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- Report on the Progress of Agriculture in India.
Report of the Agricultural Research Institute and College, Pusa.
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Area and Yield of certain Principal Crops.
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Report on Production and Consumption of Coal in India.
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Report on the working of the Indian Companies Act.
Report on the working of the Indian Factories Act.
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Reports of the Committees appointed by the Provincial Governments of India.
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Bulletins of the League of Nations Assembly.

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The Indian
ANNUAL REGISTER
1922



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The Indian ANNUAL REGISTER 1921-1922

BEING AN ANNUAL CHRONICLE AND DIGEST OF PUBLIC
AFFAIRS OF INDIA IN MATTERS POLITICAL
EDUCATIONAL, ECONOMIC, ETC.

AS-048-054

EDITED BY
H. N. MITRA M.A. B.L.

71

FIFTH YEAR OF ISSUE
2ND EDITION

PUBLISHED BY
THE ANNUAL REGISTER OFFICE
SIBPUR, CALCUTTA.
1923



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050.33

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15 FEB 1967

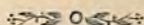
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY N. N. MITTER
AT THE BELA PRESS.
92, KHETTER BANERJEA LANE, SIBPUR, CALCUTTA.



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The Royal Message

. my sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabating
. Throughout the civilised world the foundations of social
order have been tested by war and change India has been
called to face new and special problems of her own.
That you will bring those problems to an issue worthy of
your historic past and of happiness for your future, that all disquieting
will vanish in well-ordered progress, is my earnest wish and my con-
fident belief. Your anxieties and your rejoicings are my own. In all
that may touch your happiness, in all that gives you hope and pro-
motes your welfare, I feel with you in the spirit of sympathy.

*FROM THE ROYAL MESSAGE READ OUT BY THE
PRINCE OF WALES, BOMBAY, NOV. 17th. 1921*



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H. R. H. The Duke's Appeal

"Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of the events in the Punjab misunderstanding usually means mistakes on either side I appeal to you all—British and Indian—to bury long with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day.

*FROM THE INAUGURAL SPEECH IN OPENING
THE NEW COUNCIL AT DELHI, JAN. 1921*



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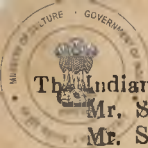
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The Government of India 1921-22

THE HOME GOVERNMENT

THE INDIA OFFICE—WHITEHALL

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.—The Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu (resigned March 1922). Right Hon. Viscount Peel.

UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE.—Sir William Duke, G.C.I.E. K.C.S.I. up to March '22. The Earl of Lytton. The Rt. Hon'ble Earl of Winterton (from March 1921)

ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARIES OF STATE.—Sir Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B. Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B.

THE INDIA COUNCIL

Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Sir Charles S. Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

Sir William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E.

General Sir E. G. Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Sir James Bennett Brunyate, K.C.S.I.

Sir George O. Roos-Keepel, G.C.I.E. K.C.S.I.

Sir Charles Arnold White.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.

Frederick Crauford Goodenough.

Bhupendranath Basu.

Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair, K.C.I.E.

Sir Malcolm Hogg.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.—His Excellency the Right Hon. Rufus Daniel Issacs, Earl of Reading, P.C., G.M.S.I., K.C.V.O., G.C.B. (*assumed charge of office, 3rd April 1922*)

MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—The Hon'bles H. E. General Lord Rawlinson, G. C. B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G.; Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.; Sir William Henry Hoare Vincent, K.C.S.I., LL.D., V.D.; Khan Bahadur (Now Sir) Mian Muhammad Shafi, C.I.E.; Mr. William Malcolm Hailey, C.S.I., C.I.E.; Sir Thomas Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma; Dr. Tejbahadur Sapru.

PRESIDENT—Council of State—Hon. Sir A. P. Muddiman Kt.

„ Legislative Assembly—Hon. Sir A. F. Whyte Kt.



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Chronicle of Events

January 1921

Chief Events.—Inauguration of the Reformed Legislative Councils by H. R. H the Duke of Connaught—Bengal & Punjab Student upheaval—Messrs. Nehru, Das, Jayakar, Prakasam and other leaders' renunciation for the N-C-O—Extensive Agrarian riot in U. P.

1st. All-India Congress Committee at Nagpur appointed Working Committee of 9 members and 3 General Secretaries with the President, Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar, as Chairman, to carry out the N.C.O programme ; Mr. Bomanji donated Rs. 10,000 p.m. till Swaraj was attained ; Mr. Jamnial Bajaj donated Rs. 1 lac for supporting lawyers who suspend practice.

2nd. Bishop of Lucknow, in a sermon on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the new Reformed Govts. in India, said :—"It was not easy for an Englishman to regard men of a darker complexion as his equals, socially or intellectually ; it was not easy for an Englishman to serve under an Indian as his superior officer".

3rd. New constitution under the Reform Act formally inaugurated in all Provinces at head-quarters ; new Governors, Executive Councillors and Ministers took oath and charge of office.

Burma Univ. students refused to join Colleges on re-opening after X'mas and demanded abolition of Govt. control and nationalisation of Education.

5th. Afghan Mission (Sir Henry Dobbs, Mr. Prior, Genl. Muspratt, Nawab Sir Mir Shan Shah, Mr. Cheson, Col. Ross, I. M. S. & Capt. Hanna) crossed Afghan frontier en-route to Kabul, to negotiate treaty of Peace with Afghanistan.

6th. Out-break of agrarian riot in Rai Bareilly—300 Kisan peasants of Forsatgunj assembled in protest against the arrest of 3 of their leaders for organising Kisan (peasant) movement against oppressions of their landlords, and were fired upon by the Police—7 killed, many wounded—disturbances continued for several days, every day mob fired upon by police and hundreds of Kisans marched off to prison. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the N-C-O leader, who went to settle disputes and preach non-violence was ordered by the Magistrate to leave station.

7th. Mr. N. M. Joshi of the *servant of India* declined Govt. offer of C. I. E. as its possession was incompatible with the ideal of renunciation and poverty of his society.

8th. Punjab Council—First session of the new Reformed Legislative Council opened by Governor Sir Edward Maclagan.



GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL

CSL

Head Quarter—Calcutta

GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.—H. E. the Right Hon'ble Lawrence John Lumley Dundas, Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E. (*Took his seat 27th March 1917*)

MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—The Hon'bles Sir Henry Wheeler ; Sir Bijai Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E., I.O.M., Maharaja-dhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan ; Mr. John Henry Kerr, C.S.I., C.I.E. ; Sir Abdur Rahim, Kt.

MINISTERS—The Hon'bles Sir Surendra Nath Banerji, Kt ; Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter, C.I.E. ; Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, C.I.E.

GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

Head Quarter—Bombay

GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL—His Excellency Sir George Ambrose Lloyd, G.C.I.E., D.S.O. (*Took his seat 17th December 1918*)

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL—The Hon'bles Mr. G. S. Lawrence K.C.S.I. ; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Kt, C.I.E. ; Mr. Maurice Henry Weston Hayward, LLB, Bar-at-Law ; Sir Cheman Lal Hari Lal Setalvad, Kt.

MINISTERS—The Hon'bles Khan Bahadur Shaik Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah ; Mr. C. V. Mehta, M.A., LLB ; Mr. R. P. Paranjapye, B.Sc. ; M.A.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

Head Quarter—Madras

GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.—His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Freeman Freeman-Thomas Baron Willingdon, of Ratton, G.O.S.I., G.O.I.E., (*Took his seat, 10th April 1919*)

MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—The Hon'bles Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I. ; Mr. Charles George Todhunter, C.S.I. ; Khan Bahadur Muhammad Habib ul-lah, Sabib Bahadur C.I.E. ; Kadamangudi Srinivasa Ayyangar.

MINISTERS—The Hon'bles Diwan Bahadur A. Subharayalu Reddiyar, Mr. P. Ramasayaningar ; Rao Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu.



GOVERNMENT. OF ASSAM

Head Quarter—Shillong

CSL

GOVERNOR—His Excellency Sir William Marris K C S.I. K C.I.E ;
MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—The Hon'bles Mr. Abdul
Mazid; Mr. William James Reid.

MINISTERS—The Hon'bles Rai Bahadur Ghanasyam Barua ;
Khan Bahadur Sayed Abdul Majid.

GOVT. OF BIHAR & ORISSA

Head Quarter—Patna

GOVERNOR --His Excellency Lord Sinha of Raipur K C.I.E,
Assumed office Dec. 1920. (Resigned Dec 1921). His Excellency
Sir Henry Wheeler, K C S I., K.C.I.E. (*Took charge December 1921*)

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—The Hon'bles Mr.
Hugh Macpherson C.S.I. I.C.S ; Mr. Havilland LeMesurier, C.S.I.,
C.I.E. ; Mr. Sachidananda Sinha.

MINISTERS.—The Hon'bles Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad
Fakhruddin ; Mr. Madhusudan Das. C.I E

GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

Head Quarter—Nagpur

GOVERNOR—His Excellency Sir Frank George Sly. K.C.I.,E. I C S
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—The Hon'bles Mr. B. P. Standen ; Mr.
Moropant Vishwanath Joshi.

MINISTERS—The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelker ; The
Hon ble Mr. S. M. Chitnavis.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB

Head Quarter—Lahore

GOVERNOR—His Excellency Sir Edward Douglas MacLagan
K.C.S.I.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—The Hon'bles Sir H. J.
Maynard ; Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia.

MINISTERS—The Hon'bles Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl i Hussain ;
Lala Harakishan Lal.



30th. Patna Congress Committee considered a sub-committee report of looting at Mariba and Loharipattia by a mob helped by police constables and chowkidars at the connivance of the Sub-Inspector.

Punjab Students Conference held at Gujranwala attended by 2000 Punjab student delegates, presided over by Dr. Kitchlew—passed resolutions endorsing N.C.O programme—Lala Lajpat Rai addressed and congratulated them for their patriotic work—D. A. V. College closed for a fortnight.

31st. 8th. session of the Science Congress opened by the Governor Lord Ronaldsbay at Calcutta, began its sittings with Sir R. N. Mukherji as president.

Congress Working Committee met at Calcutta from 31st January to 4th February and passed long string of resolutions on constructive N.C.O work.

February 1921

Chief Events—H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught inaugurated the Princes Chamber, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, Delhi—Collapse of the Students' non-co-operation movement—Sittings of the new Reformed Legislative Councils.

1st. M. Gandhi addressed his famous letter to the Duke explaining non-co-operation and emphasising that "we desire to live in terms of friendship with Englishmen, but that friendship must be the friendship of equals, both in theory and in practice"—No response from the Duke.

Bengal Council formally opened by the Duke.

2nd. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry at Bombay attempted to speak against N.C.O at a meeting but was mobbed by students and other non-co-operators.

3rd. New Reformed Indian Legislative Houses—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly—formally brought into existence at Delhi—members took the oath of allegiance.

4th. M. Gandhi opened the first National College in Calcutta in a spacious four storied building at Wellington Square.

5th. Informal meeting of Council of State and Legislative Assembly at Delhi to settle agenda of work.

All India Railwaymen's Conference held at Bombay for 3 days with Rai Sahab Chandrika Prasad as president.

6th. Repression in Malabar started by Magistrate Mr. Thomas forbidding N.C.O meetings in Calicut.

M. Gandhi formally opened National College at Patna.

7th. New B. & O. Reformed Council inaugurated by Lord Sinha the Governor, at Patna in the new Council Hall.

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught arrived at Delhi in the morning. A formal address of welcome was presented on behalf of the Municipality, the people standing off—hartal in town.

Fifth session of Bengal Council held—motion to reduce Executive Councillors from 4 to 2 carried by 74 to 31 votes.

8th. The Duke inaugurated at Delhi the new Chamber of Princes attended by almost all the Indian Princes and their suite—a Royal Proclamation was read out.

Annual meeting of U. P. Kishan Sabha under Pundit Motilal Nehru held at Allahabad—7000 Kishans attended ; N-C-O adopted.

9th. The Duke inaugurated the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly at Delhi under Royal Warrant.

Bengal Council—private motion for reduction of number of Ministers lost by official majority.

Punjab Govt. passed orders on Lala Lajpat Rai prohibiting him from entering or remaining in the N. W. Frontier Province, as he was enquiring into popular grievances.

Mass meeting of Delhi citizens under Dr. Ansari condemned the new Reformed Legislatures as unrepresentative in character and asked the public to boycott and non-co-operate.

10th. H. R. H. the Duke laid the foundation stone of the All India War Memorial at Delhi.

11th. Bengal Council—keen debate on the question of the Minister's salaries--resolutions proposing a reduction were defeated.

14th. Council of State first met at Delhi—Hon Mr. Sastri's resolution on repeal of repressive Laws carried after an animated discussion.

Madras Council first session opened by Governor.

U. P. Council first meeting—animated debate over a 'loyalty' resolution amended by the strictures of the Independents condemning repressive policy of Govt. in Rae Bareilly.

15th. Indian Legislative Assembly met at Delhi—animated debate on Mr. Dwarkadas' motion on Punjab tragedy which was passed except the clause on punishment of the guilty Punjab officials.

B. & O. Council first meeting at Patna—resolution expressing satisfaction at Lord Sinha's appointment as Governor passed.

Madras Council—Govt. defeated over Mr. P. Siva Rao's motion regarding settlement operations by 76 to 17 votes.

16th. Repression in Calicut—Messrs. Yakub Hossain, Govind Menon and N-C-O leaders arrested and sentenced for 6 months for disobeying executive order of Magistrate Mr. Thomas not to hold a meeting—great agitation in Malabar—the first spark of Malabar conflagration.

In the Council of State, Delhi, Lala Sukbir Singh's resolution for helping indigenous medicine was defeated by 32 to 11 votes.



GOVT. OF THE UNITED PROVINCES

CSL

Head Quarter—Lucknow

GOVERNOR—H. E. Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—Hon'bles L. C. Porter, C.S.I.

Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur K.C.I.E., of
Mubamudabad.

MINISTERS—Hon'bles C. Y. Chintamani ; Pt. Jagat Narayan.

GOVERNMENT OF BURMA

Head Quarter—Rangoon

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Henry
Craddock, K.C.S.I.,

OFFICIAL MEMBERS—COUNCIL OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,
Hon'bles Frederic Lewisohn, M.A. ; Robert Edward Vaughan Arbuth-
not ; John Mark Somers Hunter, M.A. ; Walter Booth Gravely ;
Hebert Edward West Martindell ; William Henry Lawson Cabell ;
Lieut-Col Frederic Ralph Nethersole ; Hugh Ernest MacColl ; Peter
Edwin Jamieson ; Edward Cheke Smalley Shuttleworth ; James
MacKenna.



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Chronicle of Events 1921-22





U. P. Council passed after amendment Mr. Zafar Hussain's resolution exempting members of Council from taking out licences under Arms Act.

17th. Mr. Hasan Ali's resolution that one-fourth of I. C. S. posts in each province be kept for P. C. S. men was carried against Government in the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, by 69 to 32 votes. Sir Shivaswami Iyer's resolution on the Esher report demanding that its proposals be not acted upon and that the Army in India should be entirely under control of Government of India was passed after being whittled down by Government amendments.

18th. Madras Council—animated debate on motion for adjournment on repression in Malabar ending in the imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hassan—Sir Thiagaraya supported repression even more strongly than Government members.

19th. Mass meeting of 70,000 at Bombay under the auspices of Khilafat League ventilated Khilafat grievances and Government repression—congratulated Mr. Yakub Hassan imprisoned in Calicut and resolved to boycott the Duke.

New Bombay Council first met for taking oath of allegiance preparatory to formal opening by the Duke on 23rd.

Bengal Moderates under Sir Surendranath met at Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, to form Reforms Associations all over the province to combat N-C-O and to do propaganda work.

M. Gandhi at a huge mass meeting, at Gujranwala, referred to repression in Kerala and imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hassan, and asked all to non-co-operate—he also strongly condemned the popular habit of hooting out eminent leaders such as Sastri, Sir Surendranath and others.

Repression in U. P.—At Fatehpur Babu Bans Gopal, a Vakil, arrested for N. C. O. activity—Magistrate prohibited protest meetings.

20th. The horrible Nankana massacre in the Punjab in which 150 Akali Sikhs (pilgrims) were diabolically butchered and burnt to ashes by the Mahant's party.

21st. The Duke arrived at Bombay in State—Corporation presented address—popular meetings held all over city advocating boycott of official functions.

Bengal Council—Budget introduced.

U. P. Council—resolutions to reduce salary of Ministers lost after a heated debate.

Calcutta student strike ended—60% rejoined College.

22nd. Dr. Cholkar, Vice-President, Nagpur Municipality, arrested for preaching against liquor traffic—Government order served on Dr. Paranjpye not to 'annoy' and 'obstruct liquor traffic.'

Legislative Assembly, Delhi, passed resolution for a commission to examine and report on the repeal of the Indian Press Act 1910.

23rd. Riot at Nagpur over picketing of liquor shops and on Dr. Cholkar's arrest—Mob broke up liquor shops and was fired upon by police—whole town in hartal—next day public meetings, etc., gagged under S. 144. Cr. Pr. Code.

Calicut Municipal council protested against the Malabar repression—its chairman, Mr. C. V. Narayana Menon resigned in protest.

Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas's motion in Council of State demanding full fiscal autonomy for India passed with the Government amendment: "subject to Government of India Act."

The Duke inaugurated the Bombay Council.

24th. Punjab Council—Budget presented.

Bombay Council—Budget presented.

27th. Madras city and province went on Hartal as a mark of indignation against Government for its repressive policy at Calicut and the imprisonment of Messrs. Yakub Hasan, Gopal Menon and party.

28th. Close of the Duke's tour—Duke left India from Apollo Bunder, Bombay—His farewell message.

B. & O. Council—resolutions on reduction of Ministers' salaries defeated after 4 hours' debate.

March 1921

Chief Events:—Budget session of the Reformed Councils—Budgets under the new rules presented—proposals for fresh taxations—Bengal Provincial Conference—Nagpur police fire—Rajshahi Jail outbreak—All-India Congress Committee at Bezwada laying down plan for immediate work.

1st. Imperial Legislative Assembly; Financial Statement presented by Mr. Hailey, the Finance Member—budget deficit 12 crores; next taxation proposed 20 crores.

Bengal Legislative council:—Budget debate.

2nd. Sikh mass meeting at Calcutta expressed sorrow and indignation at the Nankana Sahib tragedy.

Rai J. N. Mazumdar's resolution in the Legislative Assembly re equality of status and allowances of members of both the Houses of the Indian Legislature was carried.

Mr. C. R. Das ordered by the Dt. Magistrate, Mymensing, not to enter the town; this led to complete hartal, on which the order was subsequently cancelled.

3rd. In the Council of State Mr. Sastri moved for an amendment of the Cr. P. Code and other enactments so as to secure safeguards against suppression of riots and unlawful assemblies by indiscriminate use of fire-arms by the Police.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

[MARCH 1922]

4th. In the C. P. Council a resolution for stopping the Govt's *Exodus* was passed.

5th. In the Delhi Legislative Assembly Mr. M. Yamin Khan's resolution asking for a Commission to investigate into the grievances of the people leading to non-co-operation was lost.

M. Gandhi addressed the Sikhs at Lahore in connection with the Nankana tragedy and characterised the action of the Mahant and his party as a second edition of Dyerism—Akalis adopted N-C-O.

Madras Council : Financial Statement for 1921—22 presented.

7th. Budget debate in the Legislative Assembly, Delhi.

8th. At Calcutta presiding at a meeting in connection with the school of Chemical Technology Sir. A. Choudhuri advised youngmen not to take to the spinning-wheel with women and to throw away all they had learnt but to use their mental and physical resources for their own advancement and the benefit of their country.

In the Council of State, Delhi, Sirdar Jogindra Singh's resolution recommending the release of prisoners detained without trial and also of those imprisoned by the Martial Law Courts in the Punjab in 1919 was withdrawn on Govt pressure.

9th. In the Council of State, Delhi, Mr. Bhurgri's resolution for the separation of executive and judicial functions was withdrawn after discussion.

At Sultanpur Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru served with notice under S. 144 Cr. P. Code and ordered to leave the place.

Madras Council.—Budget debate.

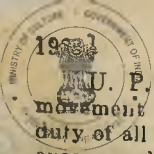
10th. Report of Indian Gaols Committee published at Delhi.

11th. In the Punjab Council Lt. Sirdar Raghubir Singh asked questions on the Nankana Sahib tragedy and its after-effects—Govt. gave evasive reply.

12th. In the U. P. Council Pt. H. N. Kunzru's resolution to take disciplinary action against those who were guilty of firing at Munshigang, Rae Bareilly Dc., was lost.

14th. At a meeting of officials and non-officials at the Patna Secretariat, H. H. of Darbhanga protested against the repressive measures of Govt. and appealed for co-operation. He pointed out that unrest was due to economic causes and suggested as remedy the introduction of charka and hand-loom, establishment of panchayats, and advocating temperance—the N-C O constructive programme.

15th. European non official members of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly cabled to Lord Amthill protesting against the Emergency Committee formed by the Sydenham gang in London who were distorting the situation in India and exasperating public opinion in England. To this Lord Amthill cabled in reply : "mind your own business."



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

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Government issued communique stating that the N.C.O. movement was revolutionary and anarchical and that it was the duty of all servants of the Crown to counteract it ; the Government encouraged all officials to participate in counter political movements to stamp out N.C.O.

16th. In the Punjab Council Mr. M. Shah Nawaz's resolution recommending Govt. to extend amnesty to Martial Law prisoners was rejected after keen debate. Raja Narendra Nath's resolution recommending Govt. to appoint a Committee to consider what class of persons who suffered during the Martial Law regime should be paid, was accepted in an amended form.

17th. In the Bengal Council a motion for the reduction of the police grant was carried by a non-official majority.

At the Bombay Council the motion for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the possibility of effecting retrenchment in all departments was carried.

19th. In the Punjab Council Mr. M. A. Chisti's resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council to arrange a Round Table Conference for securing co operation between the Govt. and the people was carried.

In the B & O Council a resolution recommending that D.O. Officers should refrain from the policy of repression against N.C.O. was withdrawn after discussion.

In the Legislative Assembly the Finance Bill was passed.

At Lucknow, H. E. the Governor laid the foundation stone of the Lucknow University.

20th. Riot at Rae Bareilly in which the police were forced to take refuge till reinforcements arrived ; rioters armed with spears and the ring-leaders were captured with some difficulty.

Sikh Gurdwara Committee, Amritsar, resolved to take to passive resistance in the event of the Govt. not releasing those Sikhs who were arrested in connection with the Gurudwara Reform movement.

23rd. In the Legislative Assembly Sir W. Vincent laid down the policy of the Govt. with reference to N.C.O. and its alleged evils and talked of the necessity of taking repressive measures to put it down.

24th. Rajshahi jail out-break ; 669 convicts broke out and escaped. They were subsequently overtaken by the police who fired when the convicts refused to surrender—a few were killed ; also some innocent coolies who were indiscriminately fired upon on the mistaken belief that they were convicts ;—panic in the district prevailed owing to outrageous police action.

At a N.C.O. meeting in Nagpur the people burnt their foreign caps ; this was the beginning of the trouble which ended in riots and police fire.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

[JANUARY]

South India Non-Brahman Conference, 4th session, opened at Madras, Rai Saheb M. V. Naidu presiding—continued on next day. Resolutions passed among others condemning N.C.O. and the Govt. on the Punjab wrongs.

Mr. J. B. Petit, Secy. Imp. Indian Citizenship Association, forwarded resolution of the Assoc : to Govt. of India urging creation of a separate portfolio to be held by an Indian Member for dealing with questions relating to Indians abroad.

Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar of Poona Bar suspended practice in pursuance of N.C.O and devoted himself to Congress work.

9th. Lord Reading appointed Viceroy—High Tory circles in England led by *Morning Post* and *Telegraph* condemned the appointment and besmirched the name of Lord Reading by re-opening the Marconi scandal.

N.C.O procession, Madras, proclaimed boycott of Duke.

Delhi Piece Goods Merchants Association adopted N.C.O, and stopped import of Manchester goods for six months.

10th. H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught landed in Madras, come on a special mission from the King-Emperor to inaugurate the new Reformed Councils. Hartal in town.

Afghan Durbar formally received British Mission.

12th. Extensive Students' strike in Calcutta.

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught inaugurated the Madras Legislative Council.

14th. Repression started at Almora to stop the peasant outcry against forced labour in Simla and other hills.

Ship of Lala Lajpat Rai demanded nationalisation of D. A. V. college the D. issued appeal to Lahore students to leave college.

Calcutta Students' upheaval—Sir A. Choudhury while addressing students in the University institute against their whole-sale strike was shouted down—meeting turned into a N.C.O meeting on the sudden appearance Mr. B. C. Pal, then a N.C.O leader, on the scene.

17th. Calcutta students' strike gathering strength ; novel method of picketing at gate of examination hall by strikers barring passage by lying flat on the pavement.

19th. Mr. C. R. Das, the leading Calcutta Barrister, suspended practice and gave his life and property up to the non-co-operation movement. Animated scenes in Calcutta on his phenomenal sacrifice.

Addressing a large meeting of Calcutta students, the Rev. C. F. Andrews advocated "independence, complete and perfect, for India as against the soul-sapping White Supremacy."

20th. Calcutta non-co-operators under Messrs. Das, B. Chakravarty, Abul Kalam Azad and others issued a N.C.O. scheme for village

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

organisation, e.g., night schools, village banks, co-operative stores, etc., to be taken up by the student strikers.

Bombay Corporation resolved to present address to the Duke in the name of the people inspite of N-C-O opposition.

21st. Bengal Muslim Assoc. under M. Emamuddin started anti-N-C-O campaign with a handful of Muslim loyalists.

Before the Railway Committee Sir P. Thyagaraya Chetti gave sensational evidence at Madras exposing how the Indian Railways gave preference to British merchants over Indians.

22nd. The reformed U. P. Legislative Council opened at Lucknow ; Governor Sir H. Butler in a strong address said that the enemies of the Reforms—meaning N-C-O—wanted the expulsion of Western Civilisation and reversion to the unsettled times before British advent, which, he said, his Government would quell by all forces at his command.

23rd. Punjab Govt. with the approval of Govt. of India declared Jullunder Dist. a proclaimed area.

Bombay mass meeting under M. M. Chotani appealed to people to boycott Duke's visit to Bombay and condemned the corporation's decision to present the address.

Madras Labour meeting to relieve distress of mill-hands locked out by Buckingham Mill for last 3 months and to protest against unjust methods pursued by the European capitalists backed officials to break up the labourers' unions.

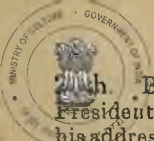
24th. Students' upheaval at Lahore.

Annual General meeting of the European Association at Calcutta with Mr. Morgan in the chair ; in his presidential address, he wanted Europeans to be prepared for the coming struggle with Indians ; and Lt. Col. Fraser moved a resolution demanding Government to penalise non-co-operation and take drastic actions.

Second Annual Session of the Associated European Chamber of Commerce held at Royal-Exchange, Calcutta, 12 European Chambers of India being represented and also many high European officials. Governor Ronaldshay presided and delivered a long discourse on the relation of capital and labour and expressed satisfaction that in the last International Labour Conference at Washington India was fortunate in having Sir Alexander Murray, president of the Bengal Chamber, nominated by the Indian Chamber as the spokesman of Indian Labour !!!

28th. H. R. H. the Duke arrived at Calcutta amidst complete hartal in the Indian quarter.

29th. Mahatma Gandhi at Calcutta addressed several meetings on the Duke's boycott and on collections of the Tilak Swarni Fund.—14 vakils of Guntur suspended practice.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

APRIL

25th. Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal ; Mr. B. C. Pal the President, so long a staunch Non-Co-operator, now turned coat and in his address emphasised the necessity of compromise with Great Britain; he condemned the tendency to ignore what English education and British administration had done for India. The Conference refused to follow him and accepted N.C.O and Mr. Das's lead.

26th. All India Vakils' Conference at Allahabad held under the presidency of Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer of Madras.

27th. Mob riot at Nagpur ; liquor shops looted and their contents burnt ; police arrested 30 men indiscriminately.

The Bengal Provincial Conference concluded at Barisal ; a number of resolutions on a variety of subjects were passed ; Mr. B. C. Pal was frequently interrupted in his speech for laying down his views against the Congress and had to withdraw.

28th. Nagpur European Magistrate with an armed police opened fire on mob w'ho, it was alleged, attacked the police.

In the Legislative Assembly Sir Sivaswami Iyer moved a long string of resolutions on the Esher Committee recommendations which were carried.

30th. C. P. Govt. Press Communique issued on the Nagpur shooting and mob riot laying the blame on N.C.O.

