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ATTAIN IT**

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PEACE IN INDIA

HOW TO ATTAIN IT

BY

S. M. MITRA

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF SIR JOHN HALL, PRINCIPAL MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE
CRIMEA," "INDIAN PROBLEMS," "ANGLO-INDIAN STUDIES,"

"HINDUPORE," ETC. ;

AND JOINT-AUTHOR WITH HER HIGHNESS THE MAHARANI OF BARODA
OF "THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN INDIAN LIFE"

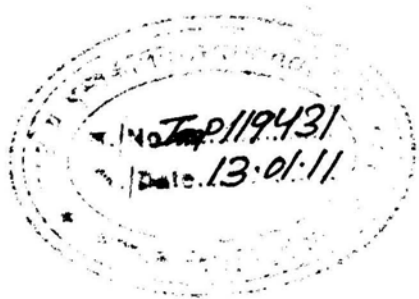
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PREFACE

My book "Indian Problems,"* published in 1908, was not only well received by the British Press, but was quoted by Lord Curzon in support of his argument in an important Imperial Debate† in the House of Lords. Among my humble suggestions therein was the granting of the Victoria Cross to members of the Native Indian Army, which was graciously taken into consideration by the King-Emperor, with the result that the much-coveted V.C. in due course came within the reach of my countrymen. That encouraged me to publish, in 1913, my "Anglo-Indian Studies."‡ The late Lord Cromer devoted two chapters of his well-known work "Political and Literary Essays"§ to a highly favourable review of that volume. "Mr. Mitra's thoughtful work," he wrote, "is a

* "Indian Problems," with an Introduction by Sir George Birdwood. John Murray.

† *The Times*, February 22, 1912, p. 12, col. 3.

‡ "Anglo-Indian Studies." Longmans.

§ "Political and Literary Essays. 1908-1913." By the Earl of Cromer. Macmillan, 1913.

valuable contribution to Indian literature, and will repay perusal by all who are interested in the solution of existing Indian problems." I may add that all the volumes I have published have met with a cordial reception from the British Press, both Liberal and Conservative. The cultured classes in this country have shown their appreciation of my articles on Indian subjects that have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, the *Fortnightly Review*, and the *Hibbert Journal*.

I am a Hindu. I have never joined either the Arya Samaj or the Brahma Samaj. I am a British subject, and have lived for many years in the premier Native State of India, Hyderabad. I have had ample facilities for studying the working of the administrative machinery in British territory as well as in the Native States. I have never been a member of the Indian National Congress, nor have I ever taken part in any *national* propaganda. I have always held a *rational* view of British administrative measures in my native land. I have in my books commented freely on some of those measures. but I have always recognised the great difficulties that Englishmen have had to contend with and given them credit for their good motives.

This little book is published with a view to help men and women of education in this country not only to understand the real causes of the present peril in India, but to consider some remedies hitherto unthought of even by the most sympathetic British rulers of India. I have quoted *in extenso* a remarkable letter recently written to *The Times** by Sir Alfred Hamilton Grant, K.C.I.E., a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service and late Governor of the North-West Frontier Province. That letter is an expression of opinion based on over twenty years' experience. It should be read not only by every British statesman, but by every British voter of culture. It places Sir Alfred Grant in the category of distinguished British rulers in India who have shown deep sympathy for the subject-race. His name will go down, like theirs, to posterity, for his courageous endeavour to rouse his countrymen to a sympathetic understanding of the peoples of India.

The importance of India to England cannot be overestimated. The British Indian Empire is the greatest Empire in the history of the world. Its population is more than the combined populations of the ancient Greek and Roman Empires;

* *The Times*. February 21, 1922, p. 11, col. 5.

in area it is larger than those two historical Empires put together. It is by England's ability to maintain peace and goodwill in her Indian Empire that she will be judged by history. India is England's best customer within the Empire. Lord Curzon, describing the size of the Indian trade, said:*

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

In the following pages I have, for the sake of brevity, confined my remarks to the causes of the crisis in India which exist within the Indian

* Lord Curzon's address at Edinburgh on October 19, 1909, on "The Place of India in the Empire."

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Empire. I have tried to be as brief as possible, and so have made only a few suggestions likely to ensure peace in India. When I receive criticisms on this little book from the British as well as the Indian Press, I hope to publish a large volume containing further proposals of practical reform on the lines of self-determination and amicable co-operation, with the object of creating a better understanding between England and India.

