential for the national self-respect and contentment.' "We love our country and believe in the greatness before it. We look to England for friendship and affection and hope that we will soon be able to take our place as equal partners with other Dominions in the great British Empire."

MR. MOHAMAD ALI JINNAH

Mr. Jinnah acknowledged the sympathy and kindness of their Majesties and opined that it was fortunate that the statesman of Mr. MacDonald's calibre and experience had agreed to preside over the deliberations. He was glad that Mr. MacDonald had referred to the declarations of British sovereigns from time to time that Britain's work in India was to prepare her for Self-Government.

He drew attention to the Viceroy's recent announcement that the only issue implicit in the declaration of His Majesty's Government is the "attainment of Self-Government."

"But I must now emphasise that India expects the translation and fulfilment of these declarations. There never was a more momentous or graver issue in the history of the two nations than the present one on which hangs the fate of nearly one-fifth of the population of the world. We welcome the association of the Princes' Delegation with the representatives of the people of British India. I desire and hope that all parties, interests and communities will apply to the task (in the words of Mr. MacDonald) all resources of mutual trust, practical sagacity and statesmanship which we can command.

I must mark my pleasure at the presence of the Premiers and representatives of Dominions. I am glad they are here to witness the birth of a new Dominion of the British Commonwealth."

SECOND DAY, NOV. 17.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

Mr. Prime Minister, the responsibility which has been cast upon my shoulders in presenting the case of my country to you is very great ; but I will beg some patience on your part, for the subject is great and complicated and involves many delicate issues affecting not only India but the relations of India to England. Let me tell you at the outset that we are here to add, if we can, a bright chapter to the history of the relations of England and India. (Applause.)

You and other British statesmen have in the long course of your political experience and duties, been accustomed to preside over, or be associated with, so many conferences of international character that it ill-becomes a humble politician like me from across the seas to tell you that so many hopes are wound up with the success of this conference. An anxious and restless India is watching you. May I also add that the eyes of the whole world are on you ? Not only are we Indians on our trial but if I may respectfully say so, and if I may beg you not to misunderstand me, the whole of British statesmanship is on trial.

This is absolutely the first time in the history of the connection of India and England that such a big gesture has been made by England towards India. It is a gesture which means that Indians and Englishmen should sit at a round table not to enter merely into a clash of ideas but

if possible to evolve a constitution for the country which may settle our difficulties for all time to come and which may enable us to settle down to constructive work.

I will ask you to bear with me when I remind you of the circumstances under which the Conference has been called. Last year, I believe, it was on the 31st October 1929, Lord Irwin, for whom let me tell you frankly, I have a genuine admiration (loud and prolonged applause)—a Viceroy who is very much misunderstood, to my surprise, in his country and, let me say, also in my country but whose heart is with us, I feel assured about it—made that famous announcement. The secret history as to how that announcement came to be made has yet to be written. But we must take that announcement as an accomplished fact. You pledged yourself there to certain ideas, to a certain policy and this Conference has been convened to implement that policy. In his speech which Lord Irwin delivered on July 9 last to the Indian Legislatures he again referred to that matter in these words, that the purpose of this Conference was 'that the spokesmen of Great Britain and India would take free counsel together upon measures which the Government would later present to Parliament'. And if I may be permitted to refer to the letter which Lord Irwin addressed to my distinguished friend Mr. Jayakar, and myself when we started on a mission which unfortunately failed, his Excellency wrote as follows: 'It remains my earnest desire as it is that of my Government and I have no doubt also that of His Majesty's Government to do anything we can in our respective spheres to assist the people of India to obtain as large a degree of the management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume

responsibility.' What those measures may be and what provisions may be made for them, will engage the attention of the Conference, but I have never believed that with mutual confidence on both sides it should be impossible to reach an agreement.

In that spirit and for that purpose, we have come here across the seas in the midst of the gibes and ridicule of our own countrymen. We have already been described in our country as traitors to the cause. We have come here in the midst of that opposition, but have brought with us the determination to argue with you, to discuss with you frankly and freely, to make our contribution to the solution of the problem, to make ourselves heard but also to hear you and to invite you to make your contribution, so that in the end we may say that those who have already forecast the future were really false prophets. In that spirit I wish to present my case before you.

No greater mistake can be made by British statesmen and my British friends—and I claim I do possess some friends among the British—than to imagine that India stands to-day where she did even ten years ago. I think the idea of the progress India has made during the last ten years could not have been better described than in the gracious words of our Sovereign on the opening day of this Conference. We have travelled a very long distance. Let that be realised. Let this time-worn theory, that we are only a handful of men be abolished for good. Mr. Jayakar and I, during the months of July, August and September, were constantly travelling from one end of the country to the other. We saw with our own eyes, we heard with our own ears, signs and cries which it would have been impossible for me or him to imagine. When I read in the English press descriptions of the situation in India, my heart sinks.

I am not making a reference to these things with the object of frightening you. I am not holding out any threat. I am simply stating facts. I make an absolutely honest confession that, so far as I am concerned, I have realised from the beginning the grave dangers of the civil disobedience movement in my country. But while I have realised the grave dangers of that movement, I have also realised the importance of placing a true interpretation of what it really represents. I beg you on this occasion to rise superior to the small administrative view of this question and to take a broad statesmanlike view of the unrest you find in India. I beg you to think like this.

Never before in the history of India, never before even in the Moghul period has India been governed by agents and sub-agents. The Moghuls or Mahomedans may have come as invaders but they had settled down, became men of the same country and became part and parcel of our social system. What is the system that you have established? It is a system of the Parliamentary sovereignty, a sovereignty exercised by some 700 odd members of Parliament on behalf of a population of 45,000,000 and you are attempting to exercise that sovereignty over 320,000,000 people living 6,000 miles away from the centre of your political power. I speak with the utmost deference in the presence of the Secretary of State, but I do say that an ordinary member of the Parliament has neither the necessary time nor the necessary capacity nor the necessary vision to understand the mind or feelings of India. And if Mr. Benn will excuse me, I will say that the Secretary of State, however distinguished he may be, is one of those 700 men. Necessarily he has to depend upon the advice of men in the India Office. While I have great admiration for the Civil Service, whether it is your civil service or the

civil service of my country, I cannot forget that while the civil servants can be very good servants they are very bad masters. Therefore I say that ultimately it comes down, not to Parliamentary sovereignty, but to the sovereignty of half a dozen men in England and half a dozen men in India. That is how the theory of Parliamentary sovereignty works out. Can you expect a country like mine, brought into contact with Western ideas and vibrating with the new movement of the East, to remain content with that sort of government? Certainly not. It is perfectly natural that we should seek freedom within our own borders as an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

You will ask me, 'What is it exactly that you want?' When I have talked to my British friends—some of them are very highly placed statesmen—if I have used in the course of the conversation that forbidden phrase 'Dominion Status', some of them have asked me, 'What does it all mean?' I have been asked that question, in fact by one of your biggest statesmen in private. When we talk about Dominion Status, the average Englishman stands up in the middle of the road and asks, 'What does it all mean?' I would respectfully ask whether, in 1865, when you had to tackle the question of Canada or, in 1900, when you had to tackle the problem of Australia or, in 1909, when you were face to face with the problem of South Africa after that terrible war—whether the average Englishman stood up and asked, 'What does it all mean?'