31st. At the Lahore Municipality Major Ferrar, the president, informed the committee that the ground on which the Lawrence Statue stands belonged to the Govt. and that the Municipality had no hand in the matter. This was in reply to a resolution of the committee that the statue should be removed as it bore an inscription which greatly humiliated Indians.

All India Congress Committee meeting at Bezwada decided that in spite of increasing repressive measures it was not time yet to call for civil disobedience.

April 1921

Chief Events.—The change of Viceroyalty—The Erode Khilafat Conference—Reforms and Congress conferences—Anti-N.C.O campaign started by Govt. in U. P.—Mulshi Peta Satyagraha Campaign—Nagpur riots—Ottapalam Police outrage—Malegaon riots.

2nd. Arrival at Bombay of the Rt. Hon'ble Earl of Reading, and his assumption of the Viceroyalty of India. Lord Chelmsford sailed for England. Viceroy uttered his first pronouncement of "Justice" in reply to an address presented by the Bombay Municipality.

Majlis-ul-Ulema Conference at Erode commenced and continued for the next two days ; attended by the Ali Brothers, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and 5,000 Ulemas and

visitors. The All-India Jamiat ul-Ulema's resolution was re-affirmed. Mr. Mahomed Ali made his famous speech on Afghan invasion of India and the duties of Moslems which led subsequently to a great controversy.

4th. Hon. Mr. Raza Ali issued appeal to M. Gandhi to suspend N-C-O activities to enable the new Viceroy to see and judge things for himself.

5th. Lala Lajpat Rai at Bombay delivered a lecture on the present situation in which he charged the Moderates as guilty of 'high treason' for their supporting the Bureaucracy.

6th. Satyagraha Day ; hartal was observed at Lucknow, Lahore, Agra, Nagpur, Karachi and many other places.

U. P. Govt. addressed a circular to subordinate officials urging and authorising them to fight N-C-O openly and by all means in their power and to organise and lead the Moderates with the express object of strangling the N-C O movement.

7th. Lala Lajpat Rai addressing a workmen's meeting at Bombay urged them to join the Congress, he said that unless Swarajya was obtained their lot would never improve.

8th. Mass meeting in Madras held under Mr. Rajagopalachariar to inaugurate N-C-O work as laid down at Bezwada—M. Gandhi explained the programme to be followed by all N-C O workers.

In the Punjab Council Hon. Mr. Fazl-i-Hossain presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Sikh Gurudwara and Shrines Bill ; the four Sikh members added strong minutes of dissent ; the consideration of the Bill was accordingly postponed.

9th. Bengal Reforms Conference at Calcutta under the presidency of Hon. P. C. Mitter who spoke admiringly of the constructive side of N-C-O ; Sir S. N Baunerjee denounced it and moved a resolution that India's goal was the attainment of Swaraj within the Empire.

At the Hindu Conference at Hardwar Pt. Din Dayal, the President, criticised the N-C-O movement and said that Swarajya was the only remedy for the various ailments of India.

10th. Mass N-C-O meeting at Bombay under Mr. Gandhi to inaugurate the Bezwada programme.

At a meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha under the presidency of Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Mr. Chakkari's resolution that the "Mahajan Sabha do accept the creed of the Congress as adopted at the Nagpur Session" was put and after hot discussion carried by a large majority.

11th. At a J-C-O meeting at Calcutta Mr. C. R. Dass addressing students explained what was Swaraj and unsuccessfully urged them to boycott schools and colleges once more.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

13th. Jallianwala Bagh Anniversary; national mourning day and ~~had~~ observed all over India.

14th. In reply to Mr. Raza Ali's suggestion to suspend the N.C.O campaign in order to give Lord Reading a change to study the Indian problem, M. Gandhi said that there was nothing in the atmosphere to prevent such study; that whatever disturbance there might be were fomented by the authorities by their unholy activities.

15th. Mr. C. R. Das opened the National Medical Institute in the Forbes Mansions at Wellington Square, Calcutta.

Bengal Provincial Congress Committee on the motion of Mr. C. R. Das resolved that Municipalities, Dt. & Local Boards and Union Committees should not be boycotted at that stage.

16th. Successful Passive resistance at Mulshi Peta, Poona. where the Tata & Co. were to erect a dam in the rivers Nira-Mula and for this Govt. under the Land Acquisition Act had to acquire the neighbouring villages; the farmers of the villages refused to be turned out of their land and resorted to *Satyagraha* or passive resistance.

18th. The *Satyagrahi* farmers at Mulshi Peta continued to obstruct the work of the dam of the Tata & Co.; on the interven- of Mr. Kelkar of Poona a compromise was effected with the result that the *Satyagrahis* returned to their homes on being promised that the work will be suspended for the next 6 months.

19th. Annual meeting of the Bombay Millowners' Assoc. under the presidency of Mr. R. Carrimbhoy; in his address he referred to the demands of labour, the Lancashire agitation against the raising of the cotton import duty and the question of Imperial preference; Sir Dinshaw Wacha urged the necessity of taking steps to increase the output of Indian Mills in order to cope with the increased demand.

20th. Sirdar Pratap Singh, Editor of the *Akali*, arrested at Lahore under Sec. 124 A, I. P. C.

Punjab Government press communique declared the Districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura to be proclaimed areas under the Seditious Meetings Act for a further period of six months from the date on which a previous similar declaration ceased to operate.

21st. Judgment delivered in the Nagpur Liquor Riot case; out of 11 persons, six acquitted and five sentenced to R. I.

22nd. Mr. J. B. Petit of Bombay announced the formation of a new political party called the "Indian progressive Federation;"—H. H. the Aga-Khan consented to lead the party for three years after his return to India.

23rd. First Kerala Provincial Conference under the presidency of Mr. T. Prokasam held at Ottapallam; serious fridas between the Police and the non co operators.

At the Lahore Municipal elections non-co-operators captured majority of seats by defeating the old conservative councillors.

24th. First Reforms Conference at Calicut held under the presidency of Mrs. Annie Besant to combat N-C-O ; Resolutions passed supporting the Reforms and condemning N-C-O.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed a large meeting of ladies in Bombay on "Women and National work", in the course of which she emphasised the part which women must play in the work of Swaraj. Women resolved to discard the shame of foreign cloth and take to spinning and to hand-woven cloth.

25th. Murderous Mob outbreak at Malegaon, Nasik district, ending in serious loss of life and property.

Mob outbreak at Giridhi, Sonthal Perghanas, due to a police Sub-Inspector roughly handling a N-C-O quarrel.

At Lucknow the Dy. Commissioner tried to inaugurate at Anti-Revolutionary League, but it ended in an uproarious meeting of non-co-operators under the lead of Mr. Shaukat Ali.

26th. M. Gandhi at Karachi interviewed deputations of Students and Khilafatists ; he addressed a public meeting strongly condemning disorderly behaviour in meetings and the holding of unauthorised hartals ; addressing the non-co-operating Municipal Councillors he urged nationalisation of education forthwith.

A new organisation called "The League of Peace and Order" formed under official inspiration at Lucknow to combat the N-C-O movement ; Mr. A. P. Sen was elected president.

30th. Punjab Provincial Conference held at Rawalpindi under the presidency of Hakim Ajmal Khan ; N-C O resolutions passed.

May 1921

Assam Coolie Exodus—Gurkha outrage on coolies at Chandpur—Hartal and strike at Chittagong and Chandpur—The Afghan "bogey" started by supporters of Govt.—Gandhi-Reading interview—Amritsar Gurdwara movement—The Ali brothers' Apology Episode.

2nd. Madras Govt. issued communique revising the Govt. Servants' Conduct Rules whereby Government servants previously debarred from joining politics were now enjoined to attend N-C-O meetings with power to break them up.

3rd. At Karachi Swami Govindananda was sentenced to 5 years' transportation for N-C-O work on charge of sedition.

All India Shia Conference at Lucknow under H. H. Mohd. Bahim of Bombay passed resolution to send deputation to enquire into affairs at Najaf—the holy Moslem shrine of which was reported to have been bombarded by the Allies.

4th. Complete hartal at Chittagong as a protest against the notice served on ten leaders prohibiting meetings and processions; in the afternoon, at the request of the Collector, matters were settled whereby prohibitory orders were withdrawn and the hartal was declared at an end.

5th. Bombay Govt. issued a communique on the Shikarpur disturbances of 19th April when a mob attacked the meeting of a Sabha which had declined to refuse Govt. grants, causing damages and injuring several persons; armed police was requisitioned who drove away the mob and arrested six men.

At a meeting of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, under the presidency of S. Sundar Singh Ramgharia, resolution was passed declaring that in view of the hostility of the officials towards the Gurudwara movement, the Sikhs should resort to passive resistance to protect their rights.

The Ahmedabad Municipality passed a resolution that the sale of spirituous liquor, whether country or foreign, should be immediately stopped within the municipal limits of the city.

In reply to allegations of conspiracy with the Amir of Afghanistan, Maulana Mahomed Ali in a Press-note completely denied any such activities on his part and challenged the Govt. and Mr. Moutagu to publish authoritatively whatever they had against him.

6th. The first Maharashtra Conference under the new Congress Constitution based on linguistic basis assembled at Bascoin, Bombay Presy. under Dr. S. B. Munji of Nagpur.

7th. Pt. Arjun Lal Sethi, N-C-O. leader of Seoni, was sentenced to 12 months R. I. for national work.

In reply to the Simla Municipal Committee welcome address, H. E. Lord Reading condemned violence committed by the people disregarding M. Gandhi's advice to abstain from it.

8th. Khilafat and N-C-O. meetings prohibited at Calicut and the leaders served with notice under section 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting such meetings.

9th. Mr. V. W. Joshi of Akola, N C O. leader, was sentenced to 11 months R. I. under section 124 A, I. P. C.

10th. Meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad; various resolutions were passed.

11th. The Afghan bogey—The *Pioneer* and the *Leader* of Allahabad under official inspiration roundly challenged Mr. Mahomed Ali to say definitely whether directly or indirectly he was not in communication with the Amir on the subject of invasion; in reply Mr. Mahomed Ali emphatically denied the charge.

Allahabad Dt. Conference under the presidency of M. Mahomed Ali, largely attended by Congressmen from all over India, considered

programme of work in view of impending arrest of leaders and issued injunction on people to observe non-violence.

At a meeting of the Amritsar Central Gurudwara Committee question of passive resistance was discussed ; program. 3 was drawn up to consolidate all the forces of the *pant* with a view to fortify the community against Govt. aggression.

13th. The Gandhi-Reading interview at Simla held on this and the following days.

14th. Non-Brahman Political Conference at Belgaum under the presidency of Mr. Jagdeo Rao Bhau Sahab Pawar, who spoke on the difficulties of non-Brahmans in improving their lot and called Mr. Gandhi the apostle of polished barbarism ! It supported the Reforms and violently condemned the N-C-O.

15th. Large public meetings held at the *Idgah* Simla, on this and following day where Messrs. Gandhi and Lajpat Rai received ovations and delivered speeches touching on the interview with Lord Reading and made collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

20th. Government of India issued communique to remove misconception that had arisen in the public mind as regards Sir Henry Dobb's mission to Kabul, but nothing particular about the work done by the mission was published.

Woeful Gurkha outrage on starving and unemployed coolies at Chandpur perpetrated by Govt. officials.

21st. Hartal at Chandpur due to Gurkha outrage continued for several days together ; all shops were closed, schools emptied, courts boycotted and the servants of officials, especially Europeans, left and no food was sold to them.

23rd. Hartal at Chittagong on account of the Gurkha outrage on coolies at Chandpur—continued for days.

25th. The A. B. Railway union met at Chittagong and after a prolonged sitting declared a general sympathetic strike to last till the coolly repatriation was justly settled by the Govt.

Mass meetings were held at Chittagong—universal sympathy was held out to the stranded coolies of Chandpur and collections were made to help them.

26th. In a communique the Governor of Bengal declared that he could not properly undertake from public funds the repatriation of the coolies from Chandpur on the principle that in cases of labour disputes the attitude of the Govt. should be one of neutrality. Later on Lord Sinha's Govt. (B & O) undertook to repatriate the coolies from Asansol but the Bengal Govt. remained firm in their refusal.

Mr. C. R. Das and Mrs. Das at Jalpaiguri made house to house collections for the coolies and the Tilak Swaraj fund.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

JULY

27th. S. Sardul Singh, Secretary, Sikh Gurudwara and Punjab Congress Com. arrested at Lahore for alleged seditious activities.

Huge N-C-O meeting held at Jarianwalla, Punjab, under Lala Lajpat Rai, for the Tilak Swaraj Fund collections.

East Bengal Steamer Service stopped owing to sympathetic strike of the men making common cause with Ry. strikers for the repatriation of the Assam coolies.—Extensive strike over East Bengal; at Dacca, Naraingunj, Goalundo, etc., all work-men down tools in sympathy with the coolies. Courts and schools closed.

28th. Ladies' meeting at Chittagong—ornaments freely pulled out and given over for supporting the strikers and the coolies.

29th. Sir Henry Wheeler visited Chandpur and made official investigations on the Gurkha outrage on the coolies.

At Calcutta under the auspices of the Bengal Labour Federation Mr. C. F. Andrews delivered lecture in connection with the coolie exodus at Chandpur and strongly inveighed against the Govt. for their inhuman actions and refusal to repatriate the destitute coolies.

Public apology offered by the Ali Brothers for some of their speeches, which had a tendency to incite to violence, under instructions from M. Gandhi.

Gurkha soldiers brought over to Chittagong in view of the *hartal* and strike. Great commotion in town as another outrage as at Chandpur was anticipated. Strike spread to all sections of people at Chittagong including lawyers and school boys

30th. Govt. of India in a press communique intimated suspension of criminal proceedings against the Ali Brothers in view of the publication of their expression of regret and promise for the future.

Lord Reading made an important pronouncement on Govt.'s policy at the Simla Chelmsford Club (see *post*).

31st. Gujrat Political Conference held at Broach under the presidency of Mr. V. J. Patel who urged everybody to work for Swaraj first by cleaning their souls of the blot of untouchability and promoting temperance, encouraging spinning-wheel and collecting money for the Tilak Swaraj fund.

June 1921

Chief Events.—Dead-lock in East Bengal for the Railway and Steamer strikes—All-India collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund—N-C-O anti-drink campaign at Nagpur—All-India repression by Dist. Magistrates issuing orders under S. 144 and sending non-co-operators to jail on police report.

1st. Prof. Raj Krishna Bose, a N-C-O worker, sent to jail on a distorted police report of a speech at Cuttack and on his refusing to give security.

2nd. Gujrat Provincial Khilafat Conference held at Broach under the presidency of M. Mahomed Ali (see *post*).

3rd. Major Ferrar, Dt. Magistrate, Lahore, served notice on the Secretary, City Congress Committee, prohibiting even the holding of a private committee meeting for members only.

Broach Khilafat Conference passed Gandhi's resolution expressing indignation at the cruel treatment meted out to the Khilafat workers in the N. W. F. Provinces.

7th. Govt. of Bengal issued the Wheeler Report on the Chandpur cooly outrage ; it was a white-washing report and condoned the use of force on the coolies, maintained the Govt.'s partisan spirit against labour and threw all the blame on the non-co-operators.

The A. B. Ry. authorities gave the strikers an ultimatum and admitted new recruits replacing the old staff wholesale ; but the new recruits had to fly away because of their wholesale boycott—markets were closed against them and menials refused to serve them.

8th. The Maharashtra Congress Sub-Committee issued its report on the Malegaon riots.

12th. Pandit Makhan Lal Chaturvedy, Editor of *Karmvir*, arrested. at Jubbulpore under Section 124—A. I. P. C. He was garlanded, literally worshipped and taken in a huge procession by the people to the police station.

14th. Revd. H. P. Walsh, Bishop of Assam, issued a report on the arrangements in cooly camps and hospitals opened for the Chandpur coolies in which he spoke very highly on the good work of Congress volunteers.

All India Congress Committee met at Bombay under M. Gandhi ; resolutions were passed authorising Provincial Committees to spend the Tilak Swarajya Fund for furthering the cause of N-C-O ; laying down the duty of N-C-O lawyers and of Indians concerning Angora.

15th. M. Gandhi and members of All-India Congress Committee were welcomed by citizens of Ghatkopar, Bombay, who presented Rs. 40,000 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

At a meeting in Bombay, Standing Committee of All India Trade Union Congress passed a resolution that one anna per head should be levied from all affiliated unions for funds, and all members of the committee to stand by nomination to any office or to any Council made by the T. U. Congress.

16th. Serious riot between Hindus and Mahomedans at Chintamani in Kolar Dt ; police opened fire to disperse crowd.

19th. Belgaon Dt. Khilafat Conference passed resolution threatening to declare an Indian republic in consultation with the Congress, if Great Britain directly or through the Greeks, openly or secretly, fought the Turkish Govt. of Angora.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

20th. Lala Lajpat Rai debarred from entering Kapurthala State for the Tilak Swaraj Fund collection.

23rd. At Simla H. E. the Viceroy received and replied to an address by a deputation of 33 representatives of the Ahmadiya community of Mahomedans who submitted that their community was started with the object of launching a campaign against the foolish, un-Islamic and unpeaceful doctrines of Jihad among the Moslems but urged the Khilafat grievances.

Mr. Pathak, a non-co-operator pleader of Bhandara, was sentenced to 1 year R. I. for refusing to give security.

The C. P. Khilafat Committee of Nagpur passed a vote of confidence on the Ali Brothers and urged the Central Khilafat Committee to adopt all stages of N-C-O programme including civil disobedience at once.

The Khoreal Shooting Case—a Mr. Reed, manager of Khoreal Tea Estate, was charged with grievous hurt by a revolver to a cooly, the father of a girl whom, it was alleged, he wanted for his lust; High Court Sessions with a European Jury tried and acquitted the accused. The case created a sensation as high European dignitaries tried to shield the accused.

25th. Ulema Conference at Patna held under the presidency of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad to organise Moslem divines.

26th. Govt. of India issued communique on the formation of a committee to visit Fiji and enquire about the conditions of Indians there with a view to supply of Indian cooly labour.

Rev. Norman Bennett, chaplain, Lucknow, invited members of All-India Congress Com. to a garden party; for this he was transferred from the station by the Government.

M. Hakim Sayeedur arrested at Calcutta for Khilafat work.

27th. Nagpur Municipality passed resolution for the stoppage of all kinds of liquor, whether foreign or country, from the municipal area, in order to promote abstinence and to improve the economic condition of the people.

28th. Dr. M. R. Cholkar, the prominent N-C-O leader of Nagpur, who was prosecuted for sedition, was discharged by the City Magistrate for want of proof and evidence after a protracted and harassing trial.

Babu B. K. Majumdar arrested at Goalundo for his N-C O work in connection with the Ry. and Steamer Strikes.

29th. Sirdar Sardul Singh Caveissour, Secy. Sikh League, transported for five years on sedition charge for his work in connection with the Gurdwara.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

July 1921

CSL

Events.—Tilak Swaraj Fund over-subscribed one crore—Riot at Karachi Khilafat Conference—All-India Congress Committee at Bombay—Huge bonfire of foreign clothes at Bombay.

Tilak Swaraj Fund came up to about One Crore and five lakhs of rupees.

Police at Dharwar opened fire on a riotous crowd before a liquor shop which was being picketted by N-C-O men.

4th. Lucknow Liberal League passed resolution expressing indignation at the Govt. of Bengal's callous and indifferent treatment of the Assam coolies.

Autumn Session of the Bengal Legislative Council opened under the presidency of Nawab Sir Shamsul Huda.

5th. Serious disturbance at Aligarh between the people and the Police in connection with the conviction of a political prisoner. Several killed and wounded on both sides.

6th. Thana District Local Boards adopted anti-drink campaign and to picket and close liquor shops within their respective area.

7th. U. P. Liberal Assoc. presented address to the Viceroy at Simla.

8th. All India Khilafat Conference at Karachi with Maulana Mahomed Ali as president resolved to ask Muslims to leave British Army and Police.

Madras Labour strike. H. E. the Governor met the labour leaders and fixed responsibility on them for any recrudescence arising from the strike. He attacked the non-co-operators and opined that the strike had been engineered mainly from political motive.

9th. Tamil District Non-Brahmana Conference opened at Tinnevely presided over by Rao Bahadur A. P. Patro.

12th. Bombay Municipal Corporation voted a loyal address of welcome to be presented to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, there being only two dissentient Non-co-operators.

Calcutta Corporation decided to present an address of welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

14th. H. E. the Viceroy at Simla received and replied to an address presented by the Marwari association of Calcutta on matters connected with Indian trade.

Dharwar District Conference at its meeting on this and next day passed resolutions condemning the high-handedness of local officials in the shooting affair and demanded an independent commission of enquiry.

15th. Madras Provincial Congress Committee (old) meeting at Madras. Beginning of a split.

17th. Mr. Yakub Hussain released from jail at Coimbatore on



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

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undertaking that he would not go to Malabar to the Moplahs.

First meeting of the new Madras Provincial Congress at Trichinopoly. Split accentuated between Rajagopalachari's party and Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyenger's party. 19th. Report of the Indian Press Act Committee published. Simla (see *post*).

Lahore Municipality passed resolution condemning the Legislative Assembly debate which attempted to white-wash the Martial Law administration and officials in the Punjab.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee, recently appointed by the Govt. of India to advise on the development of cotton trade and industry in India, met in Bombay on this and three following days.

20th. M. Gandhi arrived in Poona to open various memorials on the first anniversary of the death of the late Lokmanya Tilak. The Municipality presented him with an address printed on Khadi. Mr. Kelkar in thanking Gandhi referred to "several unpractical details" in the N-C O programme which, he said, Mr. Tilak would have amended.

21st. The Repressive Laws Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Sapru commenced its sittings at Simla.

22nd. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, as President of the Western India National Liberal Assoc., wired to Viceroy and the Sec. of State protesting against the proposed increments in emoluments of I. C. S. men as inferred from recent replies of the Sec. of State in Parliament.

23th. Lahore Municipal Committee passed resolution condemning retention of the Seditious Meetings Act in the District.

24th. In reply to mischievous attempts of interested people, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore issued statement that he had never been against non co-operation but was in full accord with its spirit and was entirely with Mahatma Gandhi.

Disturbance at Matlari (near Sind, Hyderabad) owing to clash between local Khilafatists and Government-supported Aman Sabha.

25th. Report of the Indian Railway Police Committee dealing with questions of railway police, its personnel and organization, handling and guarding of goods, protection of passengers, pilgrim traffic etc. published.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, Editor, *Independent*, was ordered to furnish a personal bond and two sureties of Rs. 10,000 each for alleged inflammatory writings. Surety not being given, he was sent to jail.

26th. The Ministry of Self Government, Government of Bengal, issued a circular to all municipalities protesting against hartals and passed orders to penalise licensees who followed hartals--this soon became a dead letter.

28th. Mr. Girdharilal, Secretary, Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund, published accounts of the fund up to 30th June 1921.

All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay and adopted resolutions to boycott foreign cloth, to abstain from official rejoicings during Prince of Wales's visit, and postponing civil disobedience till after the completion of work of Swadeshi.

29th. Monster meeting held at the Chowpathy Sands, Bombay, on boycott of foreign cloth.

An "Agreed Summary" of the Gandhi-Reading interview was published by the Govt. of India.

31st. At Bombay a huge bon-fire of foreign cloth worth millions of rupees was made by the people under the guidance of M. Gandhi.

August 1921

Chief Events :—Death anniversary of Mr. B. G. Tilak—U. P. Liberal Conference meeting at Lucknow—Meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee at Patna—Beginning of Moplah rebellion—Sheriff's meeting fiasco at Calcutta—The Munitions Case Scandal and the prostitution of Justice.

1st. The first anniversary of the death of Mr. B. G. Tilak. Enthusiastic celebrations all over India signalised by burning of piles of foreign cloth.

Portrait of Mr. Tilak was unveiled in the hall of the Municipal Council of Rajahmundry which had passed resolutions on 30th July last endorsing N.-C.-O.

Madras Legislative Council passed resolution, after opposition by the Government, to reduce the number of Executive Councillors fixed for Madras from four to three at the earliest opportunity.

2nd. Central Khilafat Committee meeting under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha was held at Bombay, M. Gandhi presiding. Resolutions were passed condemning Greek atrocities in Asia Minor ; a purse for Rs. 5,300 was given by the Parsi Sabha to the Khilafat Committee.

Mr. Venkatappaiya, President, Andhra Congress Com., maliciously arrested on the 30th July, was discharged along with his followers.

Bombay Council passed resolution on the motion of Mr. Gbolapi representing depressed classes, amended by Dr. Batliwala, that free and compulsory primary education should be the aim of the Government's educational policy to be realised as early as possible.

3rd. Bombay Council at the instance of Dewan Bahadur Godbole appointed a committee to consider and report in all their aspects upon the question of the drink and drug traffic, and their total prohibition.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

AUGUST

5th. Munitions Fraud Case withdrawn—scandalous statement in court by the Advocate-General which led to a serious agitation ending in Sir Thomas Holland's resignation from the Govt. of India.
6th. Madras Council passed a resolution to present a welcome address to the Prince of Wales.

M. Gandhi at Aligarh with Mr. Mahomed Ali visited the Muslim National University, delivered a lecture at the Jumma Mosque; said that the riots of 5th July were the ugliest blot on the forehead of non-co-operation. Mr. Mahomed Ali touching upon the question of the Afghan bogey denied to have ever declared that Afghans were a fit nation to come and rule India.

U. P. Liberal Conference opened at Lucknow under the presidency of Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana who demanded punishments for the Punjab offenders, equal treatment of Indians in the Colonies and proper settlement of the Khilafat as pre-conditions to peace in India.

8th. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya lectured at Poona advocating Swadeshi and Charka.

Mahatma Gandhi along with Mr. Mahomed Ali visited Lucknow, Cawnpur, Moradabad etc, in the U. P. preaching Swadeshi and khaddar.—The Lucknow Municipal Board's resolution to present an address to M. Gandhi was negatived by the President's casting vote.

13th. Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay wired to the Secretary of State and the Government of India:—

"The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association views with alarm and strongly resents the agitation of European settlers of Kenya Colony with the object of forcing the hands of Government to assign inferior status to British Indians in the colony and emphatically urge the Secretary of State for India to impress upon the Imperial Government the necessity of inaugurating forthwith the policy of strictly adhering to the principle of assigning to British Indians a status in no way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects."

And to the President, Indian National Congress, Nairobi:—

"The Council hereby assures their brethren in East Africa in general and Kenya in particular of their whole-hearted sympathy and earnest resolve to support them in every constitutional way to obtain practical recognition of their claims to equality in that part of the Empire."

15th. The Kerala patriots, Messrs. K. Gopal Menon, Madhavan Nair and Mohideen Koya were released from Cannanore jail on the completion of their imprisonment for six months.

16th. The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Patna; Mr. Gandhi was asked to draw up a statement of India's foreign policy.

At Calcutta Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore delivered a lecture on National education, in the course of which he said that it was due



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cause that the West now occupied a principal place in the world. She had achieved that eminence because she realised some great truth in her mind and carried it out in action.

The Lahore Municipal Committee protested against the proposed visit of the Prince and declined to accord a welcome.

17th. Pandit M. M. Malaviya lectured in Bombay on the necessity of securing changes in the central constitution of the Government of India.

The Calcutta Corporation in discussing the draft of the Address of Welcome to be presented to the Prince of Wales decided to omit all reference to the Reforms.

19th. Mahatma Gandhi visited Assam on N-C O campaign.

20th. Beginning of Moplah Rebellion at Tiruvangadi, Malabar (see *post*).

21st. A huge meeting at Lahore, presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai, passed the following resolution :—

"This mass meeting views with grave apprehension and alarm the actual famine conditions prevailing in the Punjab due to sudden abnormal rise in the price of food-grains in spite of recent abundant rains, and condemns the callous attitude of the Government in neglecting its duty to take all necessary steps to meet the situation."

24th. Sheriff's meeting in Calcutta under Governor Lord Ronaldshay to concert measures for welcoming the Prince of Wales was broken up by Non-co-operators.

26th. Lucknow Medical Association under Dr. R. H. Tandon passed resolutions protesting against the decision of the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom in not recognising Indian medical degrees on racial grounds and urging the Government of India to establish at an early date a General Council of Medical Education in India.

Government of India Ordinance issued for proclamation of Martial Law in the disturbed parts of Malabar.

27th. The 27th Session of Madras Prov. Conference opened at Tanjore under the presidency of Janab Yakub Hassan ; for his presidential address, he was subsequently sent to jail for 2 yrs. Next day resolutions were passed deploring Moplah outbreak and deputing some members to Malabar on relief work declaring boycott of Prince of Wales and of foreign cloth, supporting anti-drink campaign, suggesting the stoppage of emigration, and recommending the abolition of untouchability of Panchamas.