S. M. MITRA.

March 9, 1922.

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PEACE IN INDIA : HOW TO ATTAIN IT

The Peril in India.

Ten years ago it was correct to speak of Indian "unrest." But that expression does not convey an adequate idea of the present crisis in India, to describe which it is unfortunately necessary to use the word "peril." Those who, during the last six months, have carefully followed the reports from India of serious riots, of the organised efforts to make the visit of the Prince of Wales unpleasant, and the different phases of the Non-Co-operation movement, must be fully convinced that the condition of the British Provinces in India is passing from bad to worse. Whatever the supporters of Mr. Montagu's Reforms may say, it is quite evident that his notable conception of Self-Government for India has, as far as peace in British India is concerned, failed.

No Riots in Native States.

India is as large as Europe minus Russia. Two-thirds of India is directly under British rule and is called British India. One-third of India is still under Native Rulers, better known as Indian Princes, most of whom are Hindus, the rest being Moslems. The loyal and hearty welcome given to the future Emperor of India in the territories ruled by the Native Princes, both Moslem and Hindu, and the absence there of Non-Co-operation propaganda and riots of any kind, have convinced the thoughtful British public that there is something radically wrong with the administrative machinery in British territory in India. It is the duty of British statesmen and of the cultured classes in this country, indeed of every voter, whether man or woman, to see what can be done to prevent India from turning into an Ireland—multiplied a hundred times.

British Press on the Peril in India.

Many books, magazine articles, and long letters to *The Times*, have been published within the last six months about the peril in India. They may

be divided roughly into three classes: First, those suggesting oppressive measures; second, those that have no constructive policy to put forward for the improvement of relations between the English and my countrymen in India; and third, those that have made proposals which, if not quite fantastic, do not come within the domain of practical politics.

Sir Alfred Grant's Views.

British India is divided into a number of Provinces, differing widely in the character of their population. The Provinces of Bengal and Bihar are, for example, inhabited by unmartial races. The North-West Frontier Province, on the other hand, is inhabited by none but martial races, and as this Province is on the Afghan Frontier its Governor must necessarily be considered a greater authority on the use and abuse of force than the Governor of any other Province in India. Sir Alfred Grant, K.C.I.E., a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, who has spent all his official career in India among the martial races of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, wrote the following remarkable

letter, which was published in *The Times* of February 21:

"PEACE IN INDIA.

"THE LOSS OF GOOD-WILL.

"ARE 'DRASTIC MEASURES' NECESSARY?

"*To the Editor of 'The Times.'*

"SIR,—The chronic British apathy towards Indian affairs has lately given place to an almost hysterical interest, and on all sides one hears discussion—sometimes intelligent, more often ill-informed—of the situation in that distressful country. Criticism of the policy of His Majesty's Government and of the Government of India is rife, and all manner of remedies, generally drastic, often fantastic, are suggested. But in all this talk there is one thing deplorably lacking, and that is the old spirit of good-will towards India and her varied peoples.

"It is not unnatural that India should have lost the good-will of the British public. The almost daily reports of the activities of agitators, the ungracious reception of the very liberal scheme of constitutional reform recently sanctioned by Parliament, the general unrest, and, above all, the organised attempts to deny a fitting welcome to

the Prince of Wales, have tended to estrange and irritate British public opinion. This is, however, most regrettable. For not only is good-will the essential lubricant of our machine of administration in India, but without it the efforts of the many wise and moderate Indians who would support law and order must be ineffective and sterile.

“There are two things that it would be well that people in England should realise: First, that it is quite untrue that the only thing the Oriental understands is force; and second, that there is much in the character of the peoples of India that deserves respect, affection, and often admiration. Generally speaking, the Oriental fears force less than the European. For he is a fatalist and often a very brave man. The psychology of the view that machine-guns are the panacea for Indian unrest is as false as the Prussian doctrine of ‘frightfulness.’ Even the unmartial Bengali can walk steadily to the gallows for a cause in which he believes. As to character, those who have served among Pathans, Sikhs, Dogras, Punjabi Moslems, and the many kindly peoples of the plains and hills of Northern India will agree that for personal courage, self-sacrificing devotion, and hospitality it would be

difficult to find their equal. It would be well that this should be remembered, and that there should be no wholesale condemnation of India because of the dangerous activities of a comparatively few agitators. Law and order must, of course, be ruthlessly maintained, but we should deplore rather than welcome the necessity for drastic measures against peoples by nature so fine and lovable.