When you ask what are the implications of Dominion Status, I am ready to give an answer to that question, but let me tell you what we want before I proceed further avoiding that expression which is unpleasant to some ears. I will put my case like this: India wants, and is determined to achieve, a status of equality with the other free

members of the British Commonwealth, an equality which will give it a government not merely responsive to but responsible to the popular voice. Speaking for myself, I say with all conviction—I possess conviction based not merely on theory but on experience derived, if I may respectfully say so, from my official experience, however brief it may be—that it will not do for you to take provincial autonomy or anything of that kind, unless you couple with it a decided and clear change in the constitution of the Central Government. You must make that responsible to the legislature.

At this stage you may ask me, assuming that India wants a responsible central government, what is going to be the relation of that responsible central government to the provinces, and what is going to be the relation of responsible central government to the States? That at once gives rise to the question whether our constitution should be of a federal character. Before I express any views, may I make a very respectful appeal to some of my illustrious countrymen, who are patriots first and princes afterwards. It will not do for their Highnesses, and I know they are far from conceiving such a thing, to say that they are here only for the protection of their rights. Let me respectfully tell them that they are Indians first and Indian princes next, and that they owe as much duty to the common Motherland as we do. I am not one of those who have a horror of Indian princes. I make that confession publicly. I think of the Indian princes every inch as patriotic as any one of us and I make an earnest appeal to them not to confine their vision merely to what is called one-third India, I ask them to say whether at any time in history India was so arbitrarily divided as it is now geographically British India or Indian India. I say we are one India. I leave

it to them to move forward with the vision of an India which will be one single whole, each part of which may be autonomous and may enjoy absolute independence within its own borders, regulated by proper relations with the rest. I, therefore, ask them to come forth on this occasion and say whether they are prepared to join an all-India federation. I express no definite opinion. I will not commit this Conference to any particular issue on this point. These issues have to be examined carefully and minutely. I do suggest, however, so far as we are concerned, that we have the vision of a united India and not merely India divided into so many compartments. I have no doubt that when the Maharaja of Bikaner addresses the Conference, he will advert to these questions and will take us now into his confidence.

If you agree that there has got to be responsibility at the centre, inevitably you must ask yourself the question, unitary or federal? Speaking for myself, and I speak in regard to this matter in my individual capacity, I am a very strong believer in the federal form of government. I believe therein lies the solution of the difficulty and the salvation of India.

And if I were to express my opinion freely, I would welcome the association of Indian States with British India mainly for three reasons. I say they will furnish a stabilising factor in our constitution. Further I say that the process of unification will begin at once. Lastly, I say that in regard to matters of defence they will furnish a practical experience which is yet wanting in British India. For all these reasons I invite them to join this bigger federation. The details have to be worked out. They were not present to the mind of the Government of India when they wrote their despatch. The Government of India in their des-

patch vaguely speak of a far-off distant federation. With us, it is a real and live issue now. If we can come to some solution of that, I frankly think that nothing better can be achieved at this Conference.

Having said that much, I will revert to the question of the form of government. I may be reminded by some friends here that absolutely unrestricted responsible government at the centre is at the present moment an impossibility. I may be reminded that there is the question of law and order involved. I may be reminded that there are European interests involved. There is the entire system of commerce involved. There is finance, which is the basis of all constitution, involved. My answer is this: If these are the difficulties, by all means face them and find a solution for them. But you ought not, you cannot, treat them as insurmountable difficulties which make it imperative on you to say, "no, Gentlemen, we shall not admit your claim to responsibility in the centre, because these are the difficulties for which our combined statesmanship is unable to find any solution." I do not want my friends of the British Delegation to take that position.

No one can be more interested in the maintenance of law and order than we Indians. I admit there may be difficulties, but what has been your history during the last 25 years ever since the Partition of Bengal? Every five years there has sprung up an agitation of an acute character and we had—I mean Europeans and Indians have had—either to resort to extraordinary powers or shut up thousands of men and put up with grave breaches of law. Is this what you call maintenance of law and order? Surely no Indian Minister could have made graver blunders than have been made in dealing with a situation of this character. I do say, that is the position which has got to be

fairly faced, and you will never be able to maintain law and order so long as you do not satisfy the political aspirations, so long as the question of the minorities is not settled, so long as the untouchables and the depressed classes do not feel that they have a definite position of honourable equality. Solve these problems and then the whole problem of law and order becomes very much simpler.

I now come to commerce. What is the trouble about commerce? I am quite aware that there is a very large amount of European capital invested in India, but I am not one of those, and I believe there is not a single man here, who would like to have any expropriatory legislation. We do not want to rob the Europeans of their capital. On the contrary we are most anxious that our friends the Europeans who have settled down in India or who carry on business there should feel that they have the same rights and privileges which genuine born Indians have. They are quite welcome to suggest any safeguards for their rights and interests. We shall be more than willing to meet them.

You talk of finance as being an obstacle and of the absence of a Reserve Bank. My answer to that is, by all means establish a Reserve Bank based not on a political but purely financial and economic basis. When we know that the constitution is going to be ours, that the government is going to be ours, why should we adopt a non-possumus attitude? There is not very much force in the argument that the credit of India will disappear in the London market, if finance comes into Indian hands. I know instances in which private individuals have raised money in London. I know that your country has advanced big loans to small countries which are not within your Empire. Surely, after 150 years of association with Great Britain, after

having enjoyed a system of government which has importance, and established stability in the country, do you mean to say that the credit of India in the London market will disappear simply because our finances pass into other hands. Did you ever raise this question in the case of other countries? I, therefore, ask you, if you feel there is any real and genuine difficulty with regard to these matters, please do not use them as obstacles in our way but as difficulties to be surmounted.

I now come to the question of Army. May I remind you of a very striking speech of the late Mr. Montagu, for whom everyone of us here has not merely respect but deep genuine affection, in which he said :—‘Having kept Indians out of the commissioned ranks for 70 or 80 years, having deprived them of the opportunity to build up their own army and receive training, does it in fairness lie in your mouth to say now : “Oh India must not get self-government because it cannot defend its own borders and it cannot maintain its own peace”. The argument is neither fair nor, from a practical point of view, can it be maintained. As practical politicians, we realise that there is difficulty about the Army. We realise we have got to train a sufficient number of our own men and we have to be patient about that. But all we say is, give us the opportunity to train our own men. Give us freedom to establish institutions. So far as your Army is concerned by all means keep it in the hands of the Viceroy. Let him exercise control over the Army through the Commander-in-Chief or through a Minister whom he may appoint and we, for our part are willing to provide funds and agree to statutory changes in respect of the Army. These are matters which have got to be finally adjusted and examined.