29th. Under the auspices of the National Home Rule League, the Bombay Provincial Reforms Conference opened in Bombay, Mrs. Annie Besant presiding.



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Mr. W. E. (Pussyfoot) Johnson arrived in Bombay for his campaign tour in India.

30th. Outbreak of Labour disturbances in Bombay mill areas generally spread to Madras.

Sardar Mehtab Singh, M. L. C., Public Prosecutor and Deputy President of the Punjab Legislative Council, resigned his office post following the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee's resolution that Sikh members of Council should resign their seats as a protest against the policy of coercion and repression by Government in regard to the Gurdwara Reform movement.

September 1921

Chief Events.—Govt. move to crush Moslem agitation—Moplah rebellion and military operations in Malabar—Arrest of the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and other Moslem leaders—M. Gandhi adopted the loin cloth—the great Karachi trial—All India Boycott movement.

1st. H. E. Lord Willingdon made a statement in Madras Legislative Council *re* disturbances in Malabar and labour troubles in Perambur and other mill areas.

Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai and Mr. V. N. Tewari of the Servants of India Society appointed members of the Indian Deputation to visit British Guiana to examine the scheme of Indian colonization by the Government of that Colony.

Picketing of foreign cloth shops began at Barabazar, Calcutta, causing practically a dead-lock in business for the next three weeks.

2nd. Sir T. Holland's resignation from the Viceroy's Council on account of the munitions case scandal was accepted.

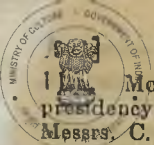
3rd. Viceroy delivered an important speech *re* the political situation before a joint sitting of the Indian Legislature.

5th. Bengal Council—Resolution on woman franchise lost, 37 voting for and 56 against the resolution.

In the Leg. Assembly Dr. Gour moved a resolution to present a loyal address of welcome to the Prince; Mr. Agnibotri unsuccessfully opposed on grounds of economic and political situation of the country.

9th. Report of the Indian Sugar Committee was issued. It recommended the formation of an Indian Sugar Board with five official and six non-official members (all to be nominated) to organise the Sugar industry on the Java model.

10th. At Calcutta, Marwari Chamber of Commerce saw M. Gandhi on the subject of boycott of foreign cloth and picketing at Barabazar. M. Gandhi rebuked them for not totally suspending the import of foreign cloth.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

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1st. Monster meeting of 12,000 carters in Calcutta under the presidency of Swami Biswanand and attended by M. Gandhi, Messrs. C. R. Das and Mahomed Ali resolved to follow the Congress and to help N C O --Rs. 10,000 collected for Swaraj fund.

14th. Mr. Mahomed Ali arrested at Waltair.

15th. Dr. S. Kitchlew arrested at Simla and taken over to Karachi.

16th. Mr. Gandhi at Madras touring with Mrs. Mahomed Ali.

Twenty-seven members of the Legislative Assembly formed a party to be called the Democratic Party to act and vote together in the Assembly on some of the vital questions to secure Responsible Government at an early date.

Forty-six Congress volunteers arrested for picketing foreign cloth shops at Burahazar, Calcutta.

Pir Ghulam Majid, Maulvi Hassan Ahmed, Maulvi Nisar Ahmed and Shri Venkataramana Shankaracharya arrested and taken over to Karachi.

Moulana Shaukat Ali arrested at the Bombay Central Khilafat Committee Office and taken over to Karachi.

Mr. Gandhi warned by the Government of Madras not to proceed to Malabar.

18th. Crowded public meeting at Lahore under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai passed resolution congratulating the arrested leaders—Karachi resolution repeated.

Pir Badshah Mian, the greatest Moslem divine of East Bengal, sentenced by Magistrate of Faridpur to 1 year's R. I. for his Khilafat activity—huge crowd of 50 thousand moslems followed him but was prevailed upon to disperse in peace by Mr. Das and others.

20th. Repressive Laws Committee Report published at Simla.

Public meeting at Allahabad under the Presidency of Pt. Motilal Nehru passed resolution opposing any welcome to the Prince and censuring the Municipal Board members who voted for a welcome.

Public meeting at Lahore under the auspices of Punjab Khilafat committee violently protested against the proscription of the Ulemas' Fatwa by the Government.

21st. Sir Jamsatjee Jeejeebhoy was elected Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly by the President's casting vote, Sir Jamsatjee and Dr. Gour having both obtained an equal number of votes.

The Ulemas and the Central Khilafat Committee held meetings at Delhi to consider the situation created by the arrest of the leaders, and decided in favour of civil disobedience and confirmed Karachi resolution.

Dr. S. C. Banerji of Faridpur arrested and sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for N C-O work.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

[OCTOBER]

22nd. In view of the shortage of khadder M. Gandhi issued a message saying that people must be satisfied with a loin-cloth.

"To set the example, I propose to discard at least up to the 31st of October my topi and vest and to content myself with only a loin cloth, and a chaddar whenever found necessary for the protection of the body."

In the Leg. Assembly Mr. Jadunath Majumdar's resolution on early Swaraj was debated with great animation and then withdrawn on the 29th.

23rd. In the Council of State Mr. Samaldas' resolution for equality of status for Indians and Europeans in East Africa was carried and accepted by Govt.

24th. At the Senate of the Calcutta University, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, deplored the disastrous effect of the non-co-operation movement on education in Bengal and said :—

"It is clear that between 40,000 and 50,000 young boys below the college age, have left schools, have been rendered idle, and have had their education interrupted if not finally brought to an end at an age at which the time lost can hardly if ever be made up. This wastage amongst the young boys is nothing short of a national calamity."

Non-Brahmana Conference at Trichinopoly under Mr. C. R. Reddy attacked and grossly stigmatised the N-C-O movement.

25th. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Bar-at-Law and N-C-O leader of Chittagong arrested.

26th. The famous Karachi trial of the Ali Brothers and other Khilafat leaders commenced at Karachi.

27th. Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society proceeded to organize non-official relief to the sufferers of Malabar.

Mr. Prabhudayal and other Congress workers arrested in the Etawa district, U. P.

28th. Dr. Abdul Karim of Benares, the Khilafat leader, sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for amicably settling a Hindu-Moslem dispute.

29th. Repression in Gaujam District started ; Zamindar of Gampalagud and other N-C-O workers arrested.

At Akola Mr. T. B. Paranjpe sentenced to 15 months R. I. for N-C-O work. Congress officers at Sukkur, Sind, arrested.

30th. Big meeting at Benares congratulating Dr. Karim for suffering for the national work.

October 1921

Chief Events :—Congress Working Committee meeting at Bombay—Nehru-Acharyar controversy on Congress constitution. The famous Karachi trial—Moslem agitation and repression all over India—Karachi resolution repeated from hundreds of platforms.

1st Punjab Home Rule Conference met at Amritsar, Lala Lajpat Rai presiding, and adopted N-C-O creed.



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G.I.

Heated debate in the Bombay Legislative Council on a member's resolution re preference for non-Brahmans in the public service. All members expressed sympathy, but deprecated communal jealousies.

Mr. Gopalakrishnayya, N-C-O leader, arrested at Berhammore. Sensation at Chittagong on gagging order passed on Mrs. Sen Gupta, an English lady, wife of Mr. Sen Gupta; she disobeyed order and went about picketing.

H. E. the Viceroy at Simla replied to an address presented by representatives of Mahomedan Co-operators in the Punjab.

2nd. Mr. Radha Ramon Mitra, N-C O leader, Etawa, sentenced to 1 yr. for N-C O activities.

Mr. Gopabandhu Das gagged at Cuttack. Babaji Ramdas arrested.

4th. Mr. Gandbi and 47 All-India N-C-O leaders issued manifesto on Ali Brothers' arrest and reiterated the Karachi resolution asking Moslems to leave Army and Police and defying Government to arrest them.

At Chittagong Prof. N. C. Banerji and Sadhu Kripaldas sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for N-C-O work. Mr. Sen Gupta released.

Behar Khilafat Conference held at Arrah with M. Shab Badra-uddin in the chair. Karachi resolution repeated by all standing.

5th. Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. met at Bombay and passed resolutions urging Indians to withdraw from the Govt. service and to boycott foreign cloth, postponing civil disobedience, and defining India's foreign policy.

8th. Memorandum issued by the Government of India on position of Indians in the Dominions as placed before the Imperial Conference by the official representatives of India.

Pt. R. K. Bhargava, president, Muttra Congress Committee sentenced to 1 Yr. for N-C-O work. His followers shouted *Gandhi Kijay* and for this they were put into prison.

9th. Second holocaust of British cloth at Bombay lighted by M. Gandhi at huge meeting attended by over a lakh of citizens when the Karachi resolution was reaffirmed and M. Gandhi made a long and impressive speech on N-C-O.

10th. Mr. F. A. Hadow, presiding over the Indian Railway Association meeting, Simla, protested against the unanimous conclusion of the Ry. Committee that English domiciled companies must go, because these companies had done much in the past to establish Indian Railways on a sound basis.

12th. At a meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee attended by representatives from all parts of India Mr. Chotani, the President, explained how British Statesmen were trying to drive out the

Turks from Europe inspite of the rather friendly attitude of France and Italy.

End of the protracted Nankana massacre trial—Mohant Narain Das and seven others sentenced to death, 3 to transportation for life, 17 to 7 years R. I.

Besides the resolution boycotting the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Central Sikh League at its third annual session at Lyallpur also passed resolutions adopting Non-cooperation.

14th. Poona Municipal Council passed resolution refusing to welcome the Prince and to boycott his visit.

15th. Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, President of the Congress, issued a circular declaring that the meeting of A. I. C. C. fixed for 4th November at Delhi be postponed.

18th. Pandit Motilal Nehru replied to President Vijayaraghavachariar's circular *re* A. I. C. C. meeting and confirmed the proposal to hold the meeting at Delhi on November 4th—split threatened in the Congress camp.

19th. A meeting of the Jain Community of Ahmedabad passed resolutions protesting against the arbitrary action of Junagadh Darbar in forcibly usurping their sacred places on the Shri Girnarzi and praying to the British Government to safeguard the interests of the community and to prohibit sacrilegious acts on the part of the Ruling Chief concerned.

Pandit Motilal Nehru issued an elaborate statement *re* "Law of the Congress: who shall interpret it?" replying at length to President Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar.

Sir W. Vincent, Home Member, Government of India, visited Calicut in connection with the Moplah outbreak.

20th. Government of India announced terms of reference to the Burma Reforms Committee to be presided over by the Hon'ble Sir A. F. Whyte.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and 17 other N-C-O. workers at Chittagong sentenced to 3 months' R. I. for N-C-O. work.

Gurkha Military police at Chittagong broke out and committed wanton outrage on innocent sightseers during the removal of Mr. Sen Gupta to jail, maiming and wounding many.

21st. Mr. Yakub Hassan arrested in Madras for alleged sedition in his presidential address at the Madras Prov. Conference.

22nd. Mr. A. P. Sen, President, Lucknow Liberal League, wired to H. E. the Viceroy:—

"The Lucknow Liberal League enters its respectful but emphatic protest against the position taken up by the Local Government in the Select Committee on the Outh Bent Bill. The Governor, who is an Honorary Member of the British Indian Association which represents Talukdars, conducted the negotia-

tion personally. The League fears that the general political condition is bound to become worse and still more critical by the growing agrarian discontent. On account of the Government's open partiality for the Taluqdars, a number of Zamindars and non-Zamindar members in the Council and almost an equal number of officials will be pressed, as in the Select Committee, to vote with the Zamindars, thus defeating the amendments regarding heritable rights. The League respectfully invites attention to the situation."

U. P. Provincial Conference held at Agra under M. Hasrat Mohani; resolutions passed on this and following days on the boycott of the Prince, use of khadi, etc., and reiterating the famous Karachi resolution, all standing.

24th. Government of India announced the personnel and functions of the deputation to British Guiana consisting of Mr. G. Keatings, Mr. P. Kesava Pillay and Mr. V. N. Tewary.

25th. U. P. Provincial Khilafat Conference held at Agra under M. Abul Kalam Azad—Karachi resolution repeated as elsewhere.

26th. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales sailed for India.

30th. Moplah Riot: special police detachment attacked by the rebels near Cheruvayur resulting in the death of twenty-six Moplahs and eight among the Police.

November 1921

Chief Events.—The Karachi Sentence—All-India Congress Committee sanctioned qualified Civil Disobedience—Prince of Wales' landing in Bombay followed by a 5 days' riot—Hartal at Calcutta and elsewhere—All-India repression started and gagging orders passed—Congress and Khilafat volunteer organisations proclaimed unlawful.

1st. Sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment passed on Ali Brothers and four others; all acquitted on charge of conspiracy; Bharati Krishna Tirthaji acquitted on all charges.

Mr. Chotani of Bombay offered 50,000 spinning-wheels and undertook to supply one lakh more to popularise Khaddar among Mussalmans.

2nd. Judgment was delivered in the Malegaon riot case. Out of 113 accused 47 were acquitted and five sentenced to death, remaining 61 accused variously sentenced.

The Moplah Riot: Martial Law Special Tribunal at Calicut sentenced Ali Musaliar and 12 others to death, 22 transported for life and three others recommended for mercy.

Trial of Mr. Yakub Hassan, the N.C.O. leader opened at Tanjore for sedition in his presidential address to the Madras Provincial Conference on 27th August. Mr. Hassan put in a lengthy statement but did not defend himself.

Moulana Abdul Majid Sheriar, a prominent Khilafatist, arrested at Madras for sedition and taken over to Tanjore.



Moulana Ahmed Sayid, Secretary, Jamiat ul-Ulema Hind, Delhi, sentenced to one year's R. I. for Khilafat work.

4th. A. I. C. C. Meeting at Delhi, Lala Lajpat Rai presiding. Civil disobedience resolution moved by M. Gandhi was passed in a slightly amended form after a lengthy discussion.

Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty was re-elected President of the Madras Municipal Corporation.

Khilafat meeting at Howrah broken by Gurkha police resulting in a riot and firing by the police.

5th. Maulana Abdul Majid Salik, Editor of *Zamindar*, Lahore, arrested for sedition.

In reply to a question in the U. P. Council the Raja of Muhammadabad stated that Govt. did not propose to disclose what action would be taken against the U. P. signatories to the Leaders' manifesto of 4th October asking the withdrawal of Indians from the Army and the Police.

A. I. C. C. meeting at Delhi continued ; Karachi resolution re-affirmed and Congress commission appointed to enquire into the Malabar riots.

7th. Mr. Yakub Hassan convicted of sedition and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment. Regarding the charge of bringing Govt. into hatred and contempt, Mr. Hassan said :—

"Greater personages than myself have done that work only too well and have left no field for Indians to work upon in that direction. When Mr. Lloyd George generously gave away Thrace and Smyrna—the homelands of the Turks—to Greece as a reward for the latter's service in the War against the protest of the most important member of the British Empire itself, it was this act that lowered the British Govt. in the estimation of the Indian people and brought it into hatred and contempt. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer supplemented on Indian soil the Imperial Work of Mr. Lloyd George and they have eminently succeeded in bringing down the British Raj from the high pedestal of honour, justice, and truth as it existed in the imagination of the people....."

Govt. of India appointed Mr. Venkatapathiraju, in place of Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Sastri in the Indian deputation to Fizi.

At Chittagong several Khilafat workers including M. Nazir Ahmed, the Secretary was sent to jail.

All India Hindu Conference, special session, commenced the day before under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai, passed resolutions endorsing the N C O programme.

Second Session of Chamber of Princes opened at Delhi by the boy—only some 30 Princes attended.

8th. Government of India issued the special terms to those British public servants in India who, in consequence of the introduction of Reforms, wished to retire prematurely on a liberal scheme of proportionate pension.

Thirteen journalists representing Burmese Nationalist Press issued a manifesto boycotting the Whyte Committee, as the Burmese demanded complete Home Rule without delay which the Whyte Committee could not consider or recommend.

9th. M. Gandhi presided over the Convocation of the National College, Lahore, and conferred degrees on graduates. In a short speech he urged that no efforts should be spared to attain Swaraj by the end of December.

Pt. Motilal Nehru presiding over the Delhi Provincial Conference at Muttra made no speech, because, he said, it was time for action and not for speech-making; resolutions were passed on civil disobedience, boycott of the Prince and recommending that the National Congress should at once declare to the world India's right to independent sovereignty.

10th. Public meeting at Madras under Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar strongly condemned the repressive policy of Govt.

At a public meeting at Lahore M. Gandhi advised the people to help the Municipal Committee in the removal from its present site of the Lord Lawrence statue which was insulting to Indians for the inscription that it bore.

11th. Govt. of India announced appointment of a committee to formulate a scheme for the Indianisation of the Army.

12th. Deputation of 18 Oudh Talukdars headed by Raja Sir Rampal Singh waited on H. E. the Viceroy and pressed before him the thorny issues of the Oudh Rent Act (See 22nd. Oct.).

Mass meeting of Sikhs at Lahore protested against action of Govt. in taking possession of the keys of the Golden Temple and warned Govt. that if the sacred keys were not returned before the 15th, the birth-day of Gura Nanak, serious discontent will prevail.

Resolutions were also passed for boycotting the Prince and demanding all Sikh members of the Legislative Council to resign their seats.

Govt. of India issued ordinance for trial by special magistrates of certain offences committed in Martial Law area, Malabar.

H. E. the Viceroy ordered release of 20 out of 86 Punjab Martial Law prisoners still in gaol.

13th. Ahmedabad Provincial Congress Committee authorised Bardoli and Ananda Taluka in Surat & Kaira districts respectively to start civil disobedience from 23rd November.

Mass meeting at Calcutta maidan attended by Police constables who were asked to give up Govt. Service and take to Charka. Some 100 Indian constables gave up service during the next week.

14th. Punjab Government announced their intention to divest themselves in a legal manner of the control of the Sikh Golden Temple at Amritsar.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

[NOVEMBER]

19th. Dr. P. Vardarajulu Naidu of Salem sentenced to nine months R. I. for N-C-O work.

Bhai Gurditta Singh of the *Komagata Maru* fame who had been evading arrest for the last seven years surrendered himself to the police following the N-C-O creed.

17th. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay—signalled by a hartal extending all over India. The Prince delivered the King's Message before receiving the Corporation address. Riots in Bombay for five days due to collision between loyalists and non-co-operators.

18th. Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference met at Lahore, under M. Abul Kalam Azid; passed the following resolution after an exciting debate :—

"The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference does not admit the truth or falsity of the statements published in the newspapers regarding forcible conversions of Hindus by Moplahs and other atrocities committed by them on Hindus, as there had been no proper investigation, but if the reports are true, then the Ulemas condemn all such action of Moplahs as the 'Koran' never sanctioned forcible conversions to Islam.

Other resolutions on the boycott of the Prince, discarding of all foreign cloth at religious functions, etc., were passed.

M. Gandhi in a press-note deplored the Bombay riots and said that all hopes of the success of mass civil disobedience were shattered by the hooligans of Bombay. He took up a five days' fast as a penance for the sins of his countrymen.

At Calcutta, Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the European Association sent strong letters to the Bengal Govt. on the hartal of the 17th urging Govt. to suppress the N C O. activities.

Congress and Khilafat Volunteer movement in Calcutta declared unlawful by the Bengal Govt.

Arrests, conviction and gagging orders passed all over Bengal on Congress and Khilafat workers on this and the following days.

19th. The Prince at Poona received the Municipal address, laid the Maharatta War memorial and the foundation stone of the Sivaji Memorial.

Mahatma Gandhi issued an appeal to Hindus and Muslims to make peace with the other communities and declared that the two days of 'Swaraj' during the Bombay riots, had stunk in his nostrils.

Series of Police raids in Calcutta during which Congress and Khilafat offices were searched, ransacked and documents seized.

20th. Manifesto issued by prominent leaders of Bengal enlisting themselves as volunteers in reply to the Bengal Govt. proclamation declaring volunteer organisation unlawful.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

CSL

First meeting of the new Madras Provincial Congress Committee gave particulars of Swadeshi progress in its report :

114725 spinning-wheels were at work and 195 looms. Khaddar was made in 38 places in the Tamil Province. Out of Rs. 60,000 provided for under this head, Rs. 17,500 was given out as loan without interest for 8 months for sale of Khaddar. 150 students left schools in pursuance of the non-co-operation policy",

Moplah Train Tragedy—when No. 77 passenger train from Calicut to Madras reached Podanur station, carrying in a closed iron wagon a hundred Moplah prisoners, it was discovered that 66 men had died of asphyxia !!!—a horrible episode in the suppression of the Moplah riot.

21st. Moulana Abdul Majid Sheriar sentenced to 2 years' R. I.

Jamiat-ul-Ulema conference at Lahore re-affirmed the Karachi resolution and strongly protested against the proscription of the Ulemas' Fatwa which they reiterated.

In the Bengal Council the Governor made a long speech on the political situation in Calcutta and justified the indiscriminate policy of repression.

22nd. Bombay University presented an address of welcome to the Prince—Students did not take part.

M. Gandhi issued another manifesto to his co-workers to control the forces of violence before he broke his fast.

An Anglo-Afghan treaty was signed at Kabul.

23rd. The Prince at Baroda entertained by the Maharaja.

Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, the Karnatak leader, was sentenced by Dharwar Sessions Judge to 6 months' simple imprisonment under 124 A. I. P. C.

Sitamarhi Congress Office raided and broken up by Police.

Congress Volunteer Associations declared unlawful in U. P.

Delhi gagged and the Seditious Meetings Act applied for six months.

Working Committee of A. I. C. C. met at Bombay and reviewed the situation since riots there.

Indian Mining Federation and Ind. Min. Assocn. passed resolutions requesting Govt. either to strangle the coming Trade Union Congress at Jharia or to afford protection to employers;—for this some of their Indian members had subsequently to apologise in the open Trade Union Congress.

24th. Mob disturbances in Bangalore over arrest of Khile workers dispersed by police fire.

President and Secretary, Congress Committee of Raugpur, arrested.

Similar arrests followed in other districts in Bengal and Secretary, Congress Committee, Cuttack sent to Jail.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

[DECEMBER]

25th. All public meetings prohibited at Dacca under S. 144.

26th. H. E. the Viceroy at Delhi replied to the address of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce touching upon the political situation and gave his fiat for official repression of Congress and Khilafat activities.

Indian Association, Calcutta, passed resolution expressing indignation and horror at the Moplah Train Tragedy.

Volunteer Associations declared unlawful in Assam.

27th. Bengal Congress and Khilafat Committees voted Mr. C. R. Das with full dictatorial powers in view of the grave situation facing them, and issued appeal to the people to enrol as volunteers under his leadership.

Congress and Khilafat volunteers arrested wholesale at Rangpur, Barisal, Chittagong and other places in E. Bengal.

Assam Congress volunteers began to be enrolled and re-organised.

28th. Meerut City gagged for 2 months—Congress and Khilafat offices searched and ransacked—so, too, at Sahabad and other places of the U. P.

29th. Prince at Ajmer—complete hartal in town—all leading N.C.O. workers were arrested.

Bombay Congress Committee passed resolution expressing regret for the Bombay disturbances.

30th. The Committee appointed by Madras Government under the chairmanship of Mr. Knapp began its enquiry at Coimbatore re Moplah Train tragedy.

H. E. Viceroy received a deputation of Delhi Mussalman loyalists and co-operators re Moslem grievances in Turkey, etc. and assured them of his sympathy and help.

Mr. J. L. Bannerjee arrested at Rampurhat on sedition charge. Messrs Phukan and Bardoli with several Congress workers arrested at Gauhati.

Trade Union Congress opened at Jharia under the presidency of Mr. J. Baptista. (see *postea*).

December 1921

Chief Events.—Prince of Wales' tour marked by hartals and turning back of citizens almost everywhere in British India—N.C.O. revolt against "unlawful laws" of Govt.—Wholesale Govt. repression—Lord Sinha's resignation of Governorship—Arrest of almost all Congress & Khilafat Leaders: Messrs Das, Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru & others—Arrest of Indian Ladies on political grounds.

H. M. The King wired to H. M. The Amir expressing pleasure at the Afghan peace-treaty ratified.

That the Knapp Enquiry Committee on the Moplah Train Tragedy Captain Mathai I. M. S. and Major Forrest I. M. S. gave sensational evidence that the death of the 60 out of 100 Moplahs was from asphyxia in an air-tight goods-van.

All-India Trade Union Congress at Jbaria passed Swaraj and Swadeshi resolutions (q. v.)

Messrs Phukan and Bardoli, Bars-at-law, N-C O leaders of Assam convicted under S. 108 Cr. Pr. Code and sentenced to 1 year S. I.—36 volunteers at Brahmanbaria convicted for picketing.

2nd. Mr. C. R. Das issued message to Congress-workers dwelling upon the importance of non-violence inspite of great provocation given by the Police ; also to enroll a million congress volunteers.

Combined Conference of five Mahratta Congress Committees led by Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona met at Akola to discuss their position under the Gandhian creed and expressed their strong dissent from the policy of the Congress. Resolutions passed opposing : non-violence in all cases, non-defence in courts, non-entry into councils and public boards.

3rd. The Prince attended State Banquet at Bikaner.

Non-co-operation—Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Gopichand, Messrs. Sanatanam, Malik Lal Khan and other Congress leaders were arrested at Lahore for holding a private committee meeting in alleged contravention of the Seditious Meetings Act. Mr. S. E. Stokes, the American disciple of Gandhi, was arrested for writing article exposing the *begar* (forced impressed labour) scandal of the Hills for which he was charged with sedition.

4th. Viceroy came down to Calcutta in view of the forth-coming Prince's Visit to the city and the threatened bartal.

Kuapp Com. Indian Members insulted by Mr. Reeve, the Ry. Inspector, and prevented from examining the Fatal Van.

C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference held at Akola under Mr. N. Kelkar and passed resolutions on this and the following day as at the last conference (see above—2nd).

5th. Non-co operation—At Allahabad Pt. Motilal Nehru was served with a notice that he will be held personally liable for any disturbance during the forthcoming visit of the Prince.

Anglo-Indians of Calcutta presented address to Viceroy and demanded that Anglo-Indian education be made a special preserve under the Central Govt. and removed from under the Indian Ministers of Provincial Govts. as arranged under the Reforms.

Lord Sinha's resignation of Governorship of B. and O. owing to ill health announced to take effect from 29 Nov. H. M. the King sent a message of regret. It was popularly believed that his resigna-



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

[DECEMBER]

was due to difference of opinion with, and insubordination of his European subordinates and a rumour was current that he was sought to be made a scape-goat by being required to arrest Gandhi.

6th. Non-co-operation—Master C. R. Das along with 4 other volunteers arrested in Calcutta for peaceful picketing of cloth-shop and selling Khadder for which he was mercilessly beaten by European sergeants.

At Lucknow orders under S. 144 was passed prohibiting for 2 months all meetings and postings and distribution of leaflets on boycott. Moul. Salamatuallah, Messrs. Balmokund, Bajpai, Mohanlal and other Khilafat workers arrested.

In Allahabad district Pt. Kapildeo Malaviya, Secy. Dist. Congress Committee arrested along with office-bearers of the congress committee of the Saraon Tehsil.

Pundits Motilal Nehru, Jawahar Lal, Shamlal and Mohanlal of the great Nehru family, Mr. George Joseph (*Editor*, "Independent") and Messrs R. N. Basu, D. P. Tandon (Chairman, Allahabad Municipality) K. Jafferi, G. S. Misra and other leaders arrested, and the offices of the Provincial Congress Committee and the Khilafat Committee were ransacked and all papers taken away. Allahabad meeting to elect delegates to the Ahmedabad Congress prohibited.

7th. Mrs C. R. Das, Mrs. Urmila Devi, Miss Suniti Debi along with 50 others arrested at Calcutta for selling Khadder, and locked up in jail.

Public meetings and processions prohibited for two months at Darjeeling. Mr. J. L. Bannerjee sentenced to two years, R. I. for alleged sedition.

Calcutta Moderates under the lead of Sir Binode Mitter gave dinner to Viceroy who spoke on present situation.

Sentence passed on Allahabad leaders charged with being congress volunteers; trial held within the gaol; accused refusing to plead. Pt. Motilal Nehru sentenced to 6 months' S. I. and Rs. 500 fine; Mr. Tandon 18 months and Rs. 250; Messrs Jaffri and R. N. Basu 6 months and Rs. 100; other cases adjourned.

At the annual prize day at Mabbab College, Secunderabad, the Hon. Col. S. G. Knox, Resident of Hyderabad, said to the students that Indians had a right to govern India because they were born here, and the British had a right to govern India because they came and conquered the country. All the trouble arose when they dealt with the question of right, but to every right there was a duty attached and the "d" always came before the "r". It was a safe guide for the Indians to make sure that they had done their duty before they began talking of rights. Before they clamoured for a full day's pay, they should make sure that they had done a full day's work !!!