“One word more. Many of the young men who have gone out to India in the last few years have had most pernicious and distorted views of the way in which Indians should be treated; and—I say it with shame—these views are usually shared by their women-folk. The exemplary punishment of flagrant cases of maltreatment, though necessary, does not cure the evil. We must have public opinion strongly against all hectoring and bullying and wanton discourtesy. For such things are not only cowardly and disgraceful in themselves, but they also do our position in India infinite harm, and make the re-establishment of good-will impossible. Good-will may be vague and intangible; but it is none the less a great force, and we can re-give and regain it, not by concession to agitation or pandering to political schemers, but by kindli-

ness in thought, word, and deed, by geniality and good manners to people who are themselves the best-mannered in the world."

Three Points.

The main points raised by Sir Alfred Grant are three: (1) That good-will is necessary to lubricate the machine of British administration in India; (2) that machine-guns or the Prussian doctrine of "frightfulness" will not solve the problem of Indian unrest; and (3) that much of the unrest in India is due to the rudeness of English men and women towards the natives of the country.

Constructive Policy.

I have lived in England for eighteen years, and during that time I have had greater facilities for meeting my compatriots of all races and creeds, both of British India and of the Native States, from Maharajas and Maharanis to ordinary citizens and their wives, than if I had resided in Calcutta or any other large Indian town. Natives of India who visit England, whether Princes or citizens of India, are out of the common. They are, as a rule,

more enlightened than those who never leave their native land. Though my countrymen seldom prolong their stay in England beyond the summer months, their annual visits have afforded me even better opportunities of gaining an insight into the material and moral disorder now rife in India than if I had been living there.

I have discussed with many Indian visitors to England how far the alterations made in British administrative methods since I left India are in harmony with the various phases of Indian psychology. I am convinced that there is a great deal of doubt in the minds of my countrymen as to the existence of practical sympathy in the British administrative machinery in India. And it is my earnest opinion that the only constructive policy should be one based on Self-Determination and sympathetic Co-operation.

Self-Determination and Co-operation.

My remedy for the peril in India is the gradual introduction of the principles of *Self-Determination*, from the post of Governor to that of District Officer, and of practical *Co-operation* between the members of the Indian Civil Service and non-official Indian

gentlemen of good families and administrative experience gained either in British India or in one of the Native States.

Governors.

The Provinces into which British territory in India is divided are each ruled by a Governor. A Hindu, Lord Sinha, was one of these Governors. But he had to resign his post owing to ill-health, and now all the Governors are Englishmen. There is no native Governor in British India. There should be at least one native Governor, and he should not be merely *selected* by the Government as was done in the case of Lord Sinha. My suggestion is that three non-official Indian gentlemen should be *elected* by my countrymen, one of whom should then be *selected* by the Viceroy for the post of Governor of a Province. It need not necessarily be the Province of Bihar, which was ruled for some time by Lord Sinha to the entire satisfaction of the Viceroy. I do not propose that at present there should be more than one Indian gentleman as Governor of a Province in British India.

There is no reason why three Englishmen belonging to the Indian Civil Service should not also be

elected by my countrymen, one of them to be *selected* by the Viceroy and appointed Governor of a Province. Thus British India would have two Governors in whose appointment the governed had a voice—one an Englishman and the other an Indian. That would be Self-Determination in actual practice, and would break the backbone of the Non-Co-operation movement.

Commissioners.

Self-Determination should be carried further. Each Province of British India consists of several Divisions, each Division presided over by a member of the Indian Civil Service. In most cases the head of a Division, who is called a Commissioner, is an Englishman; in a few cases Indian gentlemen who are members of the Indian Civil Service have the privilege of holding these much coveted appointments. But in every case, as I have already said, the Divisional Commissioner is a member of the Indian Civil Service. Now, to my mind, there is no reason why the principles of Self-Determination and practical Co-operation between officials and non-officials should not be applied in the case of these Divisions. There can be no doubt whatever

that two able Indian gentlemen could be found for each Province, to discharge conscientiously the duties of a Divisional Commissioner. I suggest that in each Province six Indian gentlemen, either non-officials or *retired* Officers of the British Service, should be *elected* by my countrymen, and two out of these six elected gentlemen should be *selected* by the Governor to be Divisional Commissioners. The rest of the Divisional Commissioners should continue as at present to be drawn from the Indian Civil Service.