I have been told privately, and I have read it in documents—and it causes me some despair—that no British Minister will agree to the transfer of the British Army to the control of Indian Ministers. That question, to my mind, is not of immediate importance, but I do hope people who talk like that do not mean to imply that no British officer will be willing to serve under any Indian fellow-subject. At the present moment it so happens and it has happened repeatedly during the last few years, that Indians hold the highest offices under the Crown and I have not yet known a single instance in which a member of the Indian Civil Service or any other service had declined to take orders from his Indian superior on the ground that he is an Indian. I appeal to my late chief, Lord Reading. I had the honour at one time to be a member of his government and I appeal to him to say whether the relations between the European members of the Executive Council and Indian members on the one hand and between the Indian members of the Executive Council and the secretaries most of whom were members of the Indian Civil Service were cordial or otherwise. I should like to refer to a remarkable case which exists in India at the present moment. In Lahore, the Chief Justice of the High Court happens to be a distinguished countryman of mine Sir Shadi Lall, one of the most striking personalities of India. I have never heard a single judge of the High Court say that he feels it a matter of disgrace that he should be presided over by an Indian Chief Justice. I say therefore, let us put it : After all, the point of view we take is this : You and we are subjects of the same King-Emperor, you and we belong to the same Commonwealth of Nations. There ought not to be any feeling of superiority or inferiority,

because so long as there is that feeling of superiority and inferiority, India can never be happy and can never be contented. (Applause.) Let us deal with the problem of the Army, therefore, in the manner in which practical statesmanship requires it to be done, but do not say to us that because of these obstacles we ought to go back to our own countrymen and say: the utmost that we have been able to achieve by going 6,000 miles and by talking to British statesmen of all the three parties is provincial autonomy.

Let me ask you only one thing. I would make a personal appeal to Lord Reading in this matter, because I believe that if there is one man in this assembly who understands the constitution of India from the legal and political point of view, it is Lord Reading. I would ask him to consider this. Do you really think that it will make for peace and harmonious action if you give the provinces provincial autonomy, which means responsible government, and on the top of that have an irresponsible central government? Quite apart from questions of a political character I say that the machinery will break down in the course of a week. It will give rise to so many deadlocks, it will cause so many occasions of friction that the machinery will break down. The position, therefore, is plain and simple. Take your courage in your hands, provide as many safeguards as you can so long as those safeguards do not destroy the vital principle. Then go ahead with courage and with faith. Courage and faith together with the commonsense of the people of India will come to your rescue. Their whole future is at stake. But do not say: You shall march so many paces.' The time has long since passed by when India could hold its soul in patience and march to that far-off ideal through the ages.

I very respectfully beg you to change your outlook on the whole situation.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have already taken much more time than I intended. But before I resume my seat I should like to express the hope that you and we may work in the closest possible co-operation and that we may speak without mental reservations, because I believe there can be no greater crime against England or India than to speak with mental reservation on an occasion like this. I hope you and we may succeed in evolving a constitution which will bring peace and contentment in my country, which will make the youth of my country look to their country with pride, with confidence and with assurance and which will make your office and your name immortal in the history of India and England.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER

We meet in no ordinary times to attempt no ordinary task. In our immediate concern is the peace, happiness and good Government of 319 millions of people, looking to whatever Government may be established for some relief from their present distresses, and who, I venture once again to assert, certain unhappy circumstances notwithstanding, are loyal to the core.

What, then, would be the result, if from any irresolution on our part, from unreason on one side or re-action on the other, from timidity in one party and a refusal to recognise the essentials of constitutional Government in another, we flinched from the work and failed in our duty to secure the greater contentment of India?

It goes without saying that a very heavy responsibility rests on each and every one of us taking part in this Conference, and that the issues involved are really tremendous. It is impossible to minimise the magnitude of the task that lies before us, nor do I desire to underrate the complexity of some of the problems involved. I am an optimist, but there is no use in shutting one's eyes to facts. I have seen in Bombay and elsewhere during my travels in British India how the masses in the districts are being affected; and I wish I could adequately express the gravity of the situation.

I have always declined to be moved by threats of dire consequences, nor have I submitted to being dictated to at the muzzle of the pistol; but undue regard for preconceived ideas and false notions of prestige, or exaggerated fears of some possible consequences, have, I feel it will be agreed

also, to be guarded against. I for one—and here I feel that I speak for my Order as well as for the representatives of British India who are gathered in this ancient hall—refuse to be made fearful by the difficulties ahead (applause). Rather do I find in them an inspiration to put forth the uttermost that is in me in a spirit of confidence and of courage. The very immensity of the work makes it worth doing well. His Majesty the King-Emperor, at the opening of this conference, was pleased to remind us that the last decade had witnessed a quickening and growth in the ideals and aspirations of nationhood, which defy the customary measurements of time.

I venture to appeal to you, Mr. Prime Minister, as well as to the other members of His Majesty's Government and to our colleagues here representing the British political parties, to take your courage in both hands, to throw your hearts over the fence and to follow boldly after, in the conviction that the greater our vision and determination, the greater is our success likely to be and the richer in consequence the harvest which we all—British India, the Indian States, Great Britain and the Empire—shall reap.

The ultimate attainment of Dominion Status under the Crown is inherent in the declaration of policy of 1917, and has more recently received an authoritative endorsement. Let us hitch our wagon to that star, fully realising that our sister States did not reach the end at one stride, but after evolution based on experience, and that in the intervening stage, certain safeguards and guarantees are imperatively necessary for the security of the body politic and all the parts thereof, but looking straight ahead nothing worth having can be attained without facing some risks.

That was when Lord Durham laid the foundation for the proud position which Canada enjoys to-day as

the premier Dominion in our great Commonwealth. Similar reasons were given, when Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman secured Dominion Status for South Africa with the best results. I am equally convinced that if this Conference will do the right thing, my country will be a willing and contented partner in the Commonwealth. She will then be only too glad, side by side with an honourable and independent position internally, to have all the powers and resources of our mighty Empire always at her back.

No half-hearted measures and no tinkering with the constitution, will, I beg you to believe, meet the situation. Many of our troubles in the past and our troubles of the present have arisen from these causes. Moreover, when any responsible demand for some constitutional advance was made it was often too late.

There never was a time in the history of the world and of the Empire, when courage—courage in thought, in aim, in constructive statesmanship—was more needed than now, when the great ambitions stirring in India are struggling for constitutional expression. It is in this spirit of courage, of confident imagination and of liberal statesmanship that I pray we may approach this great task. I speak primarily for myself, though I believe I shall have general agreement from the Princes and those representing our Indian States. We are here specially to present the policy of the Indian States. First and foremost, there is an unflinching loyalty to the throne and person of his Majesty, the King Emperor of India. With the traditions of centuries of kingship and with the instincts of hereditary rule ingrained in our being, the kingly idea and the monarchical system are bone of our bones, flesh of our flesh. Even if we were tempted to weaken from this principle, which is impossible to contemplate, the intense

devotion of the Imperial House of Windsor to the interest of India would rekindle our faith.