8th. Non-co-operation.—In Calcutta whole town in commotion on last day's arrest of the ladies. Mrs. C. R. Das and party released unconditionally from jail on their refusing to find bail. They resumed picketing cloth-shops and selling Khaddar joined by numerous other lady volunteers, specially Sikh ladies; Calcutta students came out in hundreds, joined the prohibited volunteers corps, and marched out with Khaddar on, seeking imprisonment. 170 arrested during the day.

At Delhi Mr. Suraj Ban, Bar-at-law, Secretary, Dist. Cong. Com. arrested. In the U. P. Legislative Council Pundit H. N. Kunzru moved for an adjournment of the House to consider the political situation when Governor Sir H. Butler dramatically entered, delivered a speech declaiming against picketing and disallowed Pt. Kunzru's motion.

9th. The Prince at Lucknow; received the Municipal Address of loyalty and one from the U. P. Council. Partial hartal in town.

Non-co-operation—Congress leaders of Cocanada District arrested under Section 107 Cr. P. C.—Master Das at Calcutta sentenced to 6 months R. I. and Rs. 100 fine for picketing—Great excitement at Calcutta for patrolling of town by European Military police with Machine guns and batch after batch of volunteers offering for arrest—175 arrested in all.—At Basti, U. P., the Secy. and Asst. Secy., Tehsil Congress Com. sentenced to 1 year's R. I. under S. 108.—At Ballia Swami Brahmanand Bharati, a great religious leader, and Syed Manzur Hossain sentenced to 6 months and all other local Congress leaders arrested. Mrs. Motilal Nehru issued message exhorting youngmen to enlist as volunteers and fill British jails.—At Amritsar Dr. Satyapal and Mr. Gurbaksh Rai, national leaders, ordered to furnish security of Rs. 10,000 to keep peace for 1 year, refusing which they were sentenced to 1 year each.

At Madras, Criminal Law Amend. Act Part II (Unlawful Associations) promulgated by Govt. order.

10th. Non-co operation—Govt. of B. & O. declared all Congress, Khilafat and other national volunteer associations unlawful.—Mr. C. R. Das, Maulana A. K. Azad, B. N. Sasmal, Padmaraj Jain, Ambica Pr. Bajpai, M. Akram Khan and in all some 150 arrested in Calcutta which became panic-ridden owing to Military parading streets with Lewis guns. Wave after wave volunteer-batches came upon the Police officers to meet imprisonment immediately after news of Mr. Das and the leaders' arrest spread. Indiscriminate and wholesale arrests, house-searches, raids etc. by Cal. Police. Principal Heramba Maitra brutally assaulted by European soldiers in the street.

At Allahabad Mr. George Joseph sentenced to 18 months' S. I. and fine of Rs. 1,000 on one charge and 9 months and Rs. 1,000 fine



one second count. Pts. Gauri Shankar Misra and K. B. Mathur sentenced to 6 months and Rs. 200 fine.

All Political meetings prohibited at Etawah, U. P.

Police raided Congress and Khilafat offices and National school at Gaya—Allahabad Municipal Board meeting adjourned *sine die* on question of presenting address to the Prince as a protest against all-round repression.—At Lahore Police searched the premises of local vernacular Presses and of Lala Lajpat Rai, Pt. Rambhuj Dutt, Prof. Ruchi Ram, Mr. Sanatanam and other national leaders ;—Lala Sham Lal, Editor of Kesari and six Akali Sikh leaders were arrested for contravening the Seditious Meetings Act.—At Sialkot 14 Congressmen arrested.—At Patna the 'Aladal Press' was mercilessly ransacked by the Police for four hours and all papers taken out.

Viceroy in Council refused to accept resolution of the Legislative Assembly in last session, *re* separation of judicial and executive functions, on plea of great expenditure—Hon. Mr. Raza Ali, Member, Council of State, wired to Viceroy at Calcutta emphatically protesting against policy of repression.

11th. Non-co-operation.—At Calcutta, Mr. H. M. Gandhi with a batch of Volunteers arrested for picketing. Congress and Khilafat offices were again raided by the Police and all documents and papers seized.

Sj. K. Chaliha, president, Assam Cong. Comm. arrested at Gauhati.

12th. The Prince at Allahabad attended official functions. Complete hartal in town ; all shutters of houses and all shops and bazars closed. In the deserted streets stray Anglo-Indian crowds and Govt. school students greeted the Prince.

Non-co-operation—at Dacca Congress and Khilafat Secretaries arrested and all political meetings prohibited for one month. In honour of the arrest of Mr. Das and other leaders town was illuminated and a bon fire made of foreign cloth.—At Delhi Mr. Asaf Ali Bar-at-law and 53 other national leaders arrested for being volunteers.—At Burma Seditious Meetings Act promulgated at Rangoon, Mandalay, Insein and Hautawaddy.—At Lahore the trial of Lala Lajpat Rai and other Congress leaders opened. No defence taken by the accused "as they were convinced that the Government could not pay even a decent respect to its own laws." At Pratabgarh Moul. M. A. Sherwani sentenced to 18 months R. I.

13th. The Prince at Benares received address from Hindu University and degree of D. L. Complete hartal in town except at Rumnagar of the Benares State. University students did not attend, hall being filled by Anglo-Indian boys.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

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Non-co-operation—At Calcutta students emptied out of their classes and remained on strike till the Prince left Calcutta. Dinner proposed to be given by the High Court Bar to the Viceroy at the H. Court dropped. Howrah Bar boycotted during the Prince's stay by the pleaders and the litigant public.

In the Punjab, Govt. issued notification declaring Congress and Khilafat Volunteer organisations unlawful. At Delhi Mr. Asaf Ali sentenced to 18 months S. I. ; other volunteers from 6 to 12 months. Messrs Abdur Rahaman, Taqui, Haskar and other Congress men arrested. At Poona picketing of liquor shops prohibited. At Patna Mr. K. Kushin, Sec. Khilafat Com. arrested.

Madras Council—heated debate over the Moplah Train tragedy led by Mr. R. K. Shunmugam Chettiar : "The appointment of Mr. Knapp, the Martial Law Authority of Malabar under whom the dark tragedy happened as the head of the Committee to enquire into the affair left the only possible inference in the mind of the people, viz. that here as in the Punjab, a process of white-washing was in progress."

14th. The Prince at Nepal.

Non-co-operation—At Calcutta 70 volunteers arrested. Colleges & schools closed being boycotted by students. At Allahabad Cong. Office raided by Police while a meeting of the Provincial Cong. Com. was being held ; 45 members were arrested for voting for the volunteer organisation. At Poona Civil resisters, Messrs N. C. Kelkar, Paranjpe (Editor, *Swarjya*), Bhopatkar (Editor, *Loksangraha*), Gokhale (Editor, *Maharatta*), Dr. K. Damle (Editor, *Raja Karan*) began picketing of liquor shops against Magistrate's order.

Viceroy received address from Bengal Mahajan Sabha & in reply reiterated his claim for British justice and for "law & order." He referred to the events of 17th. Nov., characterised it as intimidation, coercion, unlawful pressure and threatening, at which the "law-abiding" citizens having asked for protection Govt. took all those steps against which there was an outcry of repression.

15th. The Prince on shooting trip in Nepal.

Non co-operation—Messrs Rajagopalachari, Ramaswami Naicker and Dr. Rajam, leaders of Vellore, charged for picketing against drink.

At Calcutta 200 volunteers out for picketing ; 120 more arrested. All over Bengal house searches, arrests and convictions of volunteers. Chittagong 'roll of honour' up to date reported to be 400, Sylhet 100, and Goubati 96. Wholesale strike of ship coolies at Calcutta Dock for alleged snatching and stamping with foot upon Gandhi caps by some European Sergeant ; steamers in docks and jetties lay idle for days. Mufussil colleges gradually boycotted and emptied by students.

At Benares Babus Bhagwandas, Satyadev and Pt. Shivnarayan Misra arrested for publishing a hartal notice.



Secretary, National Liberal League, Calcutta vainly wired to Viceroy protesting against police and military terrorism.

Lucknow Liberal League wired to Viceroy and U. P. Govt. a resolution strongly protesting against unlawful Govt. repression.

At Poona public meeting held under Mr. Kelkar and his friends protesting against the Magistrate's order against picketing and asking the people to resort to civil resistance. Batches of young men under the lead of Mr. Kelkar and other leaders begun picketing, were arrested, led to the police station and then let off.

16th. Non co-operation—Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-advocate Genl. of Madras, a moderate, issued manifesto renouncing his titles and seat in the Council in protest of Govt. repression and its unconstitutional interference with the liberty of the people.

At Calcutta unprecedented volunteer enthusiasm—400 out, 120 arrested. In Mofussil Bengal up-to-date arrests 72 Naraingunj, 200 Madaripur, smaller numbers elsewhere. Cal. Medical College students joined strike up to 31st. Mr. C. R. Das issued appeal to people. Moderates manifesto headed by Sir A. Choudhury, Sir P. C. Roy and others against ruthless Govt. repression issued.

At Allahabad 100 new volunteers enrolled. Mr. Kabasi, 2nd Editor, *Independent*, sentenced to 6 months' R. I.

At Poona, Deccan Sabha passed resolution condemning order against picketing—volunteers continue picketing liquor-shops. At Lahore trial of Lala Lajpat Rai & others resumed inside jail in camera in spite of protest.

Moplah casualties since outbreak issued : killed 1,826, wounded 1,500, captured 5,400, surrendered 14,000 approximately.

17th. Viceroy met Pt. Malaviya in interview and discussed about suggested Round Table Conference.

Non-co-operation—Calcutta—students strike complete and extending all over Bengal, flood of volunteers increasing—450 out, 250 arrested—volunteers courting arrest in larger numbers all over Bengal. M. Abdul Musabir Chowdhury, Khilafat President of Silchar, Assam, sentenced to 1 yr. R. I.; M. Akram Khan, Editor, *Muhamadi* sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for sedition. Cal. Civil Guards out—Bulls and pigs let loose in the streets with the placard "Civil Guard".

At Allahabad Pts. Shamlal & Mohonlal Nehru sentenced to 6 months' S. I. & Rs. 100/ fine. At Lucknow Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru same; also to M. Saxena, Drs. L. Sahani, S. Narain, Pt. B. Bappa, Beni Pr. Singh, Ramachander, Lal Bahadur, Khilafatists, Hakim Abdul Wali, Salamatulla, Shakut Ali, S. M. Nawab and others more severely punished : 1 yr and Rs. 200/-each.

At Lucknow Sir H. Butler at a Durbar outlined his policy of repression for alleged breaking the law and congratulated on the excellent results achieved which he detailed at length.

At Ahmedabad, Surat and Nadiad Govt. took forcible possession of Municipal Schools which had previously been transferred to the control of National Education Board by the Municipalities.

18th. Madras Liberal League under Sir P. S. Shivaswami Iyer wired resolution protesting against Govt. policy of repression. Dewan Bahadur M. O. Parthasarathy Aiyangar wrote to Govt. relinquishing titles, etc, to save the "last little self-respect still lingering in me".

At Calcutta 700 volunteers out, 300 arrested.

19th. B. & O. Govt. notified that in response to representation of 14 Council Members headed by Mr. Hasan Imam repressive action under Cr. Law Amendment Act to be postponed.

In Bengal Council, Governor made a long statement on repression and non-co-operation. Heated debate led by Mr. S. N. Mallick. At Calcutta Pt. Malaviya had a long interview with Mr. C. R. Das in the gaol—530 volunteers out picketing. 250 arrested. Mr. Wajid Ali Pani, the celebrated Chand Mia of Karatia, sentenced to 3 months' R. I & Rs. 90,000 security !

Mr. Jannadas Dwarkadas and Pt. H. N. Kunzru had a long interview with M. Gandhi at "Sabarmati Ashram."

At Lahore, Mr. Stokes sentenced to 6 months' S. I. ; Lala Trilokchand sentenced to 3 months' S. I and 200/-fine. At Poona 300 shop-keepers enrol as civil resisters picketing liquor-shops. many arrested, taken to the police station and then let off.

20th. In the H. of Commons Mr. Montagu replying to Mr. Ben Spoor said that there was no "repression" in India, only action had been taken to prevent civil disturbances and breaches of public order.

Allahabad Moderates, Messrs. Raza Ali, N. P. Asthana, G. L. Agarwala, Iswari Saran, D. C. Banerji and 20 others issued manifesto in reply to Sir H. Butler (see 17th) emphatically protesting against Govt. policy of repression.

Madras Vakils' Association passed resolution protesting against abuse of the Criminal Law by Govt. in repressing N-C O.

Hon. Lala Sukhbir Singh, Member, Council of State, wired to Viceroy suggesting Round Table Conference under the Chairmanship of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales !

Non-co-operation—At Allahabad 56 volunteers convicted and sentenced. Security of Rs. 2,000 of the *Independent* forfeited. 100 volunteers including Mr. Jairam, Congress Secretary, and Pt.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

[DECEMBER]

Malaviya's sons and nephews arrested for picketing a school. At Lucknow 8 volunteers convicted and 20 arrested. At Delhi Lala Sharker Lal sentenced to 4 months' R. I. along with 35 others. At Calcutta 700 volunteers were out, to declare hartal, 320 arrested; lady volunteers out in increasing numbers from this date. Children arrested and then let off—they cried for re-arrest and surreptitiously entered the lock-ups. At Pirojpur Sreemati Saraju Devi and school-boys arrested. At Dacca Dr. P. C. Ghosh and others arrested. At Ranchi 40 arrested. At Hyderabad, Sind, Mr. Daulatram, Cong. Sec., sentenced to 2 years R. I. And so on all over India.

21st. Malaviya Deputation presented address to Viceroy on 'present situation,' in reply to which H. E. said that he could not comply with their request of suspending repression.

Gandhi in reply to Lord Ronaldshay's last speech (19th.) said that the political situation was the creation of the Govt. and that he for one did not want any conference.

Mr. P. Muhammad Khan, M. L. A. made press statement strongly opposing Round Table Conference which was bound to be infructuous like the Gandhi-Reading and the Das-Ronaldshay interviews. He thought that Govt. knew people's grievances well enough and a conference was useless; that he would oppose it in the Council if proposed.

Non-co operation.—At Allahabad Pt. Malaviya's sons and nephews released; others convicted to 1 months' R. I. At Vellore C. Rajagopalachari, Genl. Sec., Cong. and Subramanya Sastri of Arni, Presid. Prov. Cong. Com. sentenced to 3 months' R. I. At Calcutta 250 arrested. In Muffasil Bengal students left school and enrolled as volunteers. Haji Abdur Rashid, Vice-chairman Dist. Board, Noakhali, and M. Ibrahim sentenced to 1 yr.

Behar Govt. issued communique stating that in view of R. T. Conference recent political prisoners to be conditionally released—no one actually released as no one accepted the conditions.

U. P. Governor refused to call special session of Council on requisition of members to discuss the political situation. U. P. Chamber of Commerce protested against the arbitrary order.

22nd. Deputation of Bengal Moslem loyalists waited upon Viceroy at Calcutta to represent moderate Moslem feeling on Khilafat!

Prince at Patna received official welcome—town in hartal.

Trial of Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Sanatanam, Dr. Gopi Chand, and Malik Lal Khan resumed in Lahore central jail,—they all refused to make any statement or take any defence as they did not recognise the court. Lala Govardhandas, local Cong. president, Mr. Dilwar Singh, Secy, and many congress volunteers arrested. At Calcutta

large number of mill-hands out from this date—250 arrested. Vice-chairman, Darbhanga Municipality, M. Mohd. Jalil resigned official posts in protest.

23rd. Pt. Malaviya had long interview with Bengal Governor on the question of release of political prisoners convicted under Cr. Law Amend. Act, in connection with Round Table conference and left for Ahmedabad to attend Congress.

Non-co operation.—At Calcutta 2000 volunteers out, 500 arrested; 18,000 mill-hands on strike; Volunteer enthusiasm and arrest kept whole city in commotion—many alleged atrocities by civil guards and their friends; Messrs. B. N. Burman and Padamraj Jain sentenced to 1 yr, R. I.

At Allahabad, a number of Rajas and Talukdars issued a counter-manifesto against the Liberals' protest (20th) fully justifying Govt. action and citing the example of Russia as a warning!

At Poona civil resisters were again out picketing;—arrested and fined and fine realised by issuing distress warrants. Up to date number of civil resisters convicted 260.

24th. H. R. H. the Prince in Calcutta—great reception by the Europeans, the Indian aristocracy and Council Members—complete hartal in the Indian quarter—city partially dark at night owing to strike amongst municipal hands; Indian quarter absolutely quiet and terror-stricken.

M Gandhi in reply to the Viceroy (22nd) made a statement to a press representative alleging that the Viceroy was inciting the European against congress-men by saying that the N-C O hartal was meant as an insult to the Prince.

All-India Congress Committee under Hakim Ajmal Khan met at Ahmedabad on the eve of the National Congress session to consider resolutions to be passed in the open congress.

Mrs. Motilal Nehru opened the All-India Swadeshi Exhibition at Ahmedabad before a large audience of congressmen, where amongst other things the complete process of *Kandi* manufacture was shown and explained.

Non-co-operation.—At Nasik Mr. Oaka, municipal president, resigned. At Poona civil resisters continue picketing, some convicted and sentenced 3 months' R. I. At Lahore volunteer processions broken up by a novel plan from this date, viz water hoses turned on them. At Allahabad Mr. M. Desai, Editor, the manuscript *Independent*, sentenced to 1 yr. R. I.; 62 picketers arrested.

At Calcutta Mr. Satcowripati Roy, Swami Visudhanand, L. Lachman Singh, volunteer-leaders, arrested. At Gauhati 60 volunteers including leading pleaders arrested.



25th. Lethal riot at Calcutta started by drunken Eurasian Civil Guards who killed 1 and wounded 23 Moslems.

At Benares Congress office broken up by police and its Sec. arrested—rush of volunteers in the streets—150 arrested.

26th. Indian Social Conference at Ahmedabad, Mr. K. Natarajan, president. Resolutions passed for abolition of untouchability, caste-system, drink, and extension of female education.

All-India Khilafat Conference at Ahmedabad under Hakim Ajmal Khan.

At Calcutta Police constable found shot dead at night. Police raid at Machuabazar where mosques were alleged to have been broken upon and desecrated.

27th. Indian National Congress in Session at Ahmedabad.

All India Khilafat Conference—Independence resolution of Hasrat Mohani ruled out of order by the president. Upon this, after conference ended, Mr. Mohani appealed to his followers to stay and pass his resolution. This was done.

Govt. of India appointed the Racial Distinctions Committee to consider the existing racial discriminations in criminal law between Indians and Europeans.

28th. Fourth session of All-India Liberal Federation held at Allahabad with Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer as president. Pt. H. N. Kunzru, in his welcome address as chairman, strongly deprecated Govt's repressive policy.

All-India Police Conference held its first session at Howrah with Rai sahib P. C. Biswas as president.

National Congress rejected Pt. Malaviya's motion urging the Congress to declare its desire for a round table conference by a large majority. M. Gandhi said that personally he was neither for nor against any conference, but there was nothing in the Viceregal pronouncement which could justify such a step.

Pt. Malaviya signed Congress creed and became ex-officio member of the All India Committee.

At Benares Sirdar Abdul Karim Khan of Kabul with 30 volunteers arrested. Fewer arrests at other places.

29th. Second session of the All-India Students' Conference held at Ahmedabad with Mrs. Naidu as president.

Burma Govt. ordered 32 Indians and 16 Burmans to leave Rangoon within 24 hours and not to come back before 12 Jan. in view of the Princes' visit!

Volunteer activity resumed in Calcutta.

Public meeting held at Lahore despite prohibition under Sedi-



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the Meetings Act attended by 400, for which Lala Baishanath and other congress leaders arrested next day.

Commotion in Police Conference, Howrah, on the president being peremptorily ordered by the Insp. Genl. of Police to leave Calcutta for his outspoken Presidential Address.

30th. 14th session of the All-India Muslim League held at Ahmedabad with M. Hasrat Mohani as president who pleaded for the declaration of Indian Independence at once,—the resolution was however defeated by a majority.

Congress Working Committee passed resolution urging all Prov. Committees to enlist volunteers preparatory to civil disobedience to be started from 15th Jan, next. At Calcutta 60 volunteers arrested.

H. R. H. The Prince of Wales left Calcutta for Rangoon after unveiling the European War Memorial on the *Maidon* in State.

31st. Poona picketing and arrests continued as before.

Editor and Printer, *Rangoon Mail*, charged with sedition and sentenced to 2 years 6 months' S. I.



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January 1922

Chief Events.—Prince's Tour in Burma, Madras and C. P.—Riot at Madras on Prince's visit—The Malaviya Conference Fiasco—Repression and Volunteer activity slackened—Trial of Lajpat Rai, Rajagopalachariar and other Leaders and their sentence—All-India preparation for Civil Disobedience.—

At Delhi 110 volunteers arrested. At Calcutta several mills closed owing to strike of labourers in protest of victimisation of their leaders for joining N.C.O.

II. R. H. The Prince arrived at Rangoon.

At Allahabad Pts. Krishnakant and Govinda Malaviya re-arrested with a batch of volunteers—sentenced next day to 18 months' R. I. for enlisting volunteers. This was subsequently reduced to 6 months by order of U. P. Govt.

3rd. Pt. Malaviya and sponsors of the R. T. Conference issued invitations to 300 leaders all over India to join the Malaviya Conference at Bombay.

Arrest of volunteers: Calcutta 80, Agra 52, Lahore 3, Lucknow 78; smaller numbers elsewhere.

Punjab Univ. Convocation addressed by Sir Ashutosh Mukherji who was interrupted by loud shouts of *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* from many graduates.

4th. S. S. Chakravarty, Beng. Cong. Committ. president arrested at Calcutta and sentenced to 3 months for refusing to take oath and give evidence in Court.

7th. Lala Lajpat Rai & party sentenced to 1 yr R. I. and 6 months' S. I. Similar convictions of other congress volunteers in the Punjab—subsequently reduced by Govt. order to 6 months.

Dr. Subramaniam sentenced to 1 yr R. I. at Cocanada; Mr. Sundara Row to 6 months' S. I. at Vizagapatam.

V. Kunhamad Haji, the Moplah King, arrested with retinue and arms in Malabar—shot with 6 others on 20th.

9th. At Calcutta ladies again out picketing. Pt. Ambica Pr. Bajaj sentenced to 4 months' R. I. At Patna M. Kuraaid Hossain, K. Sinha and Jagat N. Lal sentenced from 6 to 11 months' S. I.

10th. Punjab Govt. issued solemn warning against civil disobedience: They said—"Govt. will deal with Civil Disobedience by measures more systematic and rigorous than any which have hitherto been adopted." Public consternation as repetition of Jhellanwalla apprehended.

Legislative Assembly met at Delhi—motion for adjournment of

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the House to consider the "present situation" disallowed—Pt. Iswari Saran's resolution urging Govt. to drop their repressive policy postponed.

11th. Ladies' meeting held at Lucknow Congress office led by Mrs. Abdul Quair and daughters of Hon. Pt. Jagat Narain to encourage men to join national movement and adopt the national programme of the Congress.

12th. Sitamarhi proclaimed a disturbed area by B. & O. Govt.—punitive police costing Rs. 25,000 imposed upon the people for alleged N-C-O activity.

Lala Girdhari Lal, Congress Com. president, Amritsar, M. Daud Gaznavi and Mr. Sunam Rai arrested previous day sentenced to 1 yr. S.I. for enrolling volunteers.

13th. H. R. H. the Prince in Madras attended official functions—town in hartal—mob out-break in town and free street fight between Adi-dravidian & Non-Brahman loyalists and non-co-operators. Police and Military dispersed crowd by fire.

14th. Malaviya Conference held at Bombay with Sir Sankaran Nair in the chair on this and following day. Sir Sankaran left the meeting subsequently in great anger saying that 'he would break the conference'. Sir M. Visweswarya then took his chair.

15th. Meeting held at many places at Calcutta to inaugurate civil disobedience. Civil resisters began picketing at Poona. Rejuvenated volunteer activity in many places in the U. P. and Punjab to launch wholesale Civil Disobedience.

16th. Racial Distinctions Committee appointed by the Legislative Assembly began to hold sittings at Delhi from this day—very little response from important Indian parties.

17th. Congress Working Com. met at Bombay under Gandhi, postponed civil disobedience till end of month in pursuance of resolution passed at the Malaviya conference. Sir Sankaran Nair issued his famous press-letter explaining why he left the conference (15th) and denouncing Gandhi in unmeasured language.

Lady picketers began to be out at Lahore from this day headed by Kumari Lajjabati, Principal, Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullunder, and escorted by volunteers.

Aast. Gaoler, Patna gaol, resigned to follow N-C O.

18th. Resolutions in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State moved by M. Iawar Saran and Mr. P. M. Sethna respectively for round table conference defeated after a long and heated debate.

19th: Gandhi replied to Sir Sankaran's letter. Similar protests to

the letter was made by the Secy of the conference, Mr. Srinivas lyengar, and many other leaders.

Public meetings at South Calcutta under Mrs. Das broken up by police charge resulting in almost the death of a Bengalee lady visitor, Hemnalini Debi, alleged to be struck by the European officer in command. Babu S. Chakravarty sentenced to 1 yr. for volunteer enrolment.

Babu Bhagwan Das at Benares released unconditionally, but he refused to go home and stayed under prison conditions till all were released or his sentence of 12 months expired.

22nd. Large N.C.O meeting at College Sq. Calcutta, broken up by Police baton charge—280 arrested.

23rd Public meeting at Dacca held against Magistrate's order dispersed by Police baton charge directed by the Magistrate ending in some 50 of the public seriously wounded.

Lela Duni Chand of Ambala with followers arrested and sentenced to 6 months R. I. for picketing liquor shops.

25th. In Assam, on this and following days, tenants terrorised to pay taxes by Gurkha soldiers being marched through the villages which made default in paying revenue following N.C.O., the new No-tax campaign.

26th. Secretaries of the Malaviya Conference received reply from the Viceroy that he saw no use of further discussion about the R. T. Conference.

Serious riot at Tittagarh Mill ending in police firing on the strikers—2 killed, 40 wounded. Raizada Hansraj, president, Jullunder Congress Committee, arrested for picketing liquor-shops. At Calcutta 500 N.C.O volunteers arrested in numerous large mass meetings all over the city. In Behar Council K. Mohd. Noor's resolution urging withdrawal of repression passed against Govt. Gandhi left Ahmedabad for Bardoli in view of starting Civil Disobedience. At Allahabad big public meeting called by Mrs. Kamala Nehru held against Magistrate's order.

27th. Salanga hat tragedy, E. Bengal, in which armed police came in contact with picketers and opened fire, killing a few and wounding many.

Annual Conf. of Assoc. Europ. Chamb. of Commerce held at Calcutta; Lord Ronaldshay said that Indian labour trouble was engineered by politicians.

Durgadas Baid, Secretary, Amritsar Cong. Com. sentenced to 2 yrs. Bunde Mataram, Lajpat Rai's paper, suppressed at Lahore. During the month 4 other Lahore papers had their security forfeited: Pratibha, Kesari, Akali, Khubardar.

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29th. Non-co-operators of Surat under the lead of Messrs. Gandhi, Patel and Tyabji held conference at Bardoli to enquire about the Taluk's readiness for the 'No-Tax' campaign—resolution was passed that Bardoli Taluk was prepared for mass civil disobedience. Notice was sent to the Congress Working Committee that unless prohibited the Taluk will stop paying land revenue under the direct lead of Gandhi.

30th. Secretaries, Malaviya Conference again wired to Viceroy expressing readiness to meet his wishes—no response made by latter; Gandhi was asked by the Secretaries to postpone last date of civil disobedience for 3 days more which he did.

Lala Lajpat Rai and party released from jail as the Govt. came to the conclusion that the meeting for which he was convicted was not a public meeting. He was re-arrested under a new charge under the Cr. Law Amend. Act!

31st. At the Bengal Council Prof. Mukherji's resolution urging the withdrawal of repressive orders of Govt. was passed by a majority after a keen debate defeating Govt. amendment.

Congress Working Committee under Hakim Ajmal Khan advised people not to take up mass civil disobedience until Gandhi advised.

February 1922

Chief Events.—Suspension of land-Tax in Guntur and Assam district discontinued—The Chauri chaura outrage—Suspension of Civil disobedience by Gandhi—Beginning of split in N-C-O camp at Delhi.

1st. Extra Military Police, Gurkha soldiers and armoured cars were stationed in several villages in the Guntur Dist. for their withholding taxes in pursuance of civil disobedience—cost of additional police and military ordered to be realised from the people. Up to the end of January out of Rs. 1,473,000 of the first *kist* payable to Govt. only some 4 lakhs were paid.