District Officers.

Let not Self-Determination and practical Co-operation stop here. Each Division in British India is divided into several Districts. I propose that in each Division three Indian gentlemen should be *elected* by my countrymen, one of whom should be *selected* by the Governor of that Province for the position of District Officer. That would be Self-Determination and Co-operation between Englishmen and Indians in a practical form. It would be a small beginning, no doubt, but a real beginning, which has not so far been attempted or even proposed either by our sympathetic British

rulers or by any of my countrymen whether in or out of the Indian National Congress. Such reforms in the administrative machinery in British India would convince my countrymen that the British Government are willing to train them for real Self-Government, and would, in a short time, remove the doubt and suspicion in the minds of the natives of India, which are responsible for the present dangerous condition of affairs in my country.

The Indian Civil Service.

Sir Alfred Grant in his letter complains of the rudeness of English men and women towards the natives of India. Nine years ago I pointed out in my "Anglo-Indian Studies" how the insolence of some Englishmen in India was the primary cause of unrest there. "There is no denying the fact," I wrote, "that it is the arrogance of some Anglo-Indians that is at the root of the trouble in India. The arrogance of the low Europeans is the bedrock on which the citadel of sedition is built. Remove the bedrock, and the fortress of sedition will crumble away of itself."* The solution of the problem lies in the hands of the British Government. The

* "Anglo-Indian Studies," p. 381. Longmans, 1913.

open competitive examination allows anyone who has the power of cramming to enter the Indian Civil Service, whether he is of gentle birth or not. To prevent men who are not of gentle birth from entering the Indian Civil Service there should be, first, a careful selection of candidates by the authorities to ensure that they are gentlemen by birth. The approved candidates only should be allowed to enter for the examination. This rule should be strictly applied both to Englishmen as well as to natives of India. I quite admit that such procedure is likely to reduce the *mechanical* efficiency of the Indian Civil Service by about 20 per cent., but, as a native of India, I am absolutely sure that it would increase the *psychological* efficiency of the Indian Civil Service by 50 per cent., and therefore the Service on the whole would gain. What the native gentleman of India wants is to deal with a gentleman first and with an Officer afterwards. The Army offers an interesting parallel. In olden days when commissions in the Indian Army were given to sons of gentlemen without any examination, most of the officers were not technically as efficient as are military officers of to-day, but they built up the British Indian Empire by their good manners and good-will towards my countrymen.

Indian Foreign Department.

What is the main cause of all this trouble in India ? There can be only one answer to this question: Want of mutual confidence between the British officials and the natives of India, whether Hindus, Moslems, or Parsis. The Government under both Lord Morley and Mr. Montagu have recognised the merits of my countrymen and thought fit to give them seats not only in the Executive Council of the Viceroy in India, but in their own Council in Downing Street. If the native of India can be trusted in the Executive Council of the Viceroy, which is really the Viceroy's Cabinet, is there any reason why he should not be allowed to enter the highly-paid Diplomatic Service in India, better known as the Indian Foreign Department ?

There are many Indian gentlemen who are members of the Indian Civil Service, having passed the open competitive examination in England, but none of them are Residents, which is the official designation of the representative of the British Government at the courts of the Native Princes. Indian gentlemen who hold high positions in the Indian Civil Service feel that a griev-

ance, but for fear of consequences they dare not agitate against such treatment.

Indian gentlemen belonging to the Indian Civil Service who have held the post of Diwan (Prime Minister) and other high positions in Native States have given satisfaction to the British authorities. That being so, is there any reason to believe that they would not discharge the duties of Resident as well as most Englishmen do? To make a beginning, three Indian gentlemen of at least fifteen years' standing in the Indian Civil Service might be tried as Residents in some of the Native States. That would convince the whole of the educated classes in India that they were trusted by their British rulers. This much belated reform should receive immediate attention. The situation in India is grave, and the Government cannot afford to neglect any measure likely to improve it.

Sir Frederick Lugard's Advice.