Three notable and encouraging messages from His Imperial Majesty still ring in our ears. They are the plea for sympathy in dealing with India, made on the conclusion of his Indian tour, when Prince of Wales, twenty-five years ago, the watchword of hope six years later at Calcutta, and the pledge that the princes' privileges and rights were inviolate and inviolable when the Chamber of Princes was inaugurated some nine years ago. With those three messages the spirit of sympathy, hope and justice, encouraged by the gracious words addressed to this Conference when it was inaugurated on Wednesday, we come with greater optimism to the work that lies before us.

Linked with this devotion to the Crown is an unflinching adherence to the British Commonwealth of Nations. The old idea of Empire as signifying "Dominion over palm and pine" is finished. The concept of Empire as overlordship based on force was never true, and indeed has not even the frail shadow of reality. The unity of the Empire was signally vindicated in the Great War. The basis of that unity was re-established at the Imperial Conference of 1926, when it was declared that the constituent states are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another, in any aspect of their domestic or internal affairs though united by common allegiance to the Crown. Our attachment to the Empire, or Commonwealth—call it what you may,—is no more a matter of sentiment. It is based on the profound conviction that, not only can each constituent state reach its full expression within this bond and under the Crown, but a higher development, politically and

economically, than it could attain as an isolated independent unit.

Thirdly we stand for the terms of our treaty rights and all that they involve. Those treaties are with the British Crown and obviously cannot be transferred to any other authority without our free agreement and assent. But do not conclude, I pray, from this that I am one of those people who think things never change. The States really maintain that treaties, concluded in honour and friendship are binding, until they be amended and they can only be amended by negotiations and settlement on both sides. Nor must it be concluded that we of the Indian States are under the belief that changes in British India will have no reflex action on ourselves and on our relations with our own subjects. The territories of the Indian states are interwoven with British India, the enterprise of our traders and the business of the new commercial classes have so grown up with the opening of the Suez Canal that we must be influenced by the development of political ideas and institutions beyond our frontiers. We know our States and our subjects. We live amongst our own folk and are in the most intimate contact with the people. We shall know how and when to adjust our system to any changed conditions but we will do so in our own time and in our own way free from all external interference.

Is there anything in adherence to those principles either opposed to, or inconsistent with, the fullest development of India, until she takes her equal place as a constituent state in the British Commonwealth with the other Dominions welded into an indivisible whole under the ægis of the Crown? I say no, a thousand times no.

It is sometimes said that there are two Indias—British India and the India under the rule of her own Princes. That is true in a political sense, but India is a single geographical unit and we are all members one of another. We, the Princes, are Indians, we have our roots deep down in her histories past and we are racy of the soil. Everything which tends to the honour and prosperity of India is for us a vital concern. Everything which retards her prosperity and shakes the stability of her constitution retards our own growth. We claim that we are on the side of progress.

One of the most welcome signs of the times is the material weakening of the idea that the Princes are opposed to the political growth of British India, and would range themselves or allow themselves to be ranged, against the realization of the just hopes of their fellow countrymen in British India. We have, therefore, watched with the most sympathetic interest the rise of that passion for an equal position in the eyes of the world, expressed in the desire for Dominion Status, which is the dominant force among all thinking Indians to-day. Those of us who have grown grey in the responsibilities of rule and in the practical work of administration—and thirty two years have passed, since I assumed the active government of the State of Bikaner—deplore some of the expressions of this urge. We appreciate the fact that when contracts are broken under the impulse of revolutionary fervour they have to be re-knit in blood and tears and that a weary path of suffering and loss has to be trodden before society marches forward again. But, behind these untoward developments, which we hope and pray are only a passing phase, lies the struggle for equality springing from our ancient culture and quickened by years of contact with

the liberty-loving and constitutionally-minded British people. (Applause.)

It is, I submit, our duty to bend our energy to the task of satisfying the righteous demands without impairing the majestic fabric of law. How best can this be achieved? My own conviction is that, if we are to build well and truly, we must recognise that, associated with its geographical unity, India is a land of some diversity. Our starting point, therefore, must be sought, not in the dead land of an impossible uniformity, but in an associated diversity. (Hear, hear). For these reasons, the establishment of a unitary State, with a sovereign parliament sitting at Delhi, to which the whole people would look, in small things as in large, is to my mind impossible. There would be no room in such a constitution for the Indian States. Moreover, such a Government would crack under its own ponderability. Would it not mean the harnessing of the most advanced to the chariot wheels of the least developed, and a slowing down of the general tide of progress?

We of the Indian States are willing to take our part in and to make our contribution to the greater prosperity and contentment of India as a whole. I am convinced that we can best make that contribution through a federal system of government, composed of the States and British India.

These two partners are of different status. The Indian States are already sovereigns and autonomous as of right, having the honour of being linked with the Crown by means of treaties of perpetual alliance and friendship and unity of interests. British India derives, whatever measure of authority it may possess by devolution, but it will not be beyond the wealth of experience available at the table to devise a means of linking these differing units into powerful federal administration.

As to the question whether, if a federal government is devised for India, the Princes and States will enter into association with it, the final answer must obviously depend on the structure of the Government indicated, and on the other points involved, such for instance, as certain necessary safeguards, constitutional and fiscal, for the preservation of the rights and interests of the States and their subjects.

Federalism is an elastic term. There are several forms of federal government.

Conditions in India are unique. We have no historical precedence to guide us, and the position of the Indian States is, I believe, absolutely without parallel. All these, and many other great questions of policy and of detail, have to be examined and defined and settled first in Committee and in informal discussions, but speaking broadly the Princes and States realise that All-India Federation is likely to prove the only satisfactory solution of India's problems. (Applause.)

A federation on the lines I have attempted to sketch on other occasions, has, as I have previously stated, no terrors for the Princes and Governments of Indian States. We, however, recognise that a period of transition will necessarily intervene before the Federal Government is fully constituted, and that Federation cannot be achieved by coercion of the States in any form, that the Indian Princes will only come into the Federation of their own free will and on terms which will secure the just rights of their States and subjects.

I would not venture on the impertinence of even suggesting what course is best for British India. As we demand freedom from interference in our own affairs, equally we shall refrain from thrusting our oars into matters which are not our direct concern. The arrangements

between the Central and Provincial Governments in British India are matters primarily outside the purview of the Indian States. If our co-operation is sought, it will, I am sure, be gladly and freely and honestly given. Our duty is to contribute, so far as we can, to the evolution of a system of Government, which will lead to the close and effective association of the Indian States with British India, whose constitution is to be hammered out here.

At the same time, the rights in certain directions of the Rulers of the Indian States, arising from their Treaties require to be more precisely defined. The Princes and States naturally want to know where they stand. However sincerely desirous of making their contribution to a happy settlement, they will obviously find it difficult to enter into new bonds so long as their rights are left tottering on the shifting sands of expediency deemed paramount at the moment.