3rd. Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona sentenced by Magistrate for picketing liquor shops along with others; campaign went on as before, up-to-date arrests in this connection being 500 at Poona.

In view of resolution of All-India Congress Committee West Godavery Dist. Cong. Comm. asked ryots to pay up land revenue so long held up in view of adoption of mass civil disobedience.

Strike at Tundla Ry. Station, owing to some Indian fire-man being kicked and struck by an European foreman, gradually spread all over the E. I. Ry. in the U. P. Military were called in to mount guard on stations.



4th. Gandhi issued his famous letter to the Viceroy and Govt. of India intimating the initiation of mass civil resistance by non-payment of taxes by the Bardoli Taluk under his lead.—He once more requested Govt. to revise their policy.

5th. 50 women volunteers accompanied by large crowds paraded streets of Delhi in anticipation of mass civil disobedience.

West Kistna Dist. Cong. Com. also advised ryots and landholders to pay up land revenue so long held up.

Ghastly mob outrage on Police station at Chauri-Chaura, U. P. by a mob of about 2000 non-co-operators resulting in the burning of some 22 policemen. Panic in Gorakhpur and Bareilly for a whole week.

Riot at Bareilly—European Magistrate seriously hit—police opened fire killing and maiming many. Panic in the district for several days. British Infantry stationed in the town. All Congress volunteer corps disbanded—Congress workers of the neighbourhood arrested.

6th. Govt. of India issued a communique in reply to Gandhi's manifesto "taking up the challenge thrown out by Gandhi and repudiating that they had been following a policy of 'lawless repression'."

7th. Gandhi replied to the Govt. of India communique refuting their allegations and explaining why civil disobedience was going to be launched.

Govt. of Bombay issued orders superseding Municipalities of Ahmedabad and Surat for their having adopted N-C-O.

9th. Gandhi came to Bombay from Bardoli and held anxious consultations with Pt. Malaviya, Jayakar, Jinnah, Natarajan and others of the Independent party on the affairs of Chauri.

10th. At Trichinopoly Messrs. P. Kothandaraman and Janab Yakub Hassan again sentenced to 1 yr. R. I. for N-C-O work. On the previous day 40 picketers obstructing sale of wine licence were arrested with all leaders.

Mr. G. Ramchandra Rao of Cocanada, N-C-O leader, sentenced to 1 month's S. I. for refusing to take oath in court.

11th. Working Committee of Congress met at Bardoli and after long and anxious deliberations issued next day the famous Bardoli resolutions suspending civil disobedience.

12th. Gandhi went on a five days' fast to do penance for the Chauri Chaura and Bareilly tragedy.

At Calcutta 2,000 Khilafat volunteers attempted to hold meetings at different places to express rejoicing at the conviction of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad but were frustrated by the Police, 450 being arrested.



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14th. H. R. H. The Prince of Wales at Delhi entertained an magnificent State functions for the next week.

15th. Police outrage on non-co-operators at Kanarighat, Sylhet, assembled at a N.C.O bazar—casualties 8 killed and many wounded.

17th. Cawnpore Khilafat Comm. unanimously resolved to urge the Cent. Khilafat Comm. to stick to civil disobedience inspite of the Bardoli decisions. Bengal Prov. Cong. and Khilafat Comm. also expressed dissent but accepted the Bardoli resolutions for the time being.

24th. Meeting of the All India Cong. Comm. held at Delhi at Hakim Ajmal Khan's house to consider the Bardoli resolutions.

The famous Delhi Resolutions issued partially abrogating the Bardoli decisions—beginning of split in the N.C.O camp.

March 1922

Chief Events—Turn in Indian Politics—Mr. Montagu forced to resign to placate Lord Curzon and other Imperialists—Mahatma Gandhi arrested—Stringent measures to suppress Indian political development threatened from Whitehall.

9th. Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, was forced to resign to placate the Imperialists, Lord Curzon and his party, and the Dyers and O'Dwyers in England.

10th. Mahatma Gandhi arrested at Ahmedabad for sedition.

18th. The trial of Mahatma Gandhi—his written statement—the judgment. The Mahatma sentenced to Six years' imprisonment—the same punishment as was awarded to Lokmanya Tilak.

[Fuller Chronicle for 1922 will be given in the next Issue of the Register.]



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

Resume of Political Events in 1921-22

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January '21.—Agrarian disturbances in U. P. suppressed by Police and Military force—N-C-O among students in Bengal and Punjab threatening a collapse of educational institutions—Duke of Connaught arrived to inaugurate the reformed Councils—boycott campaign started by M. Gandhi.

February '21.—The first session of the new Reformed Councils at work—Akali movement in the Punjab suffered the Nankana massacre—Duke's tour in Northern India; his famous speech of "forgive and forget" at Delhi—N-C-O in C. P. in the shape of liquor picketing—Boycott campaign continued—Repression first started in Malabar.

March '21.—Councils continued—U. P. Govt. preparing to grapple N-C-O by force—Failure of N-C-O campaign amongst students and lawyers—The Bezwa Congress programme started by Gandhi and party.

April '21.—Arrival of the new Viceroy Lord Reading—Lull in N-C-O activity—the question of compromise raised in various quarters—high expectations from Lord Reading all over the country—Mob outrage at Malegaon and Giridih—Mushi Satyagraha campaign—The Erode Khilafat conference.

May '21.—Strikes in Bengal—The Chandpur Gorkha outrage—Chittagong strike spread all over E. Bengal—The infructuous Gandhi-Reading interview—The Ali Brothers' apology episode.

June '21.—Strikes continued—The Afghan bogey started to blackmail the Ali Brothers—Controversy on the Gandhi-Reading interview—Hope of Viceroyal honours so long anticipated extinguished—Nagpur riots.

July '21.—The Tilak Swaraj fund over-subscribed—Signal triumph of Gandhi—Huge holocaust of British cloth started by Gandhi all over India—Moslem impatience gaining ground—Ulema's fatwa against service in the Army and Police—the famous Karachi Khilafat Conference repeating same.

August '21.—Tilak anniversary day all over India—Moplah rebellion in Malabar—Gandhi's tour in Upper India—Pussyfoot Jhonson's arrival and anti-drink campaign in India.

September '21.—Arrest of the Ali Brothers and other Moslem leaders—Policy of suppressing Moslem agitation all over India inaugurated by Government—N-C-O campaign intensified by Gandhi—Gandhi adopted the loin cloth.

October '21.—The Karachi trial of Ali Brothers & others—Arrest of Yanab Yakub Hassan in Madras—rounding up of Moslem leaders continued—Whirlwind campaign for the boycott of the Prince started by Gandhi.

November '21.—H. R. H. The Prince in Bombay—All-India hartal—Serious riot in Bombay—Govt. campaign against N-C-O activities inaugurated by Bengal Govt. declaring N-C-O volunteer organisations unlawful, followed by U. P., Punjab and Assam Govts.—The rise of the National Volunteers.

December '21.—The great fight between Govt. and N-C-O volunteers—Arrest of all Congress and Khilafat leaders all over India—Repression in excelsis—20,000 Congress-men arrested.—The National Congress and other conferences held at Ahmedabad declared in favour civil disobedience.

January '22. Malaviya Conference at Bombay for convening a Round Table Conference ended in a fiasco.—All India preparations for civil disobedience—Gandhi to lead at Bardoli—Guntur and Assam suspend payment of land-tax.

February '22. The Eve of Civil Disobedience—The Chauri Chaura outrage in U. P.—Gandhi's break-down—The Bardoli and Delhi Resolutions on suspension of Civil Disobedience.

March '22. The Arrest of the Mahatma—His imprisonment for six years—The end of Civil Disobedience and Congress and Khilafat activities.



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India in 1921-22

A Review of Political Events

India in 1921 was in the throes of all but a great revolution. The genesis of this, as of all other recent trouble, is to be traced to the great War. When War broke out in 1914 India was little better than under a Russianised system of administration. But as the strength of the German War organisation and the danger to the very existence of Britain became more and more apparent, Imperial pride was for once thrown aside and Britain cried to her vast Empire to rally round her and save her from destruction. High and noble sentiments were given out as the war-aims of the Allies, such as "to make the world safe for democracy," "self-determination for all people on earth," and so on, and Germany was painted as the arch Enemy of Mankind! Amidst the turmoil of an Armagaddon the people of India was made to understand that here was a chance of their deliverance from the humiliating position of bondage and serfdom to the status of an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In August 1917 the far-seeing British Cabinet made a famous declaration to India promising full responsible government in the near future.

And none too soon. Early in 1918 Europe shook under the impetus of the big German thrust. A cry of alarm rang throughout the Empire and the King-Emperor sent a message to India that "the need of the Empire was India's opportunity." India forgetting her woes rose as one man. In the pages of history of this period India's war services are written in letters of gold.

But after the Armistice war promises sought back-doors of escape. The Defence of India Act enacted as a war emergency came to be used to demonstrate that India was seditious. The Rowlatt Committee conceived in the same spirit, to counter the generous recognition of India's services, stigmatised India as seething in sedition and advocated *Star Chamber* proceedings. The Rowlatt Act was forcibly passed. Recognised from Royalty downwards as equal partners, having fought in the field as equal partners, India now was in no mood to take this insult lying low and a wave of protest swept from one end of the country to the other. On the 6th April 1919 a national *hartal* was observed. What happened next is now well known to the world. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, a "strong man" of the bureaucracy, the Governor of the Punjab, proceeded to teach a lesson. For 3 months he kept his province under

Martial Law. He brought Genl. Dyer and then happened the notorious massacre of 500 innocent men, women and children at Jhallinwalla Bagh.*

The Punjab was kept under strict censorship by Sir Michael and no news leaked out from the Martial Law area. Eventually Martial Law was withdrawn and a Committee of Enquiry under Lord Hunter was appointed by the Government of India, but before it began to work Lord Chelmsford's Government hastened to pass an Indemnity Act which justified and gave legal sanction to all acts done by the officials in the Martial Law days even though they were against all laws—civic and moral. The proceedings of the old Legislative Council on the passage of this Act is worth reading as they fully reveal the astounding mentality of high officials of the Government of India. The Indemnity Act, like the Rowlatt Act, was literally forced through the house against the united opposition of the Indian members. But the tales of Martial Law horrors perpetrated by British officials and soldiers—a hundred-fold more horrid than ever perpetrated by the much maligned Germans in Belgium—came gradually to be revealed before the Hunter Committee and the non-official Congress Enquiry Committee. They are too ghoulish to be named or recounted, but in view of the fact that even now some of the English Newspapers advocate martial law whenever there is a slight disturbance, a few incidents may be mentioned in passing. Men like the Hon. Lala Harkishan Lal, now a Minister of the Crown, were transported for life, and some were literally executed! Men were killed in mass in order to produce a "moral effect"! Trained officers paraded the air with aeroplanes and dropped bombs on schools and villages. Men like the Hon. Sir M. M. Shafi, now a member of the Government of India, were forced to keep indoors! Women were made to stand in a row, made naked, and a high officer was alleged to have explored their private parts with his cane!!! History—even of the darkest chapters of Rome or of the Moghuls—is unable to hold a parallel to such bestial atrocities. But still the Hunter Committee issued a white washing report and His Majesty's Govt. characterised General Dyer's act as only an "error of judgment" and virtually condoned the guilt of the officers concerned. Some of these were virtually promoted and are still in India, and many retired to draw their princely pensions from the country which they had outraged so well! The House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Finlay, by a vast majority condemned the Govt. for the slight nominal punishment that had been

* For the history of the Punjab in 1919 the reader is referred to our "Punjab Unrest—Before and After" issued in 1920.

assembled to some of the guilty officers, and Englishmen, both in England and India, raised a huge sum of money by public subscription to present to General Dyer for "saving the Empire"! Such was the setting in which Non-co-operation was conceived by Gandhi as the only remedy available to a despairing people.

The Khilafat Question.

Following in the trail of the Punjab came the Khilafat trouble. When war broke out between England and Turkey a large army of Moslem soldiers was raised in India by all the seductive art of British diplomacy. The Indian Moslems were led to believe that by fighting the Turks they would really be freeing Islam from the clutches of German domination, and from the British Premier and the Viceroy tempting promises were repeatedly held out regarding Moslem interests. Solemn declarations were also made affirming the territorial integrity of the Holy Places of Islam and of the Khalifate and disavowing any intention of crippling the temporal power and possession of the Sultan. Led by all these promises the Moslems all over India joined the colours with enthusiasm, and more than half a million fought for their 'King and His Country'.

When war came to an end an intense agitation was raised in Imperial England, seeking fresh fields for altruistic exploitation, to drive the Turks finally out of Europe. Influential statesmen, peers, church dignitaries, members of parliament and even Ministers of the Crown joined the campaign. False statements about Turkish atrocities in Armenia were given the widest circulation and America was induced to join in the campaign against the Turks. A long delay elapsed between the armistice and the announcement of the treaty-terms proposed to Turkey, and in the meanwhile the anti-Turk agitation was used as a lever to secure the dismemberment of Turkey and to divide the spoil amongst the allies. Arabia was carved out into a British protectorate. Mesopotamia for its rich oil fields was yarningly placed under British mandate. Thrace was bartered away to the Greeks as a reward for their war services. Palestine was assigned for the rehabilitation of the wandering Jews; and the solemn promises made by the British Premier went along the way of similar promises made to the British people themselves about the execution of the Kaiser, the realising of huge indemnities from Germany, and other Lloyd Georgian rigmarole.

The world of Islam stood aghast. British promises have a tradition of their own in history, and it is a wonder how people are still misled and nurse a grievance for their breach. The Turkish Nationals rose in revolt under Mustafa Kamel, and his subsequent career against the allies afford an interesting study of the political

psychology of the different nations of Europe. In India the nearest approach to a Kamel was Mahomed Ali, but he was securely locked up in internment during the whole period of the war on the pretext of being a Pro-Turk. All that the disgruntled Indian Moslem—ever loyal to their British masters even to the detriment of purely Indian interest—could now do was to agitate. The first All India Khilafat Conference met at Delhi on November 23rd 1919. Mr. Gandhi who attended advocated a joint Hindu-Moslem campaign to secure not only the Khilafat but all other Indian grievances. The second Khilafat Conference with growing numbers met after the historic Congress session at Amritsar in December 1919. It was signalised by the presence of Mr. Mahomed Ali who had just then been suddenly released. From that day begins the real Khilafat agitation in India and Mr. Mahomed Ali along with his brother Mr. Shoukat Ali, became the head and shoulder of the movement. At once it was proposed to send deputations to Europe. On December 12th a strong representation signed by very influential Mahomedans including such men as H. H. The Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon. Syed Amir Ali was submitted to the British Premier. On January 19th 1920 a deputation headed by Dr. Ansari waited on the Viceroy here in India but came back disappointed. Next month, February 1920, the third Khilafat Conference met in Bombay and issued the famous Khilafat Manifesto (for these and further details, see *I. A. R. 1920-1921*). The same month the deputation to Europe sailed under Mr. Mahomed Ali and in March was received by the British Premier and the Secretary of State for India. The representations made by Mr. Ali and also the Premier's reply are very interesting and will be found quoted in full in the *I. A. R. 1921*. In spite of heroic efforts in the next few months Mr. Ali could make no impression. At last in May 1920, the infamous Treaty of Sevres was made public, and simultaneously the Viceroy issued a message to the Indian Moslems asking them to "bear up with patience and resignation the misfortunes of their Turkish brethren". This sent Moslem rage to white heat and on the 28th May the Khilafat Committee met at Bombay and at once adopted Mr. Gandhi's Non co-operation project as the only means now left to them. Two days later, on 30th May 1920, the All India Congress Committee met at Benares and in view of the great issues involved in the matter of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs decided to hold a special session of the Congress in the September following. On June 30th a joint Hindu-Moslem Conference was held at Allahabad and Mahatma Gandhi cemented Hindu-Moslem unity by inducing all to adopt Non-co operation as the last plank in Indian polity. On June 22nd, a message signed by numerous Muhammadan



NOTICE OF NON-CO-OPERATION

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letter was submitted to the Viceroy, asking him to secure revision of the Turkish Peace terms and, in the event of the British Cabinet failing to comply with the Muslim wishes, to make common cause with the Indian Mussalmans. It further warned him that if he failed to adopt the suggestion, they would be obliged from the 1st August following to withdraw co-operation from the Government and to ask other Mussalmans and Hindus to do likewise. Mahatma Gandhi also addressed a letter to the Viceroy in which he explained his connection with the Khilafat question. He told him how he had noticed the growing anxiety of the Mussalmans and their distrust of British intention and how he had advised them not to give way to despair. He proceeded: "The terms violate ministerial pledges and utterly disregard 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 India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. . . . The report of the majority of the Hunter Committee and your Excellency's despatch thereon have 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 retain the faith in the inherent superiority of British Constitution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrong done and thus restore confidence. I have not lost faith in such superiority and I am not without hope that somehow or other, justice will yet be rendered if we show requisite capacity for suffering. It is then because I believe in British constitution that I have advised my Muslim friends to withdraw their support from your Excellency's Government, and the Hindus to join them."

The 31st of August was celebrated as a Khilafat day. A general hartal was declared and Non-co-operation proclaimed. Mahatma Gandhi took the lead in renouncing all Govt. titles and honours, and returned his medals etc., to the Viceroy. In a covering letter addressed to the latter he said:—"Events have happened during the past month which have confirmed me in the opinion that the Imperial Govt. have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral, and unjust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such Govt. The attitude of the Imperial and your Excellency's Government on the Punjab question has given me additional cause for great dissatisfaction. 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 Government, and have disabled me from tendering, as I have hitherto whole-heartedly tendered, my loyal co-operation." The feeling in India became worse in proportion as the Government persisted more and more to insult Muslim sentiments and as Members of Parliament in England, and the Anglo-Indians residing in India, began more and more to support General Dyer. The Europeans in India went so far as to open a Dyer Appreciation Fund and raised a large sum of money to be presented to him. Associations of Europeans and Anglo-Indian papers vied with each other in extolling General Dyer's services. Everywhere in European circles Dyer was proclaimed as the Saviour of the Empire.

The Calcutta Special Congress

Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali toured through a great part of the country before the Special Session of the Congress met at Calcutta early in September 1920, under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai. After a long discussion, the Congress adopted the Non-co-operation resolution by a large majority. The resolution recited that in view of the fact that in the matter of the Khilafat, Indian and Imperial Governments had signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans in India, that the Prime Minister had deliberately broken his pledged words and, further, in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April 1919, both the said Governments had grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab, punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and had exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and that the debate 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, the Congress was of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two afore-mentioned wrongs, and the only effectual means to vindicate National honour and to prevent similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya.

The Congress was further of opinion that there was 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. It accordingly advised : (a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies, (b) Refusal to attend Government levies, Darbars etc., (c) Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government, and

the establishment of national schools and colleges in their place, (2) Gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts 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 from the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate, and (g) Boycott of foreign goods. The Congress further advised adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale and, to meet the requirements of the nation which could not be met by Indian Mills alone, it advised manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of millions of weavers who had been forced to abandon their ancient and honourable calling.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's amendment which asked for a mission to be sent to the Prime Minister to lay before him a statement of Indian grievances, coupled with a demand for immediate autonomy, and, in case of his refusal to receive this mission or to replace the Act of 1919 by a measure granting full autonomy to India, for the adoption of a policy of active Non-co-operation and, in the meantime, advising the consideration of Mahatma Gandhi's programme and the adoption of measures as preparatory to actual putting into practice of that programme, was thrown out in the Congress by a large majority. Mr. C. R. Das, then of the Pal following, was also opposed to M. Gandhi's programme and he had with him a large number of Bengal representatives opposing Gandhi, but they were all out-voted.

The Non-Co-operation Campaign

The adoption of the Non-co operation resolution by the Congress gave a great fillip to the Non-co-operation movement. To give effect to the resolution of the Special Congress, a Sub Committee was appointed in Calcutta to draft instructions. The report of the Sub-committee was considered by a meeting of the All India Congress Committee on the 2nd October, and detailed instructions were issued. But owing to the strong stand taken by the Bengal and Marhatta parties some doubt was still entertained whether at the annual sessions at Nagpur in December the Congress would endorse the Non-co-operation resolution passed at Calcutta. Mahatma Gandhi toured through the country amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm.

Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by Maulana Mohammad Ali who had returned from Europe as the head of the Khilafat delegation in the first week of October, visited Aligarh on the 12th of October, and at once a wild campaign was launched to nationalise the M. A. O. College (see the 1921 Register for details). A letter was

addressed by some of the Non-co-operation leaders who were also trustees of the college to the other trustees, urging upon them the necessity of nationalising the institution. The trustees met on the 17th of October, 1920. Mahatma Gandhi also addressed a letter to them. They, however, decided to carry on the institution on the old lines, and so a separate National Muslim University was inaugurated with Maulana Mohammad Ali as its Principal under the presidentship of Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mohammad-ul-Hassan Sabib on the 29th of October. Mahatma Gandhi's visit to the Punjab created similar stir among students and there were wholesale strikes and demand for nationalisation of the Lahore College, the Khalsa College and other educational institutions. On the 15th of November, the Gujrat National College was opened by Mahatma Gandhi which started with 500 students. There was also a great strike at Benares among the students of the Hindu University. Pandit Malaviya with rare tact managed to save it from a crash. Early in December, Mahamat Gandhi visited Bihar and advised the opening of a National College which was done at Patna on the 5th of January, 1921. Tilak Mahavidyalaya was opened at Poona on the 11th of December 1921.

The Nagpur Congress

Things were going on in this way when the Congress met again in its annual session at Nagpur under the presidentship of Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar. The Anti-Gandhi elements under the banner of Das, Kelkar, Jinnah and others composed mainly of the Bengal and Mahratta delegates mustered strong in a fighting mood, but Mr. Das was soon converted into a Gandhite. Gandhi prevailed. The Congress changed its creed into the "attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by peaceful and legitimate means" and re-affirmed the resolution of Non-violent Non-co-operation passed in Calcutta. It declared that the entire or any part of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes on the other should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that, in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf by calling upon the guardians and parents of children under the age of 16 years and upon students of the age of 16 or over to withdraw them from Government-controlled educational institutions; by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service, including the boycott of law courts by fellow lawyers and litigants; by carrying out gradual boycott of foreign trade

THE NAGPUR CONGRESS

relations by encouraging hand spinning and hand weaving and generally calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost contribution of self-sacrifice; and, lastly, by organizing a committee in each village or group of villages with a Provincial Central organization and a band of national workers to be called Indian National Volunteer Service to be financed out of funds, called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund. The Congress further asked persons who had got themselves elected to the new Councils, in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, to resign their seats, and in the event of their failure to do so, it advised the people to studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such Councillors. The Congress recognized the growing friendliness between the police and soldiers and the people, and appealed to all people in Government employment, pending the call of the Nation for the resignation of their services, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with the people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings, while refraining from taking any active part therein, and more especially by openly rendering financial assistance to the National movement. It laid special emphasis on Non-violence being an article of faith of the Non-co-operation resolution and called upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and other communal differences wherever they might be existing. It further called upon Hindus to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and urged the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The Course of the Movement in 1921-22

The months that followed the great scenes at Nagpur were months of strenuous work. Never before in the history of India, since its connection with Britain, had any popular enthusiasm been greater. As a result of the decision of the Congress, hundreds of lawyers suspended practice in the law courts throughout the country and began to devote themselves to the service of the Nation. Panchayats came to be organised and litigants came to seek their help. There was a great fall in the revenue from stamps throughout the country on account of the fall in the number of suits instituted in the law courts. Thousands of college and school students withdrew themselves or were withdrawn from Government controlled institutions by their guardians. Many a school became absolutely deserted.



Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to the youth of the country to devote themselves, in the hour of their country's peril, to its service received a splendid response. But the detent was raised by Mr. C. R. Das, who immediately on coming back to Calcutta from the Nagpur Congress renounced his colossal practice at the High Court Bar, gave up his princely fortune to the cause of the nation and issued an appeal to the student population of Calcutta to join him. From this day about the middle of January 1921 Mr. C. R. Das won a front position in Indian polity.

Early in January 1921 the Duke of Connaught came to inaugurate the reforms and during the two months of January and February 1921 there was a great display of festivities in connection with the Duke's visit attended by all the big officials, Princes and landlords. But there was no popular enthusiasm. An attempt was made to boycott the Duke's visit by Gandhi and his party, but it evoked no great response from the people. Similarly the student movement, though serious at first, soon fizzled out. Both failed as the people addressed had no very clear conception of what non-co-operation was. The fact is that Gandhi and his lieutenants started just the wrong way about; they first preached in the colleges and the courts—the two most perfect and powerful institutions that the bureaucracy has built in India; and so long as this went on, Govt. watched their game with amusement. The most vulnerable spot of the British administration in India is the great mass-millions—the toilers in the fields and the labourers in the industries. There the non-co-operators with all their political agitation could not reach till, by the end of the year, the false move made by government to suppress the movement by armed force drove non-co-operation more and more down into the masses.

In Northern India

In January 1921 extensive economic distress gave rise to a serious agrarian trouble in the U. P. The Oudh Talukdars still retained most of their autocratic rights as in the days of the Nabobs. The Reformed Govt., which had only been strengthened by an accession from this class, backed up the Talukdars, and they decried the peasant movement as rank bolshevism. The Governor, Sir Harcourt Butler, himself the head of the Talukdars' Association, raised the frankenstein. This nascent 'bolshevism' was sought to be nipped in the bud, and the result was widespread conflict between the mass of the peasants and the arm of the 'law'. Riots occurred. Police and military were drafted, and the peasant movement was broken with exactly that degree of meticulous care which a power drunk autocracy overt employ in such cases all over the world.

In the Punjab, in the same period, was started a religious movement under religious reformers, called Akalis. The Sikhs, influenced by their experience of 1919 and catching the Gandhian doctrine, tried first to purge their society of the many wrongs that had crept in their shrines and operated to keep them split apart. To regain their former glory the Sikhs had only to purify their joint communal life : such was the idea. But their movement was naturally watched with suspicion by the British authorities, joined by those anglicised Sikhs and debauched priests and conservatives who found nothing but pecuniary loss in the national movement. The Gurudwara Prabandhak committee, the central body of the Akalis, has since then suffered much in the way of persecutions, and the Sikh reform movement was sought to be strangled on the plea that they were secretly working for a revolution. Every reform and reformer in India, unless started under British auspices, is suspect in the eyes of the authorities. And inspite of the non-political object of the Akali movement in its inception, repression from government has since given a distinctly political turn to the Sikh struggle now directed mainly against government measures.

In Bengal, Behar and Assam, extensive industrial strikes characterised this period. The old inadequate wages and the new quadrupled cost of living were working havoc amongst the people, and the big capitalists and profiteers of the previous years, facing a slump in business, began to effect extensive reductions both in the number of employees and in their pay. Large numbers were thrown out of work, the working class could not support their families, people died from starvation, women committed suicide for nakedness, and wretchedness stalked wide. Strikes followed, in the Railway, in the Steamer services, in Coal Mines, in the Mills, in Tea Estates, in every industrial concern—mostly in the hands of Europeans. Gandhi's creed entered here. Till the land, apin the charka, abjure industrial vice, wine and all that, the import of the West to exploit the poor and the fool :—this new gospel was easily understood, and out rang from the heart of every wretched proletariat the shout of "GANDHI MAHARAJ KI JAI" ! Gandhi's name worked like a balm to the tortured soul of the poor coolie and the workman. In the whole world Gandhi was the only man who was the friend of the poor, their sympathiser, brother—nay, their God. To them Gandhi was an *Avatar* sent as a blessing from heaven to deliver them from their political and economic bondage. But the hope of the tortured was the rage of the torturer. The very name of Gandhi exorcised vice. And if work-people gave up all vice—liquor, gambling, cinema, western sport and trinkets, fineries and foppishness—was it not turning society all topsy-

And if the dirty proletariat crouch not low, whine not, stand upon their legs straight, refuse to do whatever and whenever bidden, begin to talk of honour and self-respect, mount the insufferable Gandhi cap over their head—was it not bolshevism undiluted? And thousands of men, the dumb cattle-like herds of men, all crying in one voice 'MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAI'! All this maddened their capitalist masters. Urged by the planters, the mine-owners, the industrial magnates, and from political motives, Government sent Gurkha soldiers to quell strikes. In Chandpur, Chittagong, parts of Behar and the U. P., there was such an exhibition of brute force on unresisting crowds of Gandhi criers as would gladden the heart of a Dyer. This only deepened the bold of Gandhi on the masses. Nature healed the torn flesh and Gandhi healed the heart.