As the political upheaval in my native land is confined to the British Provinces and unknown in the Native States, it has recently been suggested in the columns of *The Times* by 'Sir' Frederick

Lugard* that one-sixth of British India might be transferred to Native States. I can quite understand that the hearty reception of the Prince of Wales in the Native States has created good feeling towards them in the mind of this distinguished Colonial administrator. But such a proposal would be strongly opposed by bankers and merchants both European and Indian. Whatever the views of my countrymen may be about British justice in India in *criminal* cases between Englishmen and Indians, the educated Indian knows from half a century's experience that in all kinds of *civil* suits, whether both parties are Indians or whether one party is an Englishman, he can rely on British Indian High Courts for even-handed justice. He also knows that should any British Indian High Court decide against him he has the right, in certain cases, to appeal to the Privy Council in London. I cannot therefore conceive that Englishmen or Indians at the head of large business firms in any town in British India would, without a strong protest, give up their right of appeal to a British Indian High Court, and eventually, if need be, to the Privy Council—the strongest bulwark against injustice. Sir Frederick Lugard's proposal is calculated to

* *The Times*, January 31 and February 22, 1922.

reduce the area of serious unrest in India, but as it would divest merchants and others, both English and Indian, of their right of appeal to the British Indian High Courts and the Privy Council, which they have enjoyed for about half a century, it would intensify tenfold the gravity of the situation.

The Amritsar Tragedy.

I quite agree with Sir Frederick Lugard that the influence of the Native Princes should be made use of by the British Government in their hour of need. I have, however, a practical proposition to put forward. My suggestion is that the influence of the Native Princes might be utilised in British territory whenever dangerous conditions there seem to require it, and that this step should be taken *before it is too late*. When Moslem agitation causes trouble in British India, it would simplify matters considerably if the British Government made use of the influence of Moslem Princes, and, if necessary, of their troops under Moslem commanders. Similarly, in case of Hindu disturbances in any part of British territory in India, it would make things much easier if the Governors con-

cerned sought, before it was too late, assistance from some neighbouring Hindu Prince.

•I have no doubt whatever that the terrible tragedy of Amritsar could have been avoided had the Punjab Government, instead of placing Amritsar under the British military authorities, asked one or more of the Sikh Maharajas to keep order in that town. The holy shrine of the Sikhs, the Golden Temple, is in Amritsar, and therefore every Sikh, whether prince or peasant, is deeply interested in Amritsar as the centre of his religion. Among the Sikh Maharajas the name of the Maharaja of Patiala is well known in this country, and there are other Sikh Maharajas who live within a few hours' railway journey of Amritsar. Such a move on the part of the Punjab Governor would have redounded to his credit and been very highly appreciated, not only by the Sikh Maharajas whose aid was sought, but by the entire Sikh nation. It must not be forgotten that the Sikh troops are the flower of the Native Army in India. They would have valued such a sentimental tribute more than a rupee added to their monthly pay.

Native Princes and the Privy Council.

It is not generally known in this country that though every British subject in India has, under certain conditions, a right of appeal to the Privy Council in London, the Native Princes are given no such right. The Native Princes are over six hundred in number. It cannot possibly be said that none of them has any grievance. Is it fair that they should not have the right of appeal to the Privy Council in London? I am not making a fantastic suggestion such as that they might appeal to the League of Nations. I am sure that the educated section of the British public will consider it only just that there should be at least one appeal open to everyone in the British Empire, whether he is a prince or a peasant. When the Indian Princes are permitted to appeal to the Privy Council in London, then and then only may the British Government in India expect hearty co-operation from them in making the Non-Co-operative propaganda inoperative.

Trial of Europeans.

Sir Alfred Grant, in his letter to *The Times*, lays stress on the necessity of good-will to lubricate the British administrative machinery in India. There is a matter which is a great barrier to good-will, and which has been a constant source of irritation to cultured Indian gentlemen for many years—the difference in procedure in the trial of the European and the Indian who break the law. Very few here in England are aware that the Indian Criminal Procedure Code contains a separate chapter for the trial of European British subjects. No such different treatment for the trial of any member of any nation exists in England. Even the trial of a negro in England is in no way different to that of an Englishman. Every Englishman or Indian residing in British India should be considered, as far as Criminal Courts are concerned a citizen of British India, and as such the procedure of trial before Criminal Courts in British India should be the same in every case. No Hindu Raja has a different mode of trial for those of his own race, the Hindus. No Moslem Prince in India has a different procedure for the trial of the ruling race, the Moslem. Therefore this special chapter

in the British Indian Criminal Procedure Code serves as a constant reminder to natives of India of their inferiority as citizens *in their own country*.