I think I can best elucidate what is referred to by quoting from a speech which I made in the Chamber of Princes on behalf of my Order on the 27th February last :—

New-fangled theories about the ultimate powers regarding paramountcy, and such matters, before the appointment of the Butler Committee, and extravagant and exaggerated Imperialist claims, inconsistent with the plighted word and good faith of Great Britain or sound statesmanship advanced on behalf of the Paramount Power,—claims more wide, very frequently more insistent and, I respectfully submit, based on varied and not infrequently untenable grounds, and opposed to constitutional and historical facts and to the provisions of our treaties and other engagements, and in direct contradiction to the solemn and sincere pledges and assurances in the famous gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, repeatedly reiterated and re-affirmed by successive British Sovereigns in numerous proclamations, have not helped to ease the situation or to allay the anxieties of the States of their rulers, governments and people.

The Princes and States, fortified by the legal opinion obtained from some of the most eminent counsel in Great Britain have found themselves unable particularly to accept such claims on the principles enunciated in this connection by the Indian States Committee, and have already taken up the matter with the Viceroy and the British Government.

Starting with the basic recognition that our Treaty rights exist and must be respected, that they are with the Crown and cannot be transferred to any other authority without our agreement and that they can be modified only with our free assent, three developments of the existing administrative machinery are essential for the smooth working of the new system, and, indeed, of any system. It is an open matter of complaint that our Treaty rights have been infringed. I need not stress this point, for it has been publicly admitted by no less an authority than the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, that the Treaty rights of the States have been encroached upon, and that, in some cases, an arbitrary body of usage and political practice has come into being. The time has passed when issues of this importance can be decided ex-parte by any Government.

We therefore attach the utmost importance to the establishment of a Supreme Court, with full powers to entertain and adjudicate upon all disputes of a justifiable nature as to our rights and obligations guaranteed under our Treaties.

This is another point which I need not labour, for it is a principle of which the leaders of political thought in British India have, I believe, I am right in saying, lent their full support.

Next we claim that in the questions, which arise concerning the purely internal affairs of the States, their case

should not go by default. That will be of still greater importance in the future. The King's Viceregent in India is even now burdened with many and grievous responsibilities, which will be weighted under the new system of Government; and here I would once again like to be associated in a respectful tribute and to express our deep admiration and gratitude for that great Viceroy, Lord Irwin. We think that it will be impossible for any man, however able, amid these grave pre-occupations to give adequate personal attention to those questions affecting the States which come up for day to day decision, and for which he will be directly responsible to the Crown.

For those reasons some of us press for the appointment of an Indian States' Council, to work with the Political Secretary and to advise the Viceroy of the day. Thirdly there will be the need for the classification of those administrative questions which are of common concern to British India and the Indian States. This classification will require the previous consent of the States. * * *

Before I sit down, may I ask forgiveness, if as an old soldier, I have unwittingly given offence to anyone by any bluntness of speech. I am inspired by one thought—service to my beloved King-Emperor and devotion to my Motherland. Akbar, the greatest of the Moghuls, when he set out on the crowning adventure of his crowded life placed his foot in the stirrup of opportunity and his hands on the reins of confidence in God. I would commend to you on the threshold of our great enterprise—the conquest of anarchy and reaction in Hindustan and the assurance of her contentment and prosperity as a co-equal partner in our great Commonwealth—the words of Abraham Lincoln in circumstances not altogether remote from these :—

“With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work that we are in.”

MR M. R. JAYAKAR

I did not expect to be called upon at such an early stage of the debate, and I was under the impression that, representing, as I do, the younger generation, I was to be the last of the three speakers on behalf of the British Indian Delegation. However, Sir, as you have commanded me to speak at this stage, I shall accept your invitation in the sense that I shall put before you a few sentiments from the point of view of the younger men in India, who are looking on the Round Table Conference.

You have been told by my esteemed friend, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, under what circumstances the Round Table Conference has been convened. I remember the debate in the Legislative Assembly in 1924, when the most important political party in India, over which our esteemed friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, presided, passed a resolution—in 1924 and 1925—two successive years—desiring and calling the attention of the British statesmen to the desirability of holding a Round Table Conference. That was in the year 1924 and 1925, and it was a surprise to British statesmanship that the very men who then desired the holding of a Round Table Conference are to-day averse to attending the session of that Round Table Conference.

To me it is no wonder, and it is one instance of what an esteemed countryman of mine the late Mr. Gokhale said, many years ago, very pithily. "On all the portals of the Government of India," he said, "is written in large letters the words 'Too late'." What would have satisfied India in the year 1924 is not satisfying India to-day, and,

if I may say so, what will satisfy India to-day, will not satisfy India a year hence.

That is the lesson that I wish to put before this assembly, august as it is; and I can say with perfect confidence that we must proceed to our work, because time is, as the lawyers say, "of the essence of the contract," and I repeat, without giving it as a threat, the sentiment that time is of the utmost importance, because if India gets to-day what she wants, she will be satisfied with many things which will not satisfy her six months hence.

Sir, I come from a Province where, as possibly you have heard, the greatest activity of the Congress is going on. I have seen many things, which very few have been privileged to see in the course of their political experience.

I say with great confidence that the choice before your Government in India is a choice between constitutional Government and chaos and disorder. How you will accept this choice, it is for you to decide, but it is my duty to place before you the extreme gravity of the situation in India. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has stated, to-day we are standing on the threshold of great events in India. Whether you make them great in the constitutional field, or whether you make them great in the field of revolution and anarchy, it is for this Conference to decide. I can only say that great events are going to take place in India, whether they are great in the field of responsibility, constructive work and comradeship, or whether they are great in the field of opposition, bitterness, hatred and anarchy—and that will depend very largely upon what we achieve at this Round Table Conference.

Since coming here, I have had frequent talks with friends. I used to be a student in this city many years ago, and I still retain most pleasant impressions of my days as

a pupil in the rooms of one of your foremost Judges in the Court of Appeal to-day. I carried back with me 25 years ago pleasant memories of my experiences as a pupil sitting cheek by jowl with my English friends, one or two of whom have since become great Judges of your Courts. A few have died. One or two have become eminent King's Counsels, and others have become great Englishmen. I therefore claim to have a few friends in England, and talking with them, I have discovered that the chief obstacles to India getting Dominion Status can be put into three categories. I have met friends who say, "How can India have Dominion Status, when she talks of severance with the Empire, and claims independence?" Many of my English friends have spoken of their fears as follows: "If we give you the first instalment of Reforms, namely, Dominion Status, you will make it a most powerful lever for severance from the Empire—the cry of independence." I do not know whether there are any friends on the opposite side, in whose minds this threat is in operation. I can only say, knowing as I do, my Congress friends intimately, (and I was in contact with them only three months ago), that if you give India Dominion Status to-day in the course of a few months, the cry of independence will die of itself. If, on the other hand, we return empty handed from our labours in this Conference, it will be the surest way of raising, in volume and in intensity, this cry of independence.