The Bourgeoisie

Non-co-operation itself did not make much headway amongst the bourgeoisie at first. The great middle class, the creation of that very bureaucratic institution with which the N-C-O was at war, was touched only at the fringes. Barring a few high-souled lawyers, and a comparatively larger number of humbler wage-earners whom economic pressure had squeezed into the fold of non-co-operation, the Indian bourgeoisie lay between the proletariat masses under the grip of Gandhi on one side and the ruling higher classes with all their aristocratic entourage on the other. The British Govt. in India has always taken care to see that it did not become sufficiently tsarist to act as a steam-roller beating all other classes down into a dead level of uniformity. That is against imperial interest. Still, lapses occur, as in the Punjab in 1919, and then the artful remedy of concessions, like the Reforms, is practised to rehabilitate the bureaucratic superiority and the further disintegration of the lower masses. This policy, which, like the pole star, has always guided the rulers at Whitehall, has never been clearly understood by their officers and underlings in India. In the year under review exactly this thing happened. Economic causes led to grave distress. Distress turned the mass-mind to Gandhi. Gandhi brought politics. And like the red rag to the bull, talk of politics in the Indian mouth maddened the official, already half-crazy under the chromatic influence of a tropic sun. And then the huge steam-roller worked with all steam up. The mighty leveller rolled and rolled, and the bourgeoisie and the masses were flattened out together in the same bed of Indian misery.

Men like Gandhi flourish on defeat. The Gandhi stunts one after another are remarkably elusive as to their significance. Immedi-

MOB-OUTBREAKS

after the failure of the boycott programme in the first 3 months of the year the Bezwada stunt of a crore of "men, money and munitions" was started—the Gandhi munitions being the spinning wheel! The all India Congress Committee met at Bezwada on 31st. March 1921 and issued its programme of work for the next 3 months. It required that before the 30th. of June the Congress should raise one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj fund, enrol one crore of members for the Congress, and see 20 lacs of spinning wheels working in the country. It immediately leaped into success. The following months witnessed tremendous efforts by thousands upon thousands of Congress workers engaged in fulfilling the Bezwada programme. Before the allotted time the requisite men and money flowed in and the number of charkas introduced into Indian homes must have been very near to the requisition.

Riots and Mob-outbreaks

While the country was engaged in the constructive work there occurred a series of riots in which unruly mobs broke into violence on the provocation of arrests made by the police of the national volunteers. As was to be expected, some of these volunteers, in their zeal to get recruits to their corps or to do some other national work, disregarded Gandhi's injunctions of non violence, and offered opportunity to the police to lay hands on them. At Giridih in Behar a riot occurred in connection with the trial of national volunteers who had attempted to enforce the decree of a locally constituted arbitration committee. A much more serious mob-outbreak occurred at Malegaon in the Nasik district, Bombay, where a brutal outbreak of mob-violence arising from the trial of Khilafat workers, during which a police officer is said to have insulted them, resulted in the murder of the officer and four constables. Throughout May there were labour troubles all over India. The situation in Assam, where the coolies live a horrible life of shame and degradation, was serious. The Gandhi cult of self-purification penetrated there and thousands of coolies left the plantations to their unutterable misery. In June the general state of the country was less disturbed, but in July, sporadic disorders broke out afresh. Labour troubles in Madras, in which the European capitalists locked out the workers for more than a month and then secured their re-entry through official interference, complicated by bitter communal jealousies fanned by the employers, led to serious rioting and loss of life. Riots occurred also in Karachi, Dharwar, Nagpur, Calcutta and Chittagong arising out of picketing by temperance volunteers of indecent liquor shops.



Moslem Activities

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The situation in the Moslem world was by now getting more and more serious. The Greek offensive against Angora was alarming, and the supply of munitions of war by England to Greece and the strong Greek proclivities of Mr. Lloyd George, who was under the influence of certain Greek financier, aroused the strongest resentment. Further, the failure of the entire Moslem world to secure by representation a modification of the infamous Treaty of Sevres raised feelings to a high pitch. There was an universal demand for the declaration of *jihad* or holy war. Under such circumstances the leaders of Islam found the greatest difficulty in keeping their people in restraint. As something had to be done immediately to lead resentment into a comparatively safe channel 500 *Ulemas* (Moslem divines) issued the now famous *Fatwa* declaring it *haram* or sinful to serve in the Army which fought against the brethren of their faith. On the 8th of July the All-India Khilafat Conference opened at Karachi with Mr. Mahomed Ali in the chair. While reiterating the Moslem demands, the Conference also passed a resolution—the famous sixth resolution—declaring it unlawful under the Koran “for any Mussalman to serve in the army or help in their recruitment”. It also declared with a finality that if the British Government fought the Angora Government, the Moslems of India would start civil disobedience, establish their complete independence, and hoist the flag of the Indian Republic at the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress. This question of civil disobedience was also pressed very strongly later at the meeting of the Congress Committee on the 28th July following.

On July 28th the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay. It at once passed a resolution asking the country to boycott the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales as it was a “political move calculated to give strength and support to a system of Government that has resulted in breach of faith with the Moslems and atrocious injustice to the people of India.” A second resolution earnestly called upon the people of India to concentrate upon the complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September for the early attainment of Swaraj, while another resolution vetoed the idea of civil disobedience which was impatiently urged by the advanced section of Moslems, and advised Congress organisations to inculcate non-violence as the essential condition precedent to non-co-operation. While deploring the excesses at Malegaon and Aligarh under grave provocation, the committee congratulated the people for the great self-restraint shown, notwithstanding grave provocation by the local officials at Dharwar, Matiar, Guntur and a few other places, where

lives were lost by the police indiscriminately opening fire on the people. It was at the risk of breaking up the Hindu-Moslem into factious groups that Gandhi succeeded for the time being to check his Moslem friends from going to the extreme step of civil disobedience. And to speed up the Non co operation programme, and especially to make a spectacular demonstration of the importance of cloth-boycott, a huge pile of foreign cloth—a mile in length and 3 feet high—was set on fire by Gandhi on the sands of Bombay. Similar piles burnt all over India. Everywhere there were great rejoicings over the success of the Tilk Swaraj fund collections. The crore of money was over-subscribed. The following day, August 1st, was the death anniversary of the Lokmanya Tilak and was celebrated all over the country with great enthusiasm.

The success of the non-co-operation programme so far was plain-sailing. Of all the Gandhi-stunts, the most galling to the Government was perhaps the holocausts. More than the boycott of the Prince, the burnings of foreign cloth raised an alarm in Anglo-Indian circles. Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers were touring for the purpose throughout Bengal, Behar and Assam and demands were incessantly made in European circles to check their progress. And an opportunity soon came.

The Moplahs and the Moslem Arrests

The Malabar territory of the Madras presidency contains beside 2 millions of Hindus a million of persons of mixed Arab and Indian descent, known as the Moplahs, who are notorious for their fanaticism. Poor and ignorant to the extreme, oppressed by economic causes as elsewhere in India, maddened by tales of desecration of the Holy places of Islam, and roused into religious mania by the Khilafat agitation and more than anything else, being Dyer-ised by the official policy of provocingly harsh measures, the Moplahs suddenly broke into revolt on August 20th 1921. As in the Punjab in 1919 under Sir Michael O'Dwyer, so in the Malabar in 1920 a rigorous guard was kept over the area to exclude politicians from outside, and the result was that the doctrine of non-violence—the sheet anchor of the N-C O—failed to reach the Moplahs in any form. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahomed Ali proceeded to Malabar on 14th September to pacify the rioters, but they were not allowed to proceed and the Moplah rising gave the long-watched opportunity for arresting the Moslem leader. Martial Law was declared in Malabar. Mr. Mahomed Ali was arrested in the train at Warrington, and then the rounding up of Moslem leaders all over India ran apace. Within the next few days, following the arrest of Mr. Mahomed Ali, Mr. Shaikat Ali at Bombay, Dr. Kitchlew in the Punjab, Pir Ghulam

Mahomed Ali in Sindh, and Maulanas Nisar Ahmed and Hassan Ahmed were arrested and brought over to Karachi. They were charged for having passed the famous 6th Resolution of the Karachi Conference, and, after a protracted and interesting trial which lasted for more than a month, were sentenced to 2 years' hard labour.

The arrest of the Moslem leaders only served to accentuate the bitterness of Moslem feeling all over India. Immediately the Central Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat ul Ulema met at Delhi on Sept. 21 under Hakim Ajmal Khan, and it was resolved to reprint the *Fatwa*, the subject matter of the charge, for distribution broadcast and to repeat the Karachi resolution from every pulpit and platform. Moslems roused themselves to test the limit of repression and bring all Dyers and O'Dwyers to the surface. Hundreds of meetings began to be held all over the country where the Karachi resolution was repeated word per word by each member of the audience, even while the police baton was digging in their ribs. On the 4th October, Gandhi and 50 other prominent Congress-men, mainly non-moslems, issued a manifesto fully endorsing the action of their Moslem brethren. They, too, asserted that it was contrary to national dignity for an Indian to serve as a civilian or soldier under a system of Government which had brought about India's economic, moral, and political degradation, and which used the soldiery and the police for repressing national aspirations at home and for crushing the liberty of other nations abroad. It also expressed the opinion that it was the duty of every Indian soldier and police and also civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood, specially recommending the *charka* as a means of subsistence.

The Arrival of H. R. H. The Prince of Wales

Meanwhile preparations were being busily pursued for the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Public opinion in the country as voiced by the Press, both Indian and European, was either against the proposal or expressed great misgivings. With so much trouble around, it seemed a pity that such a time should have been chosen to bring out His Royal Highness to India. The country was suffering from a great economic depression and from agrarian and labour strikes and riots in every province. The public exchequer had only a few months back been strained to meet the expenses of the Duke of Connaught's visit. The Princes of India were also suffering from a depletion of their treasury for the same reason. The world of Islam was in a bad mood. There was the Moplah trouble in the Malabar, the Sikh trouble in the Punjab. In such circumstances was the Prince brought out to India. The Non-co operators alleged that this was a move on the part of the govern-



meant to serve some political end : to demonstrate to the world, for instance, that India was flowing with happiness and loyalty, when really she was seething in discontent and smarting under insults and indignities ; and, further, to widen the gulf between the Non co operators and the Moderates which had been the one tangible attainment of the policy underlying the Reforms. The Indian Moderates showed little enthusiasm for the Prince but counselled that His Royal Highness may as well be made to bring some boon to India. Lord Reading, in reply to the charge of Machiavellism, tried in vain to assure the Indian people that his government had not the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness' visit for political purposes : "His Royal Highness' visit to India is in accordance with the precedent set by his august Father and Grandfather, and he comes to India as the Heir to the Throne and the future Emperor of India, and in that capacity alone. His reception will not be a test of opinions that may be held on the political problems and differences of the day, but will be a test of the loyalty and attachment of the people of India towards the Crown itself." But influential opinions in India, including those of the Anglo Indian Press, pointed out the incongruity of putting that very loyalty to the test at such a time of strife and strain. It was urged that that was not the time for a solemn and delicate ceremonial to emphasize the tie between England and India at a period when that tie was the lash with which India was being chastised by her bureaucratic masters. It was not yet settled whether loyalty to the British Crown meant equality of status in the Empire or Self-government within her own borders, or the servile loyalty that binds the slave to his master. Obviously what Lord Reading meant by loyalty was the latter, for the other question still, as ever, remained unsoived, and it was against this that the popular opposition to the Prince's visit was directed.

Imperial pride and the will of a Viceroy, however, prevailed. As was put by an English journalist : "It was unseemly to our weavers of Empire that a Royal progress should be twice postponed ; it would look as if they doubted India's enthusiasm ; it would look what it was in fact. Prestige can only be maintained by pretending that it has not been questioned. And this high logic was confirmed by the considered conclusions of Lord Reading." An influential Royal Visit Advisory Committee, on which sat Ruling Princes convenient to the Viceroy, was constituted at Simla to assist Government in settling the details of the Prince's programme.

The 17th of November

The 17th of November came. With it dawned India's day of misery. On that inauspicious day was inaugurated the unequal



struggle between the "brute force" of a mighty Government and the "soft force" of a disarmed people. To welcome the Prince there had gathered at Bombay not merely the Viceroy and a large number of Ruling Princes but also leading businessmen and the aristocracy from all parts of the presidency. His Royal Highness was accorded a right royal reception. But on the same shore at the opposite corner Mr. Gandhi held a meeting where congregated thousands of middle-class men and wage-earners to make a counter-demonstration against the Prince's reception. Between these two opposite factions bursting with enthusiasm for their respective ideals—one to show loyalty to the young Prince of Britain, the other to boycott the idol of "a satanic Government"—and rushing to their respective destinations, friction arose and then suddenly there came a conflagration. In spite of Gandhi's strong injunctions for non-violence, the hooligans of Bombay broke loose. They began hooting, hissing, jeering at those gaily-decked merry-makers and loyalists who were proceeding to see the royal procession. Soon they began terrorising this section of the population, mainly Parsis and Eurasians: and this gave rise to a riot and Parsi and Anglo-Indian hooligans, too, joined in the fray. Tramcars were stoned, rails torn up, motor-cars destroyed and liquor shops were set on fire. Riot lasted for full five days and the whole of Bombay was involved. The total casualty list amounted to some 60 killed, the majority being non-cooperators, and some 500 wounded. It was a fit case, judged on the bureaucratic standard, to declare a Martial Law as in the Punjab in 1919. The angels of Non-cooperation proved more satanic than the normidons of a "satanic Government." It was the first defeat inside the Gandhi camp. Stung with remorse, Gandhi went on a five days fast and issued appeal after appeal to his followers to stop their nefarious deeds. "The Swaraj that I have witnessed", he wrote, "during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils." And he magnanimously admitted his responsibility. "I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being a spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit."

Nor was the trouble confined to Bombay alone. All India, following the advice of Gandhi, went into voluntary *hartal* on that fateful day in India's history—the arrival of the future Emperor of India. All over Northern India, in all the principal towns, there was a general closure of business, intensified by all work-people, including sweepers, cartmen, drivers and scavengers, refusing to come out of their quarters. But it was at Calcutta that this *tableau vivant* was enacted to an artistic finish. The second city of the Empire was for a spell of 12 hours charmed out of its multitudinous voice—it

clock and clang, its din and dust, the great noise of a great city, were all dead. The great offices, the High Court and the law chambers, the great mercantile houses, the busy commercial centres, the mammoth Railway Stations—all lay open, but all lay empty. Some high officials were present but they sat still. All work-people, menials, clerks, peons, drivers, carriers, sweepers,—all struck work. The city looked like the city of the dead of the fables. It was a signal triumph for the non-co-operators, and a signal demonstration of non-violence—a triumph of revolution greater than that achieved recently in Italy.

The success of the Calcutta hartal produced a widespread panic among all classes of Europeans in India. It showed very clearly that it was not impossible for Gandhi to attain *Swaraj* by non-violent non-co-operation and how the power of the ruling class can easily slip out of their hands. It made them alert and angry. Immediately big brains busied themselves inventing methods to nip such revolution in the bud. The cry of Bolshevism was raised and the European Association and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce peremptorily asked the local Government to stop the movement by any means in their power. High officials threatened to resign at the spot if they were not given a *carte blanche* to suppress the *hartal* movement. The Govt. of Lord Ronaldshay readily yielded, and on November 19th the Government of Bengal declared the Congress and Khilafat Volunteer Corps, which were so long working to secure non-violence in the country, unlawful under section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, which had been passed to suppress anarchical bodies and secret societies. The non-co-operation leaders, on the other hand, flushed by their recent success, offered an open challenge to the Government order.

Mr. C. R. Das was at this time occupying the position of a Gandhi in local politics. But a new recruit to the Gandhi school, he lacked the training, experience, and perhaps the "soul force", of a Gandhi. He unduly forced the pace. He wanted to rush for a fight for *Swaraj*. But that was not the Gandhi-way. Gandhi perhaps never meant a hand to hand struggle with brute force. One of the surer grounds of autocratic institutions is to lure the opponent into an open fight where they can effectively crush the latter. The Bengal N-C-O under the banner of Mr. C. R. Das at once challenged the Govt. by enrolling themselves as members of the prohibited Volunteer corps. A long list of such civil resisters was published and an appeal was issued calling on the people to observe a complete hartal on the 24th of December on the occasion of the Prince's visit to Calcutta.

This phase in Indian polity of the period is extremely interesting. Gandhi and Lord Reading never came to close grips. They each

had a measure of the other and were moving very easily of each other in a plain of master intelligence. They both knew their weak points and had a perfect mutual understanding. Had they managed to work out the Indian problem according to their own genius, untrammelled by the influences of their subordinate officers, the history of India of this period would have been altogether different. But fate ordained otherwise. Without consulting the Viceroy, the blustering Governor of Bengal, egged on by the European mercantile community, impetuously sounded the death-knell of the Congress and the Khilafat organisations. The Bengal leaders might have done infinite good by taking the affair calmly, but they too offered fight. And now followed that mad rush of volunteers on one side and unspeakable repression on the part of Govt. on the other that stand as a landmark in the history of India of this period. The cue was at once taken up by other Governors of Northern India—hardened bureaucrats of the I. C. S. brand in whom strength of arms has gradually replaced the intelligence of statesmanship. Similar notifications declaring volunteer organisations unlawful quickly followed and as quickly challenged by men joining the volunteer corps in their thousands. Never before did the bureaucracy and the people go so mad as now. In 1919 Sir Michael O'Dwyer had some justification for his orgies of repression, for the Afghans were there watching from over the border. But in Nov. 1921, with the British Prince and not the burly Afghans in their midst, the orgies of repression that were carried out in the name of "Law and Order" are unparalleled in British history of India. Except for the atrocious brutalities of the O'Dwyerian regime and the promulgation of martial law, it was a repetition of all the worst aspects of the Punjab in 1919. Race dominance re-asserted itself. The best and the highest of Indians suffered indignities such as only a foreign domination can inflict. Behind every act of repression there was the added sting of an insult *à vis* Indian and European. Each race has a method even in its madness. And the method now followed was more galling than the repression itself. Indian susceptibilities were wounded as only the blood-brothers of a Dyer can wound. Ladies of high families were caught by European sergeants and locked up in gaol. A learned and reverend Principal of a College was slapped in the street and laid flat on the pavement. Boys of ten and old men of eighty, men and women, high and low, Rajkumars and coolies, all enjoyed the delectable handling of the unenviable Indian police. Twenty thousand Congress volunteers went to gaol in the next 3 months—all for signing a creed pledging themselves to non-violence, for declaring a "hartal on the 24th of December", and for wearing and carrying *khadi*!



REPRESSION IN EXCEL-ISIS

The Negotiations for a truce

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It is a remarkable fact that the greatest and the most woeful fight between the Government and the people raged not in Gandhi's province where perhaps his doctrines were better understood and his principles better followed in practice but in Northern India, from Assam to the Punjab. Three great parties under the banner of three great party leaders, Mr. C. R. Das in Bengal, Pandit Motilal Nehru in the U. P., and Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab, were now the dominant factors in Indian politics, and it was Mr. C. R. Das, the president-elect of the forthcoming Ahmedabad Congress, who virtually led them all. Upon him now rested, more than on Gandhi, the future of the N.C.O. movement. Amidst scenes of the greatest confusion, with the rule of blood and iron running naked in the streets of Calcutta, which reminded one of the exploits of the infamous Red and Tans in Ireland, some of the Moderate leaders, who had not already been led to barter away the decency of public life to personal lucre, tried to bring about a compromise between the Government and Mr. Das. Negotiations were opened between Mr. Das on one side and Governor Ronaldshay on the other, the latter acting in consultation with the Viceroy who was then in Calcutta in view of the Prince of Wales' visit. The bone of contention was the Prince. The condition precedent to any proposals for truce was for the Government: "Welcome the Prince"; and for the N.C.O.: "Boycott the Prince and hartal on the 24th December." The issue between boycott and welcome was simple enough. The non co-operators themselves had their misgivings in view of the wretched riot at Bombay on the 17th November. It had already made them dubious of their own capacity to manage a hartal peacefully. They could have been easily shamed into foregoing such a big enterprise as a boycott of the British Prince when much more important national work remained undone, even unattempted. So, too, on the side of the Government, the campaign of welcome to the Prince was puerile. The British Prince of Wales can command the welcome due to him in spite of all Governors and I. C. S. men put together. But there were great and insuperable difficulties on both sides. The position of the Viceroy and his Government was delicate in the extreme: in whatever "satanic" motive the visit of the Prince might have been conceived at first, here at Calcutta a popular boycott flung at the face of the Royal Guest was an affair of honour which no self-respecting bureaucratic Government could placidly contemplate. To do so they would have to be far more than a bureaucrat. Perhaps if Gandhi were at Calcutta he could have understood the difficulty of the government sympathetically and relented at the loss of his own grounds perhaps, and a line of compromise honourable to



might have been strack out. The interview between Mr. Das and Governor Ronaldsbay having failed, Mr. Das had already been put under arrest. The stubborn hostility of the two warring camps had so long kept people of Moderate pretensions in the back ground. In the first 10 days of December all the great N-C O leaders, Messrs Das, Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Abul Kalam Azad, and a host of others, were all in jail. Knowing how yielding to a fault of others susceptibilities was the Mahatma, some of the prominent members of the Moderate party now tried to arrive at a compromise with the Government. On December 21, just on the eve of the Prince's visit to Calcutta Pundit Madan Mohon Malaviya led a deputation to the Viceroy urging upon him the desirability of calling a Round Table Conference of the representatives of the people to make practical suggestions to meet the serious situation confronting the country. The deputation asked for a withdrawal of the notification under the Criminal law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act and the release of the 10 thousand and odd persons imprisoned under them. The Viceroy, however, was unable to accede to the request and expressed his surprise that such a request could be made without at the same time giving an assurance that "the agitation in open and avowed defiance of the law" would subside. "If the law is defied", continued His Excellency, "whatever the reason, all the incidents which unfortunately accompany challenge of law and of which we have seen instances only during the recent year may quickly follow." The crest-fallen deputationists, however, refused to see through the camouflage of 'law and order' and made further attempts to draw Gandhi himself into the controversy, while it was always the 'hartal of the 24th' upon which depended the issue.

The Tour of the Prince of Wales

Meanwhile His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was being taken through the country followed by popular hartals wherever he went. Everywhere the route taken by his Royal Highness was lined by handfuls of hirelings of the Government and the Zamindars and Talukdars : by ignorant villagers, deceived into the belief that they were being taken to have a *darshan* of the Mahatma Gandhi ; by offers of free motor drives to the people to have a view of their *shahzada* ; by exhorting and pressing College students and school children through their professors and teachers to assemble at appointed places : and by similar questionable means. But in the Indian quarters and Bazaars the hartals were an unqualified success, in spite of the red-eyed injunctions of the police and government officers. The villagers who had come to see the Mahatma relieved their disappointment by shouting "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" when



THE AHMEDABAD CONGRESS

Prince passed. At one point on the route of the Royal procession in a certain large town a huge bonfire of foreign cloth was kindled in the face of the Prince. At Allahabad five miles of deserted streets with blinds down of all the houses greeted His Royal Highness. At Benares a brave attempt to greet the Prince by the University ended in a shameful fiasco. Then the 24th of December came and with it the Prince at Calcutta. The whole Indian population abstained from taking any part in welcoming the Prince. Calcutta on the night of the 24th was a dismal semi-dark semi-deserted city. Such was the "warm welcome" accorded to the Royal Guest of the Government by the second city of the Empire! If the object of the Government was to show that Indians were disloyal, they could not have shown it to a greater effect. If the people wanted to show that they had no confidence in the Government, they could not have shown it to a better effect. Nothing more was needed to demonstrate the ineptitude of the bureaucracy than the way in which they demolished the prestige of the British Crown before the very eyes of the Prince of Wales. The responsible officers of the Crown having taken the responsibility of inviting the Prince failed to protect him from the most downright affront, while the responsible leaders of the people being in no way responsible for the honour and dignity of the Royal visitor chuckled at the plight of the Viceroy and his advisors.

The Ahmedabad Congress.

Remarkable as it may seem, Mr. Gandhi's activities at Ahmedabad for convening the most memorable session of the Indian National Congress were not interfered with. In place of Mr. C. R. Das, the president-elect who was then under arrest, Hakim Ajmal Khan was elected to preside. It was a typical Gandhi Congress. The whole vast pandal where congregated over a hundred thousand visitors was covered all over with Khadi. In right Indian fashion the delegates and visitors squatted on the floor. The proceedings of the Congress was short and practically there was only one resolution moved by Gandhi himself. The Congress, after re-affirming the non-co-operation resolution passed at its previous sessions, accepted the challenge thrown out by the Viceroy in his Delhi and Calcutta speeches. It called upon every adult Indian, in view of the policy of Government to strangle "freedom of speech and association," to quietly and without any demonstration offer himself for arrest by joining the volunteer organisations, and it further advised the holding of Committee meetings and even of public meetings under certain restrictions, as being the inalienable rights of every citizen, in spite of government prohibitions to the contrary. It further declared that



civil disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for armed rebellion,* and advised Congress workers and others to organise individual and mass Civil Disobedience when the mass of the people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence. It called upon all students and the staff of national institutions to join the national volunteer corps. And, in view of the impending arrest of a large number of workers, the Congress, while requiring the ordinary machinery to remain in tact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, appointed Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invested him with the full authority of the All-India Congress Committee and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency, save that Mahatma Gandhi or any of his successors could not conclude any terms of peace with the Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress and that he could not change the creed. A resolution moved by Maulana Hasrat Mohani for a change in the creed of the Congress, so as to make complete independence the goal of the Congress, was thrown out by a large majority especially at the instance of Gandhi.

Civil Disobedience and Chauri Chaura.

In the following months, the repression policy of the Government was extended to other parts of the country and thousands of popular leaders and volunteers were sent to jail. The history of these months is a history of unbridled arreets and incarceration on the one hand and a brave and undaunted acceptance of the challenge on the other. It can be truly asserted that the country had given an account of itself which is one to be proud of and even though the fruits of the sacrifice of 25,000 men and women are not yet visible, the sacrifice cannot have gone in vain. Civil disobedience was now in the air. The flush of success of the N-C-O party was as great as the discomfiture of the government. But soon a crash came and stunned all.

In the month of February, a serious riot took place at a place called Chauri Chaura in the district of Gorakhpur, and

* "The Indian community..... are struggling for the maintenance of a right and the removal of a degradation. Can we as Englishmen find fault with them for that? The only method of protest, except that of violence and disorder, which is open to them, who have neither votes nor representation, is that of passive resistance. Can we find fault with them for that? Let him who blames them say what he would do in similar circumstances. Is there one of us who, out of respect for the law, would submit meekly and without protest to deprivation of rights and social degradation?" — LORD AMITHURST IN HIS INTRODUCTION TO DOKE'S LIFE OF GANDHI

TRAGEDY AT CHAURI CHAURA

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Mahatma Gandhi who had proceeded to Bardoli to lead a campaign of mass Civil Disobedience and had gone so far as to issue his message to the Viceroy and Government intimating the initiation of mass Civil Disobedience had to suspend the campaign in consequence. On the 11th of February the Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli and suspended Civil Disobedience and called upon all Congress organisations to concentrate their efforts on creating an atmosphere of non-violence and further strengthening the Congress organisations by improving the panchayats and national educational institutions established under it, by enrolling members for the Congress, by stimulating the use of spinning wheels and production of Khaddar, by the raising of the suppressed classes, by removing untouchability and by collecting money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund to carry on the Congress work. It came as a stunning blow to Gandhi, and in remorse he observed a five day's fast as a penance for the Chauri Chaura tragedy. The All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi on the 24th of February and practically affirmed the Bardoli resolutions of the Working Committee. With the Delhi session of the All-India Congress Committee, practically suspending Civil Disobedience, differences in the ranks of Non-co-operators began to manifest themselves. The Maharashtra Party moved what was a vote of censure on the Working Committee for the Bardoli resolutions and suggested a revision of the programme, but it was lost in the All India Congress Committee. Many workers were dissatisfied with the suspension of Civil Disobedience and the constructive programme which chalked out a course of quiet and unostentatious work of organisation and consolidation of the national resources was regarded by many as throwing a wet blanket on the fire and fervour of the people. The fire-brands of the U. P. tried openly to revolt against Gandhi and take the Chauri-Chaura incident as the inspiration for an extensive conflagration to follow in the trail of an intensive campaign of civil disobedience.

The Mahatma's Arrest and After.