The grievance is still more marked when two offenders, one a European British subject and the other a native of the country, are brought up for trial together *for the same offence*. The person, not being a European British subject, who is tried before a District Magistrate jointly with a European British subject, cannot claim the right of appeal to the High Court, *which is exclusively reserved to such European British subject*.*

The attention of two distinguished and broad-minded Englishmen, Lord Ripon and Sir Courtenay Ilbert, was drawn to this unequal treatment as far back as 1883. Lord Ripon was then Viceroy of India. His name is memorable in the history of British India for the introduction of sympathy in the administration towards the natives of India. He made a courageous attempt to remove this inequality in the mode of trial of European British subjects and natives of India. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, who was subsequently for many years Clerk to the House of Commons, was Law Member

* * *In re Job Solomon*, Indian Law Reports, 14 Bombay, 160.

of Lord Ripon's Council. The bill known as the Ilbert Bill was strongly opposed by Europeans, with the result that it passed in 1884, only after it had been shorn of its most important feature—viz., equality in the procedure of trial of European and Indian offenders. Since that day Liberal Governments have been in power several times, but the difference in the mode of trial of the *European* British subject and the *Indian* British subject remains in the British Indian Criminal Procedure Code, and is a source of constant irritation to the educated Hindu, Moslem, Parsi, and all other enlightened natives of India. As long as this rankles in the breasts of my countrymen, is it any wonder that better-class Hindus, Moslems, and Parsis are apathetic towards the Non-Co-operation movement? If they were not apathetic, they could and would smash it in a very short time. It is for the British Government to enlist the sympathy of influential Indian gentlemen by doing now what the Liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon, failed in achieving about forty years ago. Remove this stigma upon British justice and the magical effect upon the present dangerous situation in India will be a happy surprise to the British public, even to those who take the most pessimistic

view of the gravity of the crisis. This question deserves attention before other matters which refer to the treatment of the natives of India in British Colonies or in foreign countries.

The Cochin Port.

That the salvation of India lies in hearty co-operation not only with her British rulers, but with British capitalists, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and engineers, is recognised by many of my influential countrymen. But does the British Government afford them full opportunity for such co-operation on a large scale? India has only six large ports at which ocean liners call: (1) Karachi; (2) Bombay; (3) Madras; (4) Calcutta; (5) Chittagong; and (6) Rangoon. All these ports are in British territory. Six ports are not sufficient for a country with a population of 320 millions. There is not a single port in any Native State which has facilities for ocean liners. For over twenty years the Raja of Cochin has repeatedly applied for permission to make Cochin a port for ocean liners. The Reports of British engineers support the view of the Raja that Cochin would prove suitable for such a purpose. I devoted a

chapter of my "Anglo-Indian Studies" to the Cochin Port. To make Cochin Port a port for ocean liners it may be necessary to place it under the Imperial Government, and not to leave it under the Government of Madras. I understand that there is already a proposal before the Viceroy for effecting such a change. If permission is granted by the Viceroy to the Raja of Cochin, the Native Princes will feel that one of them at least owns a port, and thus the principle of co-operation between the British and the Native States will be extended and strengthened on right lines.

Counter-Offensive.

My suggestions for Peace in India, as outlined above, in no way come into conflict with any of the Indian Reforms introduced either by Lord Morley or Mr. Montagu. Both these Secretaries of State for India had in view the great principle of "government with the consent of the governed." The measures inaugurated by these two well-wishers of India introduced Self-Government at the top rung of the administrative ladder. My suggestions are aimed rather at the lower rungs of

that ladder, so that the foundation of the administrative structure may be strong enough to defy all kinds of Non-Co-operation movements in the future. The peril in India is grave. Though there is no occasion for panic, no time should be lost in introducing the principle of Self-Determination. If one kind of Self-Government has failed to ensure law and order, that is no reason why another method of Self-Government should not be tried. Neither the imprisonment of leaders of the Non-Co-operation propaganda, nor the repetition of the Amritsar tragedy, will turn back the anti-British tide in India. The only remedy is sympathetic co-operation between the Government of India and my compatriots. The initiative should be taken without delay by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. I have put forward a clearly defined plan of action. Its driving-power is likely to appeal to all thoughtful British administrators. At this critical moment a counter-offensive that would quickly touch the psychology of the Hindu, Moslem, and Parsi is urgently needed. Such a counter-offensive as I have described is sure to sweep the Non-Co-operation propaganda out of my native land and establish a Government that will add lustre to the British Crown.

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