I say, without any disrespect to my friends in India, that the cry of independence is a cry of despair, distrust and suspicion. It is a cry emanating from those who have convinced themselves, by reason of their past experience that England does not mean to fulfil her promises to India. We have had several promises time after time. Only to take a recent experience, this time last year there was the

Viceroy's great declaration. I was then in Bombay. It created very great enthusiasm. The idea of meeting British representatives face to face always appeals to a lawyer, as I am. There is a great fascination to a man bred in the law, as I am, to come in contact with men and to discuss face to face with them controversies. As I say, the Viceroy's declaration at that time created great enthusiasm in the city to which I belong, but unfortunately one damper after another came on that enthusiasm. Many of my political friends wanted to know the purpose for which this Round Table Conference was called. The great Viceroy, whose name we will always cherish, found himself in great difficulty. He said, "I am not at liberty to mention what is the purpose of this Round Table Conference. Go to the Round Table Conference, face the members and ask them to define the purpose of their labours by being present at the Round Table Conference." I am an old cricketer. I believe in playing the game. I have, therefore, accepted the invitation, and I have come here; but I would emphasise that, before we proceed with our labours, it is necessary for us to decide that India might feel satisfied as to what is the purpose of the Round Table Conference. If I may say so in all humility, the purpose is to make it possible for India to enter the British Commonwealth. If that is done to-day and I am sure my friends on my right agree—you will kill the cry for independence at once. That is a cry in which, in the language of the bargainer, you ask for 16 annas in order that 14 annas may come to you. All businessmen know that cry. The cry of independence is proceeding from those who either do not believe that England wishes to give India Dominion Status, or who very tactfully want independence in order that Dominion Status might come.

The second obstacle which has been put before me by my friends in England is the Army : how can Indians manage the Army ? As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru mentioned in his memorable words, we are quite agreeable to listen to any safeguards that may be suggested during the period of transition, in order that transition may be made more easy and more safe for both sides.

I am surprised that this talk about the Army arises in connection with a country, in which there is all the fighting material for which one could wish. My Moham-medan friends, the Indian States, my own community of the Mahrattas and the Sikhs are all fighting people. India is a country which possesses traditional fighting talent, which has continued over centuries, and which is quite capable of furnishing the Empire, if ever the time comes, with all the fighting material she may want. You talk of India as wanting in fighting talent—as wanting fighting talent even in defending herself. I am surprised that such talk should take place.

It reminds me of a little episode which happened when Mr. Gokhale came here for a great Coronation, and which he was never tired of reciting to me. He was taken to one of your beautiful parks to see a review of the Sikh and Mahratta soldiers—and beautiful, tall and stalwart men they were. They marched past to the admiration of all the Englishmen and women present and they were clapped. Mr. Gokhale refused to clap. An English friend standing near said, “Why don’t you clap?” Mr. Gokhale replied, “I reserve my clapping for that mighty people who have turned these soldiers into their higher links.” That is the sentiment of the younger men in the country. There is splendid material in the land which you could harness, if

you could only instil a little sentiment, patriotism, courage and self-government, if I may say so, into their midst.

The third difficulty which was mentioned to me was 'You are so divided amongst yourself. You have your minorities—Hindus, Moslems, the depressed classes, the Brahmins and the Non-brahmins.' With regard to that, I wish to mention one circumstance. I do not know whether my English friends will appreciate it, because possibly you have no minorities problem among you. Certainly you have not had that problem within the last 30 or 40 years. My solution of this minorities question is this: give them opportunities of common endeavour for their country, and then much of this minorities difficulties will disappear.

Give them opportunities of feeling that, side by side, they are working for their one country, that they have a common patriotism, for which they can all work together. Do that, and a great deal of the difficulty will disappear. That is my solution, and the reason why I suggest it is this. Under the present system of Government, we very rarely get any chances of working together in the sense of working for our common country. Create that feeling. It can be created only by giving India complete freedom in the form of Dominion Status. Harness all these minorities together, and I have no doubt that a great deal of the discontent, which arises at present, will disappear. That is the solution for the question of minorities.

Lastly I come to an obstacle which has been mentioned to me. It is said, "Suppose India is given Dominion Status; what about the Indian States? Do they feel like you? Are they prepared to come into a Federation? Are they patriotic? Do they feel that they are Indians? The

answer to that has just been given by the noble scion of the House of Bikaner, who spoke before me. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru rightly remarked, the Indian Princes are first Indians and then Princes. Our deliberations, during the next few days, will make it perfectly clear that a common patriotism actuates them, as it actuates British Indians.

Let me say, on behalf of the young India to which I belong, and speaking for those whom I represent, that we are quite ready to do this in order to create a foothold for the Indian States: we will not insist on impossible terms of federation. I do not wish to go into the vexed question of federation or a unitary form of Government; although that question has been stated as the subject-matter of discussion, you, Sir, have very wisely ruled that we may speak on any constitutional question. I do not wish to go into the question of federation or a unitary form of Government, because that is for the experts to decide in committee.

I can only say, speaking for those whom I represent in this Conference, and speaking with great confidence and assurance, that we will not insist on impossible terms of federation so far as the Indian States are concerned. We shall insist on such terms as most of the Indian States are prepared to accept at present. We have no desire, if I may speak for the younger men, to interfere at all in the internal affairs of the Indian States; we are quite prepared to wait, until they of themselves come into line with our ways.

I remember a characteristic paragraph in that memorable Montagu-Chelmsford Report, as we called it in India, where ten years ago this problem was anticipated and in a memorable paragraph, almost poetic like an epic, the authors of that Report stated what is eternally found true and what has certainly been found true in India. They

said that, when you approach these processes of reformation in one part of India, you cannot have any barriers or frontiers beyond which it will not go. Create these forces of reformation, set these processes to work, and the Indian States will not remain immune from their progress for a long time.

It is impossible to conceive of a free British India without conceiving of free Indian States in the course of the next ten, fifteen or twenty years. We are content to wait, so that these slow processes may operate, and so that in the course of time His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner can think of an assembly in his own territory and of handing over responsibility to his own subjects. That is a question of time. We are a very patient set of politicians in British India, and we are content to wait.

We shall therefore not insist on impossible terms, and all that we say to the Indian States is this, "There are concerns of a common character; sit along side us and thrash them out. We have nothing to do with your internal affairs."

If they will accept a supreme tribunal, a supreme court of justice, and if all matters which are in dispute between the Indian States and British India can be referred to this supreme court of justice (over which I hope in course of time a man of the eminence and erudition of Lord Sankey will preside), as long as the Indian States agree to this mode of arbitrament between themselves and British India and say "we voluntarily submit to the jurisdiction of this tribunal"—by what name it is called is immaterial—as soon as that is admitted then, to a politician of my mind, the question is solved. I will therefore not insist on tinkering with their own internal administration; I leave that to the processes of time, and

I have no doubt that in the course of time, when the rest of India is progressive, is free, is democratic, and has notions of right and wrong based on human dignity and personal rights, the same processes will, in the course of time, go beyond the frontiers of the British India, because these processes recognise no frontiers and admit no barriers.