It was while things were moving on in this way inside the Gandhi-Camp where factions raised their head against the great leader that the Government had Mahatma Gandhi arrested on the 10th of March, tried for sedition and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. With the removal of Mahatma Gandhi from the scene of his labours where he had led the millions of India's masses, India has been deprived of the guidance of a world leader. In his absence the so called leaders of the N. C. O. have fallen away like chips of variegated mosaic freed from the plaster, and since then



A POLITICAL REVIEW

[JAN. 1931.]

the have been trying in vain to regain their former consolidated position. The Congress Committee have been trying to carry on the constructive programme laid down at Bardoli. When the All-India Congress Committee met at Lucknow on the 7th June, at dissatisfaction with the present programme and an earnest desire to resort to Civil Disobedience was expressed by many members. The Committee, however, ultimately appealed to the country to concentrate its efforts upon carrying out of the constructive programme and asked the President to appoint a Committee to report on the situation in the country as regards its preparedness for Civil Disobedience at its next meeting. These and other matters following the arrest of the Mahatma are reserved for the next issue of the *Register*.



India & the Frontiers

The affairs in the North-West Frontier of India during 1921-22 were less perturbed than in the previous year. During 1920 Indo-Afghan relations were greatly influenced by the political atmosphere in Central Asia where the tremendous success of the Bolshevik propaganda kept in suspension the long-expected *rapprochement* of the two governments of H. M. the Amir and of India. Georgia, Bokhara, Northern Persia and other smaller states had fallen in line with the Soviet system of government and Bolshevik emissaries had penetrated far into Persia and even into Afghanistan where they succeeded in concluding friendly treaties with all these Islamic governments. Much to the chagrin of Britain, Russian diplomacy was exerting great influence in Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia. The Persian Parliament boldly threw out the Anglo-Persian agreement which had been very carefully prepared by Britain and presented to Persia, and the Communists were able to secure a definite treaty with Persia. Further away the Turkish nationals fighting with the Greeks, who were under the patronage of Britain, had also secured help from the Bolshevik forces and were already beginning to win success against the Greeks. Within a short time Armenia was overrun and subjugated and the Turkish National Government at Angora once more asserted its strength.

These matters stood in the way of a successful Anglo-Afghan treaty being drawn up in accordance to the terms of the preliminary treaty of 8th August 1919 which followed the short lived Afghan War of 1919 (*for this see previous issue of the Register*). The text of this preliminary treaty is given below :—

ARTICLE 1

From the date of the signing of this Treaty there shall be peace between the British Government on the one part, and the Government of Afghanistan on the other.

ARTICLE 2

In view of the circumstances which have brought about the present war between the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan, the British Government, to mark their displeasure, withdraw the privilege enjoyed by former Amirs of importing arms, ammunition or warlike munitions through India to Afghanistan.



INDO-AFGHAN AFFAIRS

ARTICLE 3

The arrears of the late Amir's subsidy are furthermore confiscated, and no subsidy is granted to the present Amir.

ARTICLE 4

At the same time, the British Government are desirous of the re-establishment of the old friendship that has so long existed between Afghanistan and Great Britain, provided they have guarantees that the Afghan Government are, on their part, sincerely anxious to regain the friendship of the British Government. The British Government are prepared, therefore, provided the Afghan Government prove this by their acts and conduct, to receive another Afghan mission after six months for the discussion and settlement of matters of common interest to the two Governments and the re-establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis.

ARTICLE 5

The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Amir. They further agree to the early demarkation by a British Commission of the undemarcated portion of the line west of the Khyber, where the present Afghan aggression took place, and to accept such boundary as the British Commission may lay down. The British troops on this side will remain in their present positions until such demarkation has been effected.

At the same time the Afghan delegates were given a letter which officially recognised the freedom of Afghan foreign relations from British control. The changes brought about in the Middle East by the War had made it difficult for Great Britain to advise Afghanistan regarding her external affairs, unless such advice was desired. It was therefore thought better to terminate an agreement which had not in effect been very scrupulously observed even by the present Amir's predecessors.

Post War Relations

It will be seen that under this Treaty the way was paved for a fresh engagement six months afterwards. During the hot weather of 1920 there were prolonged discussions at Mussoorie between Afghan Representatives and British officials under Sir Henry Dobbs. These were private, but it is believed that a complete agreement was reached. Certainly after an interchange of Notes which revealed no major point of difference it was agreed that a British Mission should proceed to Kabul to arrange a definite treaty of peace. This Mission crossed the border in January 1921 and then followed a protracted negotiation which matured exactly eleven months afterwards into a Treaty of Peace.

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THE KABUL MISSION

The Kabul Mission.

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The British Mission to Kabul appointed to draw up a new treaty of peace with the Afghans consisted of Sir Henry Dobbs, Mr. Piror, General Muspratt, Nawab Sir Mir Shan Shah, Col. Ross, Mr. A. Cheson and Capt. Hannah. They left Peshawar on the 4th January 1912 and reached Kabul on the 7th January afternoon. At Kabul they were very hospitably welcomed and given a palace close to the Amir's palace for residence.

At the beginning great hopes were entertained of the progress of the mission. For the next few months, however, no news of the mission was received in India and the Government of India maintained a stolid silence. In April Sir Henry Dobbs suddenly came back to Simla and as hurriedly left for Kabul. He was followed by Genl. Muspratt who came to Simla on a flying visit for some important despatches. On the 20th a *communiqué* was issued by the Govt. of India to remove misconceptions that had arisen in the public mind but nothing particular about the work done by the mission was published. The terms alleged to be insisted on by the Afghan Government, as published by the *Independent*, included the favourable settlement of the Khilafat question. These were not expressly contradicted, but it was said that the description was wholly wide of the mark. After a very long and protracted negotiation, due mainly to the fear entertained by the British of Bolshevik influence in Afghanistan, a treaty of peace was published on November 23rd, 1921.

This fear was expressed in a long note from Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary of the British Government, to the Soviet Government of Russia, and published in September 1921. This note strongly criticised the Russo-Afghan Treaty of 28th February 1921 which was already a triumph of Soviet Diplomacy over the British, and complained that whilst under the Trade Agreement of March 16th between Russia and Britain the Soviet Government had pledged itself not to intrigue against the British Government, a violent anti-British propaganda had been carried on in the Near and Middle East. It said:—"Intense activity in Afghanistan aimed at imperilling the British power in India. Among other things the Soviet had promised Afghanistan a subsidy of £ 100,000 a year, has sought to establish a bomb factory on the borders of India, and has directed Jemal Pasha's tampering with the tribesmen on the Frontier." This, however, proved subsequently to be untrue. The press *communiqué* that was issued by the Govt. of India on the 23rd Nov. said:—

"Satisfactory written assurances that no Russian Consulate will be permitted in the Jelalabad, Ghazni and Kandahar areas, having been received from the Afghan Government, a treaty of friendship with Afghanistan was signed in Kabul on November 22nd.



THE AFGHAN TREATY

Under the treaty, which, though subject to ratification, is immediately operative, Government re-affirms their recognition of Afghanistan's complete independence and there is to be an interchange of Ministers in London and Kabul, and of Consuls in India and Afghanistan. The frontier with a slight realignment of the boundary demarcated by the British Commission in the autumn of 1919 is accepted by Afghanistan, and the misunderstandings between the two Governments over the tribes on either side of the border having been removed, each Government engages to apprise the other before-hand of any major operations it may find it necessary to institute for the maintenance of order near the frontier. Subject to the continuance of friendliness and the provisions of any general arms traffic convention that may hereafter come into force, the privilege formerly enjoyed by the Afghan Govt. of importing munitions of war through India is restored and customs duty is remitted under the usual conditions. Regarding goods in transit or goods that pass through Indian ports into Afghanistan, a rebate is granted."

The text of the treaty is given on the following pages. It was finally ratified by the King on the 1st of December 1921.

The Return of the Mission.

On December 4th 1921 Sir Henry Dobbs and the staff of the Kabul Mission crossed the frontier and returned to Peshawar.

It had been arranged that the minor adjustment of the British Afghan Frontier which was one of the terms of the treaty should be formally carried out by Sir Henry Dobbs on the occasion. To represent the Afghan Government the Mushtashar of the Afghan Foreign Office, Mahomed Ishaq Khan, had accompanied the Mission to the Frontier.

Maps were produced and the line of the new frontier was minutely inspected thereon by the chief military and civil officials of both sides. A move was then made to the point some 700 yards back along the road towards Landi Khana where beneath the towering cliffs of Torkham, the new frontier now runs. The Afghan infantry which formed the guard of honour moved up with band playing to this point. Simultaneously, the British Infantry and Artillery moved back, relinquishing a strip of 700 yds. to the Afghans. After a brief speech by the Afghan Mushtashar and a suitable reply by Sir Henry Dobbs, the representatives of the two nations jointly marked out a few yards of the new frontier and saw the wire gates erected at their new position. The ceremony closed with a dramatic and appropriate note, an Afghan Mullah stepping forward from the crowd and reciting a prayer in which the assembled Mahomedan spectators heartily joined.

Text of the Afghan Treaty

PREAMBLE : The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan, with a view to the establishment of neighbourly relations between them, have agreed to the articles written hereunder, whereto the undersigned duly authorised to the effect have set their seal.

ARTICLE 1 : The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan mutually certify and respect each other with regard to the rights of internal and external independence.

ARTICLE 2 : The two high contracting parties mutually accept the Indo-Afghan frontier as accepted by the Afghan Government under article 3 of the Treaty concluded at Rawalpindi on the 13th August, 1919, corresponding to the 11th Z'quda, 1337, Hijri, and also the boundary west of the Khyber laid down by the British Commission in the months of August and September 1919, pursuant to the said article and shown on the map attached to this Treaty by a black chain line, subject only to the realignment set forth in Schedule I annexed, which has been agreed upon in order to include within the boundaries of Afghanistan the place known as Torkham and the whole bed of the Kabul River between Shilman, Khwata, Banda and Palosai, and which is shown on the said map by a red chain line. The British Government agrees that the Afghan authorities shall be permitted to draw water in reasonable quantities through a pipe which shall be provided by the British Government from Landi Kotal and Landi Khana for the use of the Afghan subjects at Torkham, and the Government of Afghanistan agrees that British officers and tribesmen living on the British side of the boundary shall be permitted, without let or hindrance, to the aforesaid portion of the Kabul River for the purposes of navigation, and that all existing rights of irrigation from the aforesaid portion of the river shall be continued to British subjects.

ARTICLE 3 : The British Government agrees that a Minister from His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan shall be received at the Royal Court of London like the envoys of all other Powers and to permit the establishment of an Afghan Legation in London, and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees to receive at Kabul a Minister from His Britannic Majesty the Emperor of India, and to permit the establishment of a British Legation at Kabul. Each party shall have the right of appointing a Military Attache to its Legation.

ARTICLE 4 : The Government of Afghanistan agrees to the establishment of British Consulates at Kandahar and Jalalabad, and the British Government agrees to the establishment of an Afghan Consul-General at the headquarters of the Government of India and three Afghan Consulates at Calcutta, Karachi and Bombay. In the event of the Afghan Government desiring at any time to appoint Consular officers in any British territories other than India, a separate agreement shall be drawn up to provide for such appointments if they are approved by the British Government.

ARTICLE 5 : The two high contracting parties mutually guarantee the personal safety and honorable treatment each of the representative of the other whether a Minister, Consul-General or Consul, within their own countries, and they agree that the said representatives shall be subject, in the discharge of their duties, to the provisions set forth in the second Schedule annexed to this Treaty. The British Government further agrees that the Minister, Consul-General, and Consuls of Afghanistan shall, within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions notwithstanding the provisions of the said Schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are, or may hereafter be, granted to, or enjoyed by the Minister, Consul-General, or Consuls, of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister, Consul-General and Consuls of Afghanistan are fixed, and the

Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees that the Ministers and Consuls of Great Britain shall, within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions notwithstanding the provision of the said Schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are, may, or hereafter be granted to, or enjoyed by the Minister, or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister and Consuls of Great Britain are fixed.

ARTICLE 6: As it is for the benefit of the British Government and Government of Afghanistan that the Government of Afghanistan shall be strong and prosperous, the Government of Great Britain agrees that whatever quantity of material is required for the strength and welfare of Afghanistan, such as all kinds of factory machinery, engines and materials, instruments for telegraph, telephones etc. which Afghanistan may be able to buy from Great Britain, or the British Dominions, or from other countries of the world, shall ordinarily be imported without let or hindrance by Afghanistan into its own territories from the ports of the British Isles and British India. Similarly the Government of Afghanistan agrees that every kind of goods the export of which is not contrary to the internal laws of the Government of Afghanistan, and which may, in its judgment, be in excess of the internal needs and requirements of Afghanistan and which is required by the British Government can be purchased and exported to India with the permission of the Government of Afghanistan.

With regard to arms and munitions the British Govt. agrees that as long as the intentions of the Govt. of Afghanistan are friendly, and that there is no immediate danger to India to be feared from their importation into Afghanistan, such importation shall be permitted without let or hindrance. If, however, the Arms Traffic Convention is ratified by the Great Powers of the world and comes into force, the right of importation of arms and munitions by the Afghan Government shall be subject to the provision that the Afghan Government shall first have signed the Arms Traffic Convention and that such importation shall only be made in accordance with the provision of that Convention. Should the Arms Traffic Convention be not ratified, the Afghan Government can, subject to the above-mentioned assurance, import from time to time into its own territory the arms and munitions mentioned above through the ports of the British Isles and British India.

ARTICLE 7: No customs duties shall be levied at British Indian ports on goods imported under the provisions of article 6 on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan for immediate transport to Afghanistan: provided that, a certificate signed by such Afghan authority or representation as may from time to time be determined by the two Governments shall be presented at the time of importation to the chief customs officer at the port of import, setting forth that the goods in question are the property of the Government of Afghanistan and are being sent under its order to Afghanistan, and showing the description, number and value of the goods in respect of which exemption is claimed, provided secondly, that the goods are required for the public services of Afghanistan and not for the purposes of any State monopoly or State trade, and provided thirdly, that the goods are, unless of a clearly distinguishable nature, transported through India in sealed packages which shall not be opened or sub-divided before their export from India. The British Government agrees to the grant in respect of all goods imported into India of British ports for re-export to Afghanistan and exported to Afghanistan by routes to be agreed upon between the two Governments, of a rebate at the time and place of the export of the full amount of customs duty levied upon such goods, provided that such goods shall be transported through India in sealed packages, which shall not be opened or sub-divided before their export from India. The British Government declares that it has no present intention of levying customs duty on

goods or live-stock of Afghan origin or manufacture imported by land or by river into India or exported from Afghanistan to other countries of the world through India, and the import of which into India is not prohibited by law. In the event, however, of the British Government deciding in the future to levy customs duties on goods and livestock imported into India by land or by river from neighbouring States, it will, if necessary, levy such duties on imports from Afghanistan; but, in that event, the British Govt. agrees that it will not levy higher duties on imports from Afghanistan than those levied on imports from such neighbouring States.

Nothing in this article shall prevent the levy of imports from Afghanistan of the present Khyber tolls and of octroi in any town of India in which octroi is or may be hereafter levied, provided that there shall be no enhancement of the present rate of the Khyber tolls.

ARTICLE 8: The British Government agrees to the establishment of trading agencies by the Afghan Government at Peshawar, Quetta and Parachinar, provided that the personnel and the property of the said agencies shall be subject to the operations of all British laws and orders and to the jurisdiction of British Courts and that they shall not be recognised by the British authorities as having any official or special privileged position.

ARTICLE 9: Goods imported from Europe, etc., to Afghanistan under the provisions of article 7 may be made up into loads suited to the capacity of baggage animals at the Railway terminuses at Jamrud, in the Kurram, and at Chaman, without this being the cause of reimposition of customs duties.

The method by which provisions of this article are to be carried out shall be settled by representatives to be appointed under article 12 of this Treaty.

ARTICLE 10: The two high contracting parties agree to afford facilities of every description for the exchange of postal matter between their two countries, provided that neither shall be authorised to establish post offices within the territory of the other.

In order to give effect to this article, a separate postal convention shall be concluded, for the preparation of which such number of special officers as the Afghan government may appoint, shall meet the officers of the British Government and consult with them.

ARTICLE 11: The two High Contracting parties, having mutually satisfied themselves each regarding the good-will of the other, and especially regarding their benevolent intentions towards the tribes residing close to their respective boundaries, hereby undertake each to inform the other in future of any military operations of major importance, which may appear necessary for the maintenance of order among the frontier tribes residing within their respective spheres before the commencement of such operation.

ARTICLE 12: The two High Contracting parties agree that representatives of the British and Afghan Governments shall be appointed to discuss the conclusion of a separate trade convention to deal with measures necessary to carry out the provision of article 9 of this treaty and with any other matter relating to trade, the settlement of which may seem desirable in the interests of the two High Contracting parties. Until such a convention is signed, commercial relations shall be continued between the two countries on their present basis.

ARTICLE 13: The two High Contracting parties agree that the first and second Schedules attached to this Treaty shall have the same binding force as the articles of this Treaty.

ARTICLE 14: The provision of this Treaty shall come into force from the date of its signature and shall remain in force for three years from that date. In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified, twelve months before the expiration of the said three years, the intention to terminate it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it.

This Treaty shall come into force on signature by the delegations of the two contracting parties and the two ratified copies of it shall be exchanged at Kabul within two and a half months of signature.

(Sd.) MAHMUD TARZI

(Sd.) HENRY R. C. DOBBS

CHIEF OF THE AFGHAN DELEGATION.

CHIEF OF THE BRITISH MISSION.

SCHEDULE I.

(REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE II).

In the nulla-bed running from Landi Khana to Painsa Khak Post, the Afghan frontier has been advanced approximately 700 yards, and the Tor Kham ridge, including Shamsa Khandao and Shamsa Khandao Sar, is comprised in Afghan territory. Further, the Afghan frontier has been advanced between the point where the present boundary joins the Kabul River and Palosai from the centre of the river to the right bank.

SCHEDULE II.

LEGATIONS AND CONSULATES.

(a) The Legations, Consulate General and Consulates of the two high contracting parties shall at no time be used as places of refuge for political or ordinary offenders or as places of assembly for the furtherance of seditious or criminal movements or as magazines of arms.

(b) The Minister of His Britannic Majesty at the Court of Kabul shall, together with his family, secretaries, assistants, attaches and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are British subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of the Afghan Government, provided that he shall furnish from time to time to the Afghan Government a list of persons in respect of whom such exemption is claimed, and, under a like proviso, the Minister of the Amir to the Court of St. James's in London to which all the ambassadors of States are accredited shall, together with his family, secretaries, assistants, attaches and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are Afghan subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of Great Britain. If an offence or crime is committed by an Afghan subject against the British Minister or the persons above-mentioned who are attached to the British Legation, the case shall be tried according to the local law by the Courts of Afghanistan within whose jurisdiction the offence is committed, and the same procedure shall be observed *VICE VERSA* with regard to offences committed in England by British subjects against Afghan Minister or other persons above-mentioned attached to the Afghan Legation.

(c) (i) A Consul General, Consul and members of their staffs and households, who are subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall remain subject in all respects to the jurisdiction, laws and regulations of such State.

(ii) A Consul General, Consul and members of their staffs and households other than subjects of the State in which they are employed shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of such State in respect of any criminal offence committed against the Government or subjects of such State, provided that no Consul General, Consul or member of a Consul's staff or household shall suffer any punishment other than fine; provided also that both Governments retain always the right to demand recall from their dominions of any Consul general, Consul or member of their staff or household.

(iii) A Consul general, Consuls and members of their staffs and households other than subjects of the State in which they are employed shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of the said State in respect of any civil cause of

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action arising in the territory of the said State, provided that they shall enjoy the customary facilities for the performance of their duties.

(d) The Consul General of Afghanistan and Consuls shall have a right to defend the interests of themselves or any members of their staffs and household who are subjects of their own governments in any Court through pleaders or by the presence of one of the Consulate officials, with due regard to local procedure and laws.

(e) The Ministers, Consul-general and Consuls of the two High contracting parties and the members of their staffs and households shall not take any steps or commit any acts injurious to the interests of the government of the country to which they are accredited.

(f) Ministers, Consul-general and Consuls of the two governments in either country shall be permitted to purchase or hire, on behalf of their governments, residences for themselves and their staff and servants, or sites sufficient and suitable for the erection of such residence and grounds of a convenient size attached, and the respective governments shall give all possible assistance towards such purchase or hire; provided that the government of the country to which the Minister or Consuls are accredited shall, in the event of an Embassy or Consulate being permanently withdrawn, have the right to acquire such residences of lands at a price to be mutually agreed on; and provided that the site purchased or hired shall not exceed twenty JARIBS in area.

NOTE—A JARIB is equal to 60 by 60 English yards.

(g) The Ministers, Consul-generals and Consuls of the two governments shall not acquire any immovable property in the country to which they are accredited without the permission of the said country.

(h) Neither of the two high contracting parties shall found a mosque, church or temple for the use of the public inside any of its Legations or Consulates, nor shall the Ministers, Consul-general or Consuls of either government or their Secretaries or members of their staffs and households engage in any political agitation or in which they are residing.

(i) The Ministers, Consul-general, and Consuls of the two high contracting parties shall not grant naturalisation or pass-ports or certificates of nationality or other documents of identity to the subjects of the country in which they are employed in such capacity.

(j) The Ministers of the two High Contracting parties, besides their own wives and children, may have with them not more than 35 persons, and a Consul General and Consuls, besides their own wives and children, not more than 20 persons. If it becomes necessary to employ in addition subjects of the government of the country to which they are accredited, Ministers can employ not more than ten persons and Consul-general or Consuls not more than five persons.

(k) The Ministers, Consul General and Consuls of the two High Contracting parties shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by telegraph and by wireless telegraphy in cypher or EN CLAIR, and to receive and despatch sealed bags by courier or post, subject to a limitation in the case of Ministers of six pounds per week which shall be exempt from postal charges and examination and the safe transmission of which shall, in the case of bags sent by post, be guaranteed by the Postal Departments of the two Governments.

(l) Each of the two Governments shall exempt from the payment of Customs or other duties all articles imported within its boundaries in reasonable quantities for the personal use of the Minister of the other Government or of his family, provided that a certificate is furnished by the Minister at the time of importation that the articles are intended for such personal use.



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H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught & The Inauguration of the Reforms

The year 1921 opened with grand preparations on the part of the Govt. and the officials, high and low, for welcoming the Duke of Connaught who was sent by the Govt. of the United Kingdom to inaugurate the Reforms in the name of the King. Royalty in the British Constitution has its uses. On high occasions of State, when great political dangers have to be averted and threatened political rights have to be maintained, Royalty is dragged forward to save the Govt. from a disaster. The ordinary weakness of man to instinctively bow before a Royal presence is thus exploited, and the Imperial instrument of exploitation hides his real object behind the garish paraphernalia of a Royal function. Royal personages thus merely act as agents of a policy, and for creating an impression in the public mind to counter the agitation which disturb it from wrongs it has suffered. In England, however, such political exploitation is not tolerated, and Royalty is rigidly excluded from every field of political campaign—for instance, it is unthinkable that a member of the Royal family should take any part in electioneering campaigns.

In India, however, the Reforms introduced by Parliament had brought in its train a great inter-caste bitterness amongst the various communities of the people. The Europeans, the Anglo-Indians, the Services, especially the Indian Civil Service, the Non-Brahmins of Madras, the Depressed classes, the Moslems, the Sikhs—no to speak of the Nationalists of the Congress camp—were all drawn in opposite warring camps. And it was to give to such a Reform Act the Royal seal of authority that His Highness the Duke was brought in. He came to assuage feelings, to heal up old sores.

In striking contrast to the Duke's mission in India in 1921 stands a similar visit he paid to South Africa in 1910. In that memorable year the Duke was deputed by the King to inaugurate Self-Government granted to the Boers after the Boer War, and on November 4, 1910, the Duke opened the first Parliament of South Africa. Then it was granting all but complete independence to that country, acceptable to all parties. While here in India the new Reforms inaugurated by His Royal Highness was repudiated by the majority of the people as sham and unworthy of acceptance, and denounced by many a other vested interests as mischievous and untimely. It was acceptable only to the small group of Indian Moderates, but even they were not wholly satisfied,



H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught's Visit

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H. M. Steamship "Malaya" conveying His Royal Highness, came to anchor off Madras at 10 30 A. M. on January 10th 1921. His Excellency the Governor of Madras and staff, attended by all the Members of Council, Ministers and high officials, received His Royal Highness at a spacious platform erected for the purpose. After the customary presentations and exchange of greetings His Royal Highness received the Municipal Corporation's address of welcome. This was read by Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti, the President of the Municipal Corporation of Madras. The address kept clear of local topics and gave an overflowing expression to the sense of loyalty that the Corporation felt towards the Throne and person of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

H. R. H. The Duke's Reply

His Royal Highness then made the following reply—his first speech on landing on Indian shore. It was obviously meant not for Madras alone but for the wider ear of India as a whole.

After thanking them for the address, he said :—

In Great Britain and throughout the British Empire on the minds of men who previously had not interested themselves deeply, perhaps, in the affairs of this great country, the part which India played in the war produced a profound effect, the force of which may, I think, hardly have been realized here in India. For me, an old servant of the Crown in India, fortified with vivid memories of Indian scenes and faces, you can well imagine how greatly the interest in you and the sympathy with you were quickened by India's splendid record of achievement, and with what pride and pleasure I heard the old words and saw the well-known faces of Hindustan in the distant theatres of war.

In England I had the honour of meeting those distinguished Indian representatives whom you sent from time to time first to assist at the central councils of our Empire, and finally at the Peace Conference, when, by the blessing of the Almighty, victory had at last been vouchsafed to us. I met, too, the gallant soldiers of India, of every race and creed, in many places far from their native land, bravely doing their duty in a warfare of unprecedented severity, carried on under novel and unexpected conditions, and often in a climate which tried them to the utmost limit of human endurance. As soldiers they were true to their salt, and as a soldier I pay them the honour which is their due.

I know well that the city and presidency of Madras stand high in India's war record. When the fateful hour struck, you rose to the height of your opportunity and acted like men. We are still too near the days of the war to realize all that it has meant, but as the years go by, your sons and those who come after them will take an increasing pride in what their country did. India, beyond all doubt, has added greatly to her stature. Meanwhile, the world has changed, and India has changed with it.

A New Spirit Abroad

Do not imagine that I come back to you, like Rip Van Winkle from the mountains, expecting to find things as I left them, surprised and shocked that they are not. There is a new spirit abroad in India, a strong spirit of progress, and whatever you may be told to the contrary, believe me when I assure you that in your onward march you carry with you the warm sympathy and firm good-

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will of the people of Great Britain and that you may look to them unhesitatingly for support both now and always.

The people of Great Britain take a deep and rightful pride in the great work which has been accomplished in the past and is still to-day being accomplished by the British services in India. But they take an equal pride in the proud position which India is so rapidly attaining in the eyes of the world to-day through Indian enterprise, Indian brains, Indian self-help and Indian patriotism.

And so you stand to-day at the threshold of a new era. New and grave problems confront you. Will you pardon an old friend to whom the welfare of India is very dear if, taking your welcome as my text and claiming the privilege of age and experience which never fail to receive due respect in India, I presume to give a few words of counsel? The easy-going days to which the world was getting accustomed, which gave to India a time for recuperation and new growth after prolonged anarchy and unspeakable distress,—those days have gone and are not likely to return. A time has come when the responsibilities which rest upon every individual citizen are far greater than ever before.

From the issues now being hammered out no man can afford to stand aloof. In all countries there is a class of men who shrink from the storm and stress of public movements, who are satisfied with their private pursuits or with the care of their paternal acres. How well we have known this class in India, and how greatly we have respected them!

But conditions have changed. The philosopher from his seclusion, the merchant from his desk, the zemindar from his homestead,—their country calls them all. To-day India requires every citizen's "Yea" or "Nay," and no man is worthy of citizenship who does not give it.

A word more and I have done. You have recently passed through a period of troubles and difficulties. Do not brood over them. Remember that there has been a terrible explosion in the world. Sparks are still flying everywhere. The events of the past few years cannot be forced into any of the accepted moulds and standards of human conduct. Standing here to-day, have we not cause to be unspeakably grateful that things have not been worse, infinitely worse?

Through the clouds a bright dawn of promise is breaking over this land, and if sanity and true patriotism guide your leaders, nothing can debar India from her high destiny. It is not through strife and bitterness, it is not by following paths which plainly lead to strife and bitterness, that India will maintain her course so gloriously begun. There are enough unhappy, incomprehensible tragedies taking place in the world to-day without our adding to them here. Do not peer into the troubled waters in the wake of your ship. Lengthen the focus of your glasses and look ahead.