This is an invitation which I am privileged to make to the States and let me give them an assurance that so far as we are concerned, we will raise no obstacles. I wish to give a similar assurance to those friends in front of me who represent British interests in India. I am aware, Sir, that a great many commercial interests are at stake in British India. I have a few friends in commercial circles who have invested millions and millions of rupees in British trade. There is no desire at all that there should be any kind of inroad upon the vested rights of the commercial people at all. All that they wish to do they can do as citizens of India. We may include them in a definition of the law so that they become domiciled Indians. That is a matter merely of phrasing, a matter of definition. But I can assure them that we are quite willing to sit down and accept safeguards which will give them an equal chance with British Indians.

Let me, however, give them one warning that they will not enjoy the monopoly they have enjoyed, so far as it was enjoyed, on the simple ground that in their skin there is less pigment than in mine. Monopolies they have enjoyed on the ground they will find very difficult to maintain, but any other rights they have as citizens of India will remain. We are quite prepared to accept any safeguards, and I think there is enough intelligence in this gathering to devise safeguards to protect all legitimate interests.

I say that England's main interests in India is commercial. I think there are five hundred or one thousand families who send their younger sons to India to make a career for themselves, but that is a problem affecting only a few families. The problem of the ordinary man in dealing with India is mainly commercial. If you exclude these families to whom I have alluded, who are only a handful compared with the rest of the population, then I say your main problem in India is commercial. You want your productions to be sold in the country, and the consuming power of 330 million people is a powerful asset in our hands. It is a country in which your products can be sold. You have just ended a conference at which Imperial Preference was discussed. May I say that I believe that, from the point of view of the commercial man, a contented community is a much better customer than a discontented one? Already, your trade is in great jeopardy. In one city, there are British goods worth five crores lying in the warehouses. Those goods cannot be moved, much less sold. Do you want this state of things to be exaggerated? Your interests are mainly commercial and therefore, it is surely better for you to have a contented customer, a rich customer, who can put his hand in his pockets, and bring out pounds with which to buy your goods, rather than a poor and discontented customer. I submit that prosperity is necessary for the improvement of your trade. I am not speaking of the other moral forces, like friendliness, like comradeship because they come under the terms of psychology of the mind. But even from the point of view simply of material interests, you should give absolute Dominion freedom, Dominion Status, to India in order that your trade may prosper.

THIRD DAY, NOV. 18.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR

“ The longest night seems to be passing away and the sorest trouble seems to be coming to an end at last. The seeming corpse appears to be awakening and a voice is coming to us away, back from where history and even tradition fails to peep into the gloom of the past; coming down from there, reflected as it were from peak to peak of the infinite Himalaya of knowledge, of love and of work.

From India, this Motherland of ours, a voice is coming unto us, gentle, firm and yet unmistakable in its utterances, and is gaining volume as it passes by, and behold the sleeper is awakened. Like the breeze from the mountains, it is bringing life into the almost dead bones and muscles. The lethargy is passing away, and only the blind cannot see or the preverted will not see that she is awakening, this Mother of ours, from her deep long sleep.

None can resist her any more; nor is she going to sleep any more. No more outward powers can hold her back any more, for the infinite giant is rising to her feet.”

Mr. Chairman, Members of His Majesty's Parliaments and Fellow Sons of our great Motherland, I greet you in these words.

I invoke the highest blessing of Providence, that wisdom, strength, dignity and co-operation may guide our deliberations for the service of our country. Remember that this Conference, at which we have assembled, has, to some extent, the destinies of 300 millions—one-fifth of the population of the human race in its hands. This India is

the ancient land where philosophy and spirituality founded their first home. It is here that they dared to peep into the very mysteries of Heaven. It is the same India, which, through its inherent structure of being on true and solid foundations, has withstood the shocks of centuries, of hundreds of evils, of manners and customs. It is the same land which has been firmer than any rock in the world with its indestructible life. Many times one is told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing; but surely it is out of the past, it is on the past, that the future must be built. Look back, therefore, as far as you can; drink deep of the eternal foundations of Divine Love and Spirituality that are behind and, after that, look forward with heads held erect and march onward to make India brighter, greater and much higher than she has ever been. Remember the blood that courses in our veins. We must have faith in that blood that we build an India yet greater than she was.

The problems in India are more complicated, more momentous than the problems in any other country, Race, Religion, Language, Government, all these together make a nation. We see how in Asia, and especially in India, race difficulties and national difficulties, all melt away before the unifying power of spirituality. Therefore, for the well-being of our national cause, we must give up all our little quarrels and differences. Remember, above all things that our ancestors look down upon us and they will do so with contempt on their children, if they quarrel about minute differences. It is when the national body is weak that the disease germs—in a physical, social or political state, or even in an intellectual state crowd into the system. To remedy it, therefore, we must go to the roots of the disease, and the one tendency will be to strengthen the

man, the mind and the body. It is culture that withstands shocks, not a simple mass of knowledge. Therefore, my friends, let us do nothing that will divide us, for divisions will weaken us and degrade us all the more. You all know that at this psychological moment, the whole world is watching us. The solution will not be obtained by dragging down the higher, but by raising the lower up to a higher level. To make a great India, therefore, the secret lies in organisation, accumulation of power, but above all in the co-ordination of wills. Have that faith in ourselves, in that eternal power, first lodged in our soul, and then we will revive the whole of India. Let this be our determination and may He the Lord who comes again and again for the salvation of His own people as is described by many of the different Scriptures of the world lead us all to the fulfilment of our aim—the uplift of India, the good of the Empire.

We must now come down to mundane affairs; and Federation is the question before us. I am not enchanted with that word as a mere form of expression; to me “the United States of India” sounds more grand. Here are the representatives of two Indias, to-day each possessing different religions, but united in the common bond of patriotism, which permeates throughout our respective territories and provinces. We are united in the service of our country; united in our co-operation with the British Empire, of which we form a part—the highest symbol of whose political link is the King Emperor.

The two Indias are politically separate in their administration, and in order to understand the source of their existence, we must—but for only a few brief moments, peep into history. The East India Company towards the downfall of the Moghul Empire, consolidated

its organisation and marched forward, conquering territories that in those days were divided between the decaying central sovereignty and States, some of which had existed for a long time, and others which had come into being through new opportunities. It is in such conditions that this Company carved out for itself territories which, excluding Burma, now amount to one half of India—called British India. This Company, on the other hand, instructed by its Directors, entered upon Treaty Alliances, Engagements, Sanads and Agreements with Indian States, which still existed, as the result of which at the present day the other half is called Indian States.

With regard to the India of the States, when opportunities come we shall put forward our points of view in greater detail, but here I will content myself with stating that we seek no new territories; we seek no new powers but the practical application of our Treaties and Alliances, consecrated by several Proclamations and Speeches from Queen Victoria and all the succeeding Sovereigns of England, the British Parliament and Viceroys to the present day. I will conclude this statement in two sentences.

Usage, sufferance and political practice have for diverse reasons, encroached upon these sacred domains of our Treaties, and what we desire is that such extra rights outside our Treaties, assumed without our consent, and sometimes without our knowledge may be frankly and openly discussed, and should be decided by mutual consent; otherwise our Treaties between the Crown and ourselves have no meaning.

We know how sacredly the Crown and the British people respect their pledged word, and so we have faith that, when the British peoples recognise the simple truth

that we want no more than that those solemn Treaties with us should be observed in practice also, they will, we feel sure, appreciate that we make no new demands, but desire that the simple truth should be recognised and practised.

I now turn to British India. Those who are its representatives are perhaps best able to speak on this subject; but there are two alternatives, which I can best define by the terms "Eastern and Western" conceptions. Talking of the first, there are many who hold the view—however prosaic or antiquated it may sound—that British India may be formed again into Indian States. I will not occupy your time in discussing the details of the problem, however logical and interesting they may be, because I have not the time on the first day except to state (a) that it brings true Swaraj as a living reality considerably near; (b) that it perpetuates the link with the Crown through its Representative, the Viceroy of India. With Hindu, Mahomedan, Sikh and other States so formed, it would set at rest communal questions. Above all, it maintains in strong bonds commercial and trade relations with England. It necessitates an Imperial Army to safeguard the Crown's obligations and to protect the Ports and Frontiers, with the internal Army of the States maintained for security and assistance in emergencies. It ensures religious liberties to every section of India's population, and it carries on the tradition of India's rule according to her past history of hundreds of centuries.

And finally, coming to Federation or which I prefer to call "The United States of India," it immediately simplifies the problem of the rulers uniting in a common body to work out the problems of India. Here is the shortest and the quickest way to Dominion Status. This is what would be an indigenous growth.

The alternative to this had its first seeds sown in a little known despatch by Sir Charles Wood, the grandfather of the present Viceroy who was then Secretary of State, and who initiated the idea of the English language being the medium of Education and Government. This was followed by Lord Macaulay who strengthened this theory. Gradually, this system has grown, which culminated first in the Minto-Morley Reforms where the latter statesman, however, was opposed to the introduction of democratic organisations in India. It is from the time of Mr. Montagu, that passionate lover of India, my country, that events took a definite turn towards responsible self-government. Here the irony of Fate exhibits itself, for, as we learn from Lord Ronaldshay's book, this term was devised by Lord Curzon, who was no less opposed than Lord Morley to democratic institutions for India. This, I am sure, will be generally acknowledged, is a Western system of rule and, therefore, in India, not a growth but a graft.

But, having said so much, I now come to my main point that, if this system is now accepted by British India as the best method for her advance; if that is, as declared also, the final policy of the British peoples towards India—what do I conceive to be the opinion of the States? We realise all that this innovation implies in an Eastern country. We know that one word 'Franchise' alone has originated communal friction. We are not oblivious how it has created complexities of adjusting the future relations of a democratic India with the Indian States. There is further the proposition of this ideal truly permeating down to the masses and grasping them in its hold for the good of all.

May I frankly state with all good-will that, when I first began to know of the path that was chalked out before

British India on these lines, I was reluctantly reminded of an old Irish tune "It's a long, long way to Tipperary". However, when I have said this, I have said enough. I have deliberately done so, for how else could I reconcile myself with the statements that I am going to make regarding British India's future, and the other India of the States administered on ancient and traditional lines? I have certainly sought in doing so no popularity or favours.

Now, if, as I have said, this is the goal that India chooses, and if this is the goal which the British people have decided to place definitely and perpetually before British India, let me say, equally truthfully, that I wish British India God speed. I wish and most earnestly do that the goal of India's Freedom within the Empire as a self-governing Dominion may be reached as early as possible. Personally speaking, the sooner that goal is achieved, the happier I shall be, for who is there of India that does not wish our Motherland to achieve her rightful place alongside the other sister Dominions? Understand me why I emphatically state this is, because I have the inherent conviction that the sooner British India has freedom within these boundaries the sooner will India be able to have her own constitution, through which it can revitalize into a true and traditional India. I go so far as to say without any hesitation, I would not be true to myself or to the land of my birth could I hold opinions to the contrary that India should achieve her position on a footing of equality with her sister Dominions within the Empire, and arrive at the situation of a fully blossomed Dominion Status as early as possible. My aim in saying so is no other than that the larger Empire may find a grateful India, an India co-operating wholeheartedly in making this Empire, to which we are proud to belong, something even greater.

A united India will be the finest and truest jewel and the strongest force in the cause of our Empire. Under this system, I come again to the proposition called at present by the name of Federation, where my ideal is the "United States of India" within the Empire. We are assembled at this table to devise means and ways in order to achieve this end by co-operation, and I am sure you will not find our States lagging behind in joining hands in order to arrive at a happy solution.

We are quite conscious of what it means. We know what all big changes imply. It may necessitate at first a little more injustice. It may mean a little less efficiency at first.

It must mean larger sacrifices on every one's part, the States and, perhaps, some of the majorities and minorities. But for our country's cause, for the cause of India, for the cause of the Empire, shall we stop short for personal, communal or narrow-viewed considerations? Our lives will pass away, but our country will remain. Then at least, let it be said that we were the true sons of our Motherland, India.

I will conclude this statement with these words: When British Indians and Indian Princes came together on the first occasion within my memory to discuss problems of the Empire, it was during the War, at a Conference when Lord Chelmsford invited Representatives from both Indias to discuss questions regarding the performance by India of her duties towards the great cause that, in those momentous days, hung in the balance. I stated then that there would be people standing outside the doors of that house to ask what we had gained in this War Conference. I further stated that my reply would be that we had come at a time when the Empire was in need, and

that was no occasion for demands or gains. We came with the will to give whole-heartedly of what lay in our power for the Empire's cause, and we asked for nothing. Indeed, that was the time when it was our duty to give—however great or small our capacity—or what lay in us to the British Government.

Mr. Chairman, and through you I speak to England, to-day has come the hour of India's need, and to-day British India and the Indian States have assembled together for the second time, at another Conference in the centre of the Empire. Mr. Macdonald is the first Prime Minister, in my time, who has visited India. He knows her more intimately than many of his colleagues. We can appreciate that he may not have a very large majority in Parliament. But we know he has a tender corner in his heart for my land as we, many of us, have for his.

We have no desire to take the bit between our teeth and to run away, which means going astray. Nay! we are with you, with England, but it is now England's turn to come to our assistance and to help India to reach that position beyond which we have no desire to go, India, a sister Dominion within the Empire.

We are grateful to the Prime Minister for what he has already clearly stated in his Guildhall speech, when he said, "With the representatives of India and with the Princes, we shall be engaged in the same task of broadening liberty, so that we may live with them under the same Crown, they enjoying the freedom in self-government, which is essential to national self-respect and contentment." This will surely make a grateful India that will be England's greatest strength. Then we will prove to the world that our connection of the East with the West, that came through Destiny, has