Gentlemen, by the command of our beloved King-Emperor I have come to assist at the inauguration of India's new Legislative Councils. That is my official mission. But if it were granted to me by my presence once again in your midst to help, so far as in me lies, in the healing of old sores, in the removal of bitter memories, in the strengthening of the old tie, and in the renewal of a greater mutual confidence and good-will, then I feel I should indeed be taking a part worthy of a son of Queen Victoria, my dear mother, the memory of whose abiding love for India inspires me in the task which now confronts me. I shall not fail to carry to His Majesty the King-Emperor your assurances of loyalty and devotion to the Throne and your gratitude for His Majesty's active sympathy in the broadening of your public life. Gentlemen, it now only remains for me to ask you for your help and good wishes and to thank you for the welcome you have to-day so kindly accorded to me.

The Popular Boycott Demonstration

While the official ceremony of the Duke's reception was going

on the right oriental splendour, the city of Madras went on *hartal* for the day and a huge concourse of people, numbering some 50 thousand, gathered at another part of the Beach to carry out the non-co-operation mandate of the National Congress. For the week past an intense agitation was kept up to boycott the Duke's State-entry into Madras and his official visit. On the 5th January a huge public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held under Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyengar, the veteran nationalist, when the Nagpur Congress resolutions were fully explained to the people and the following resolution boycotting the Duke's visit was passed :—

"This meeting of the citizens of Madras calls upon the people of this city not to take part in any of the functions and festivities arranged in honour of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit."

I was so given out that Madras was selected as the first landing stage of the Duke instead of Bombay, the most obvious place, because Madras was the only province which had loyally responded to the call of co-operation with the official bureaucracy, and because no other province except Madras was so much divided against itself by inter-communal jealousies as to fall a prey to the age-long bureaucratic policy of *divide et impera*. Street corner lectures were arranged to explain to the masses that the boycott of the Duke's visit did not mean disloyalty to the Throne or disrespect to the Duke. Big placards were posted in the streets carrying such inscriptions as : "Boycott Connaught," "Connaught cannot redress our wrongs," "Remember Jhallianwallah," and so on, and strict instructions were given to the masses to be non-violent in all demonstrations. For several days long processions, some covering half a mile in length and mustering 50,000 people or more, paraded the streets carrying the message of the Congress and advocating boycott and *hartal* on the day of the Duke's landing.

On that day a monster meeting of the citizens of Madras was held in the Triplicane beach. No less than five platforms were set up. Mr. Kesava Meunon, the non-co-operation leader, in opening the proceedings said that they had met there under the great heavens with no pandal, in tens of thousands, to say that they did not associate themselves with the sentiment that was being given expression to at the other end of the Beach. An address, he said, at that very time was being read on their behalf and in the name of the people of the Presidency by certain individuals who had no right to speak on their behalf. Therefore it was necessary to assert once again that they were not prepared to accord any welcome to anybody who came in the name of England. But unfortunately there were certain men in the history of all countries of the world working against the interests of the people. For instance, the

Poles sided with Germany when Germans ruled the Poles—so did the Italians with the Austrians, when Austria ruled Italy. Certain Irishmen, too, sided with the British and were tyrannising their own country. Therefore they need not be surprised in finding in their own country certain of their own men siding with those who wanted to keep them in subjection.

The following resolution was passed unanimously :—

As in the opinion of this meeting of the citizens of Madras the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and as the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and as all methods adopted by them hitherto have failed to secure the recognition of their rights and principles and the redress of their many grievous wrongs, more especially in reference to the Kiblafat and the Punjab, and as this meeting considers that the Government of India Act which His Highness the Duke of Connaught has come to put into operation is of no value whatsoever to the people and that the Councils do not represent the country, this meeting therefore confirms its determination to secure Swaraj by the method of non-violent Non-Co-operation resolved upon by the Indian National Congress at Nagpur.

Among the speakers were almost all the non-co-operation leaders of Madras, Dr. Rajan, Messrs. Harisarvathama Rao, Krishnaswami Chetty, G. S. Raghavan, Appu Nair, N. S. Varadachari, Gopala Menon, Balasubramania Iyer, Kasturiranga Iyengar, Abdul Majid Sharer, S. Duraiswami Aiyer, V. Gopalaswami Mudaliar, K. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, and a host of others. Mr. T. Prakasam in concluding the proceedings made a very feeling speech in which he deplored that Indians had not to fight Englishmen alone but also some of the most powerful amongst their own countrymen.

Referring to the excuses pleaded by the bureaucracy and certain sections of the Indians that Indians were not fit for full Swaraj as they could not defend themselves, he said :—"You and I may not be warriors. You and I cannot go to the battlefields. But look at the infantry and the cavalry that formed part of the Duke's procession. Are they Englishmen? Are they not our own kith and kin? Who are the men that were fighting in Mesopotamia and who saved the situation in Flanders? Why then say that this country is not prepared for Swaraj? A civil population is a civil population everywhere. When bombs were thrown in England and Ireland the civil population fled as our men fled in the Punjab. We have got enough of material and if the Government is honest they can find enough men to defend our frontiers. Do not give dishonest excuses and do not put them off on false grounds. Again and again we are reminded of our position in this country. Look at the aeroplane that was flying over our heads. I was really asking myself whether a repetition of the Jullianwalla Bagh was not going to be perpetrated, as we too are an unarmed people."



Referring then to the Duke's message that he was not going to give preferential treatment to Englishmen, he pointed out that just on the same day when the message was read in the papers, they also heard of the rude treatment accorded to Mr. Justice Sadasiva Iyer and how a European colleague on the Bench was heard politely.

Insult to Mr. Justice Sadasiva Iyer

This incident which created considerable stir in Indian circles in Madras happened in the morning of the same day when the Military helped by the Police suddenly stopped all traffic in certain streets without any public notice on the plea of rehearsing the Duke's procession. As it was office hours, quite a large number of people and carriages including a few High Court Judges were held up. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sadasiva Iyer whose car was thus stopped got down from his car and expressed surprise that traffic was being held up without any public notice. He enquired of the European Sergeant who was standing in front about the source from which the order emanated. The Sergeant behaved insolently and replied with an exasperating hauteur that it was his order and that he will stop the questioner physically, and on being pointed out by a bystander that he was addressing a High Court Judge, replied: "I don't care who the d...." By this time the Chief Justice came along the same route to the spot and was accorded a right royal military salute by the same Sergeant. His Lordship too was in wrath on being stopped but some European Police officer drew in and whispered explanations.

Inauguration of the Madras Legislative Council.

On January 12th at 10-30 A.M. the Duke performed the inauguration ceremony of the new Reformed Legislative Council. A heavy downpour of rain and a stormy weather prevented a procession being carried and all the street decorations previously set up were destroyed.

His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Governor, welcomed His Royal Highness, who, in reply, said in the course of his speech:—

"No place in India could more appropriately have been selected for entering upon the important duty with which His Majesty has entrusted me. It was here that the connection between India and the British Empire was first definitely established. It was in Fort St. George that Lord Clive began the career during which, aided largely by the courage and tenacity of the Madras troops, he secured a footing for the British power. It was here nearly a hundred years ago that Sir Thomas Munro, as the Governor of the Presidency, first defined in a despatch to the Court of Directors the true policy and the only vindication of the British connection, that the people of India should be taught and fitted to govern themselves.

"At last that policy is ripening into fruition. In this historic Presidency it will be the task of Your Excellency and your officers, of you, the members of the Legislative Council, and of the Ministers who will be drawn from among you, to cherish its growth and to hand it on to your successors a stage further towards perfect maturity. In that task I have come to wish you God-speed on behalf of our Sovereign and the Sister Nations of our Empire.

"In India, as elsewhere, political development is only a vehicle for human life and human progress. Its function is to provide a nation with the means for increasing the happiness of the people. The form has an importance of its own, but the spirit is vital for liberty, and unless human brotherhood follows in its steps it may easily become a greater tyranny. With those, therefore, who would share in the building up of your new constitution, the thought of the people's happiness must ever be paramount, and I can imagine how at this epoch in your history your minds are turning towards that high ideal.

"The pursuit of it demands of you many qualities,—patience, insight, sympathy and the like—but if I were to try to enumerate them I should conclude in the well-known words that the greatest of these is charity. I mean not only courtesy between political opponents and tolerance of antagonistic views, though those virtues will be needed to sweeten your labours,—I am thinking rather of that wider toleration which blunts the sharpness of conflicting interests.

"It is this form of charity which must surely be the underlying principle and the aim of your political growth. India has suffered in the past from the clash of religions. She has suffered from hard distinctions between social orders. These mean disunion, and disunion is weakness. They mean constraint, and constraint is unhappiness. To mitigate these in the future will be your statesmanship.

"I cannot pretend to speak to you on the local topics which will immediately engage the attention of your Council and your Ministers. I am not sufficiently familiar with them. But as one who for many years has watched the unfolding of political freedom in other hands, and still more as a true friend of India, I may venture to offer to you and to the other Councils which I shall meet elsewhere a few words of general application to the great work which lies before you.

"Let the first of these be the plea which I have just put before you. It is a plea that you should sink differences and magnify points of concord. Thus united, use your new political machinery to raise the depressed and to lower the walls between creeds and

capacities and hostile interests. The task will be far from easy, but I am confident that you will not shrink from it.

I now declare the new Legislative Council for the Madras Presidency established under the Government of India Act 1919 to be duly open, and I join with Your Excellency and with all who love India in a heart felt prayer for the Almighty's guidance in its labours."

On the conclusion of the Duke's speech the President of the Council, Sir P. Rajagopalachari, tendered the grateful homage of the Council to His Majesty through his representative the Duke. The meeting then dissolved. The Duke's Madras visit lasted exactly a week. He left Madras on the 16th January for a sporting tour in Central India

The Duke in Calcutta.

After spending about a fortnight in Central India His Royal Highness and staff arrived at Calcutta on Jan. 28th. 1921. In reply to an address presented by the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta, His Royal Highness made a memorable and significant statement : "When I see the ships lying in the Hooghly, I feel : here in Calcutta is the port of London, and here in Asia is the London of the East!"

On February 1st. the Duke inaugurated the new Reformed Bengal Legislative Council in the Calcutta Town Hall. This was a brilliant State function as in Madras.

In opening the Council H. R. H. The Duke spoke as follows :—

"Your Excellency, and Gentlemen of the Bengal Legislative Council,—To day it is my pleasing task to open the second of that series of new legislatures which by command of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor I have come to India to inaugurate. The King-Emperor has commissioned me to bring you his cordial good wishes on an occasion which Your Excellency justly terms historic. You all know His Imperial Majesty's regard for this proud city of Calcutta, for the people of Bengal, and I can assure you of the deep interest with which he watches the far-reaching changes beginning with the ceremony of to-day.

"Upon the pleasure which it gives me personally to perform this duty I need not dwell, nor upon my gratification at the warmth of your welcome. Though more directly acquainted during my past sojourn in India with a Presidency with which you maintain a healthy and generous rivalry, I should be the last to deny the eminence of Bengal among the provinces of the Indian Empire or the unique connexion of Calcutta with the administrative develop-

ments which have marked the long and momentous association between the United Kingdom and this country.

It is that eminence and that connexion which will direct upon the deliberations of your Council the anxious gaze of all who, like myself, cherish great expectations of the era which is dawning upon the Indian Empire ;—anxious, I say, because the task imposed on you and the sister legislatures which are coming simultaneously into being is a task of no ordinary complexion. You have to take at once a heavy and responsible share in providing the laws and finance for a skilled and highly technical administration. In one area, by no means small or unimportant, of the administrative field, your responsibility will be closer. For within it the policy and conduct of the actual executive will repose on the shoulders of Ministers drawn from your ranks, and it will be for you to advise, support and, where necessary, criticise and control them in their course.

But while thus engaged on the one hand, on the other you will ever have to bear in mind the people in whose name you act, and to remember that the progress of the country must remain imperfect so long as the great majority of them,—so long, indeed, as any substantial section of them—are unable to follow your work with intelligence. The training and expansion of the electorate will be just as much your duty as the conduct and direction of the administration. All these varied parts you will have to play with a sobriety of language, a sanity of judgment, an impartiality of decision, a freedom from passion and prejudice, which will not only satisfy the critics of the new constitution, but will justify a jury of the British Parliament ten years hence in enlarging the scope of your administrative activities.

"In this labyrinth of cares and labours, what clue can I suggest for your guidance? To my mind, as I am sure to yours, there is only one,—that your sole thought should always be the betterment of your countrymen and not of any class or section, but of all. The test by which political assemblies are judged all the world over is not ingenuity of dialectic or mere political craftsmanship, but the good government of the people and the progress of the country.

"In that respect your programme is heavy indeed. There are at least three vast problems with which you will at once come to grips : they are within the sphere of Ministers and are of special prominence in Bengal. One is the intense popular demand for education and the provision in response thereto of a type of education which will fit the rising generation to be good citizens. The second, in reality complementary to the first, is the creation of industrial opportunities and an industrial spirit to relieve the tremendous pressure on the land and the economic evils which must

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result. The third is a higher standard of health and vitality, particularly among the inhabitants of your wide malarial tracts.

In the field of material progress there could be few problems of more surpassing difficulty than these three. There could also be few more costly; and this consideration is a special anxiety to you in Bengal, where, I understand, the public revenues are circumscribed and somewhat inelastic. The solution of these questions and their finance will call for equally heroic treatment.

"Gentlemen of the Legislative Council,—You will not expect me to attempt a survey of your future labours. They will range from such matters as I have mentioned to those infinitely delicate questions of social emancipation in which India will look to Bengal, as so often in the past, to take the lead. Believe me, the magnitude of your task is realised, and its difficulties are appreciated by those of us who will be watching you with friendly and sympathetic eyes during the years which lie ahead. We hope for your success. We are cheered by auguries of it to-day. There could be no finer augury than the striking address which has just been delivered by His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, your sympathetic and stout-hearted Governor. For, to him, it is certain, that you will always be able to turn for help and advice, and, I am sure, to the officers who serve under him and to his and their successors.

"But the happiest augury of all is in yourselves. In the political progress of India, the Bengali race has ever been in the van; its leaders, endowed with oratory and brilliance of intellect, have inspired the cause of reform; in the sphere of literature, philosophy, science and art, its gifts have been strikingly displayed. In the realms of jurisprudence and public life its sons have been conspicuous figures.

"Associated in Council with the leaders of Bengal, will be the European fellow-citizens, official and non official, to whose peculiar genius the India of to-day owes both its system of orderly administration and its great commercial and Industrial connexions with the world at large. In this combination I see grounds for the highest expectations. Working side by side, mindful of each other's interests and ideals, ever bending their minds to cordial co-operation, the leaders of the Bengali and the British communities will, I earnestly pray, so serve this great province that it will ere long attain a position of fresh lustre, happiness, and prosperity in the confederation of the British Empire.

The Boycott Demonstration.

On the day of the Duke's arrival at Calcutta a complete *hartal* was observed in the Indian section of the city. A vigorous campaign for the purpose of boycotting the visit had been carried on for several



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day previous. All shops and markets were closed and vehicular traffic of every description was suspended. Practically every Indian business house was closed. At the entrance of the roads leading to the Duke's route, non-co-operators were seen persuading the small crowds of Indians that had gathered to disperse and not to go near the route. At some places the crowd burst out with *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai* at the top of their voice, instead of cheering the Dukal party. Howrah Station and its approaches, the Dalhousie Square and its approaches, and some parts of the route were packed by men selected by the officials from the various offices and everywhere the European element predominated. To avoid any breach of the peace M. Gandhi, who was then sojourning in Calcutta on the Congress programme, personally drove through the city and requested the people, with that characteristic magnetism which he commands, to disperse. Picketers who had previously posted themselves at the principal thoroughfares were persuaded by him to disperse, and every sort of restraint was removed to allow freedom to the people to welcome the Duke if they liked. In spite of this, however, the voluntary *hartal* was complete in the Indian section of the city.

On the day of the inauguration of the Reformed Bengal Legislative Council, the leaders of the non-co-operation movement arranged a grand demonstration as a counter-movement. Meetings were held all over the city—in eight different places—to express disappointment at the Reforms. The whole Indian population of the city congregated at the eight centres and the same resolution was put and carried at each meeting. All the leading supporters of the non-co-operation movement present in town took part in the proceedings. Messrs Gandhi, Mahomed Ali and Pandit Matilal Nehru, who had specially come over to Calcutta in connection of a Committee meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, were present at all the meetings and addressed the people on the Congress creed and the need of boycott.

The following resolution was passed :—

The citizens of Calcutta in this meeting assembled resolve that in the circumstances in which the Bengal Legislative Council has been brought into existence, it does not represent the country and this meeting calls upon those members who have allowed themselves to be elected to resign their seats immediately.

The Duke at Delhi

His Royal Highness left Calcutta on the night of Feb. 3rd, 1921 and reached Patna next day morning where he halted for less than an hour and was interviewed by Lord Sinha, the Governor. Agra was reached in the early morning of the 5th. February, where

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he spent two days in visiting the historic monuments of the Mughal Emperors, and Delhi on the 7th. There was a splendid State reception at Delhi attended by the Viceroy, high civil and military officers and by the Indian Princes with their suite who had specially congregated to Delhi to attend the Imperial functions of the next few days. Shortly after his arrival, His Royal Highness was presented with an Address of Welcome by the Municipality and then the Royal procession moved off in state to the Viceregal lodge where a Royal reception was held.

Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes

The first public function performed by the Duke at Delhi was the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes next day, the 8th of February 1921, at 3.30 P.M. in a pavilion just in front of the celebrated Diwan-i-Am, where the Great Moghuls used to hold their courts. Some 120 Ruling Princes resplendant in their gorgeous State dress and their large retinues of Sardars and Darbaris, and also all the high civil and military officers of the Crown attended. The proceedings commenced with the reading of the Royal Proclamation by Sir John Wood, the Political Secretary to the Viceroy, after which His Excellency delivered a lengthy address chiefly concerning the history of the Chamber which was at first proposed to be named "The Narendra Mahamandal," but this name had to be dropped owing to the objection of some of the Mahomedan Princes. His Excellency then invited His Royal Highness to perform the inauguration ceremony. The Duke then rose amidst cheers and delivered his address.

THE ROYAL MESSAGE

George the Fifth, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India: To my Viceroy and Governor-General and to the Princes and Rulers of the Indian States, greeting —

"In my Royal Proclamation of December, 1919, I gave earnest of my affectionate care and regard for the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the Indian States by signifying my assent to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. During the year that has since passed, my Viceroy and many of the Princes themselves have been engaged in framing for my approval a constitution for the Chamber and the rules and regulations necessary to ensure the smooth and efficient performance of its important functions.

"This work is now complete, and it remains for me to take the final steps to bring the Chamber into being in the confident hope that the united councils of the Princes and Rulers assembled in formal conclave will be fruitful of lasting good, both to themselves and to their subjects, and, by advancing the interests that are common to their territories and to British India will benefit my Empire as a whole. It is in this hope that I have charged my Revered and Beloved Uncle, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, to perform on my behalf the ceremony of the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes.

It is my firm belief that a future full of great and beneficent activity will be the Chamber thus established. To the Princes long versed in the art of government and statesmanship it will open still wider fields of Imperial Service. It will afford them opportunities, of which I am convinced they will be prompt to avail themselves, of comparing experience, interchanging ideas, and framing mature and balanced conclusions on matters of common interest. Nor will less advantage accrue to my Viceroy and the officers serving under him, to whom the prudent counsels and considered advice of the Chamber cannot fail to be the greatest assistance.

"The problems of the future must be faced in a spirit of co-operation and mutual trust. It is in this spirit that I summon the Princes of India to a larger share in my Councils. I do so in full reliance upon their devotion to my Throne and Person, proved as it has been both in long years of peace and in the terrible ordeal of the great war, and in the confident anticipation that by this means the bonds of mutual understanding will be strengthened and the growing identity of interest between the Indian States and the rest of my Empire will be fostered and developed.

"In my former Proclamation I repeated the assurance given on many occasions by my Royal predecessors and myself of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights, and dignities of Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge remains inviolate and inviolable. I now authorise my Viceroy to publish the terms of the constitution of the new Chamber. My Viceroy will take its counsel freely in matters relating to the territories of the Indian States generally, and in matters that affect those territories jointly with British India or with the rest of my Empire. It will have no concern with the internal affairs of individual States or their rulers, or with the relations of individual States to my Government, while the existing rights of the States and their freedom of action will be in no way prejudiced or impaired. It is my earnest hope that the Princes of India will take a regular part in the deliberations of the Chamber, but attendance will be a matter of choice, not of constraint. There will be no obligation upon any member to record his opinion, by vote or otherwise, upon any question that may come under discussion, and it is further my desire that, at the discretion of my Viceroy, an opportunity shall be given to any Prince who has not taken part in the deliberations of the Chamber to record his views on any question that the Chamber has had under its consideration.

"I pray that the blessing of Divine Providence may rest upon the labours of the Chamber, that its deliberations may be inspired by true wisdom and moderation, and that it may seek and find its best reward in promoting the general weal and in increasing the strength and unity of the mighty Empire over which I have been called upon to rule."

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught said :—

"Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It is by the Command of His Imperial Majesty, the King-Emperor, that I meet you to day. My duty is two fold,—to convey to Your Highnesses the personal greetings of His Majesty, and on his behalf to inaugurate the Chamber of Princes. In his Royal Proclamation the King-Emperor has signified his approval of this new institution and his hopes for its future. Its origin and meaning have just been explained by the Viceroy. I have only one word to add to what His Excellency has said on this subject. An assembly so unique and so essentially

Indian in character should surely not be known only by an English designation. I trust that among the earliest tasks to which Your Highnesses will address yourselves in the Chamber will be that of choosing an appropriate vernacular title which you can unite in recommending to His Majesty the King. Your Highnesses, of the many ceremonies that it has fallen to my lot to perform none has given me more pleasure than the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes. Among the Princes here assembled are many with whom I can claim personal friendship of long standing. I rejoice at the opportunity of renewing their acquaintance and of reviving old bonds of fellowship and regard. No pleasure is so keen as that which we share with old friends. I have the happiness of knowing that my own pleasure in to-day's proceedings finds a counterpart in Your Highnesses' own feelings and that the function in which it is my privilege to join will stand for all time as a shining landmark in the annals of the Indian States.

The British Empire Mightier than the Mughal

"We are assembled to-day in the ancient capital of India. This noble hall in which we meet, where the Mughal Emperor surrounded by the splendour of his magnificent court used to hear the petitions of his people, has been the scene of many imposing ceremonies. It is a fitting stage for the ceremony of to-day, but I stand here at the bidding of an Emperor, mightier even than the Mughal Emperors whose policy is framed with a breadth of vision unknown to the rulers of past ages, whose acts are inspired as he himself has declared, by the spirit of trust and sympathy, whose desire it is that every breath of suspicion or misunderstanding should be dissipated and who now invites Your Highnesses in the fullness of his confidence to take a larger share in the political development of your motherland. The Princes of India have shown for many years past and more particularly during the great war their devotion to the Crown and their readiness to make any sacrifice for the safety and welfare of the Empire. When most was needed most was given. His Imperial Majesty has watched with feelings of deep pride and gratitude the part taken by Your Highnesses in the war, the devotion of those who gave personal service in the field, the patriotic zeal of those who sent their troops to the front and furnished recruits for the Indian Army, the lavish generosity of those who helped with money and material for all those services. His Majesty has asked me to give a special message of thanks. Loyalty is a tradition with the Indian States. His Majesty knows well that in good times or evil he can always count upon the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes, but with the memories of the past six years ever present in his mind, he cannot



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forth on this great occasion from making a public acknowledgment of your splendid record of achievement during the greatest struggle in the history of mankind. The help that you gave at the outbreak of the war, when the tale of your deeds and offerings sent a thrill of emotion throughout the British Empire and your strenuous efforts in the dark days of 1918, when the fate of civilisation seemed to hang in the balance, can only be forgotten with the Empire itself. I am confident that the same spirit of loyalty and co-operation that Your Highnesses displayed during the war will continue to animate you in the years to come. It is in this spirit, as His Majesty has said, that the problems of the future must be faced. It is in this spirit, I do not doubt, that you will approach the question that will form the subject of your deliberations in the Chamber. Some of the problems that will arise may make demands on your patience and public spirit, some may depend for their solution upon a fair interpretation of the letter of treaties and engagements between the States and the British Government; if so, I feel sure that a way will be found to reconcile any doubt or difference that may present themselves. The sanctity of the treaties is a cardinal article of Imperial policy. It was affirmed by my beloved mother, the great Queen Victoria, in her famous Proclamation of 1858. It was re-affirmed by King Edward VII, and his present Majesty King George V has once more announced in His Proclamation his determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes. Nothing is wanting to mark the solemnity of this time-honoured engagement and no words of mine are needed to re-assure Your Highnesses that the British Government will stand faithfully by its promises. I would only ask you, when you come to discuss any difficult question of practice in your relations with the Government of India or of the interpretation of your treaties, to remember that these pledges will be ever present to the minds of the officers of the British Crown. A generous spirit on your part will find its response in equal generosity on the part of the Government of India. You may rest assured that the Government and its officers will recognise freely the internal sovereignty to which your various treaties and engagements entitle you. We look to the Princes of India on their part to continue to administer their States with justice and enlightenment. I am confident that we shall not look in vain. Your Highnesses, it is a sincere pleasure to me to congratulate you on the place that as a body you have achieved yourselves in recent years in the wider Councils of the Empire. You have been represented in the Imperial War Cabinet, in the Imperial Conference. One of your members took part in the Peace Conference of 1919 and his signature is appended to the Treaty of Versailles.

More recently, another of your order attended the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva.

The March of Time

"Your Highnesses, I have witnessed many changes in my lifetime. Much of the old order as I knew it in my youth has passed away for ever for all classes. The past 50 years have been an era of change and the Princes of the great Indian States furnish no exception to the general rule. Their conditions of life have been profoundly modified. They have emerged from the seclusion that so long hedged them round, and they aspire and rightly aspire to play a part in the wider theatre of modern life. I am sure that the part will be a worthy one. The British Government has not been slow to recognise the justice of your aspirations, and I rejoice to think that by my share in to-day's ceremony, I am doing something to promote your wishes and to provide a larger sphere for your public-spirited activities. Increased opportunities, as I need not remind Your Highnesses, bring in their train increased responsibility. I know well that Your Highnesses will appreciate the trust reposed in you by His Imperial Majesty and His Government, and will worthily respond both as pillars of the Empire and as rulers striving ever for the greater happiness and prosperity of your own subjects. I, now, on behalf of the King-Emperor, declare the Chamber of Princes to be duly constituted and pray that under Divine Providence its proceedings may be so guided and directed as to strengthen the bonds of union between the Princes and the Empire and to promote the well-being of this great land of India and enhance her good name among the nations of the world."

Maharajah of Gwalior's Resolution

The Maharajah of Gwalior in moving a resolution of thanks said :—

"Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness :—On behalf of the Princes of India assembled on this memorable occasion I beg to move the following resolution :—

This representative gathering of the Princes resolves to convey to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of India their respectful greetings, assurance of their abiding loyalty to his Throne so deeply rooted in their affections and of their steadfast devotion to his august person, also to voice their genuine gratification at the Royal Proclamation to the Chamber of Princes. Next, they resolve to affirm that their feeling of intense satisfaction is only equalled by their consciousness of honour done them in the deputation of Field Marshall His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate this Chamber,—a deputation which vividly recalls the blessed memory of Queen Victoria the Good, whose Proclamation of 1858 is the crystallised expression of Her Royal heart's great love for India. This inauguration by His Royal Highness is all the more gratifying owing to his earlier association with this country and his possession, as a Member of the Imperial House of Windsor, of an innate capacity

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to appreciate the hereditary Rulers' point of view. Further, they place on record their profound appreciation of the genuine good-will, consummate statesmanship and deep insight, which prompted His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford, the gifted Prime Minister the Right Hon'ble David Lloyd George, that fearless and true friend of India His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State the Right Hon'ble Edwin Montagu, and the eminent statesmen who form His Imperial Majesty's Government, to bring to a happy issue the scheme of the Chamber of Princes.

"I deem it a great privilege that it has fallen to my lot to move the resolution which I have just read. It is quite unnecessary for me in moving it to dilate upon the event to which it refers or the happy circumstances which have attended its occurrence, for indeed the terms of the resolution, drawn up by our common consent, amply testify to the feelings occasioned by the formation of the Princes' Chamber. Your Royal Highness, we cannot but admire the devotion to duty which inspired your willing compliance with the command of our beloved Emperor to visit India and perform this ceremony regardless of considerations of distance, and may we add, of age. For this ready response to the occasion, I am sure we are very grateful to Your Highness and we flatter ourselves by thinking that you have found the performance of to day's ceremony agreeable and in accord with your Royal predilections.

Respecting Your Excellency, may I venture to state that your name will always be associated in history with one of the most critical stages in the evolution of India. Your Viceroyalty has witnessed remarkable happenings. Indeed we are witnesses to the re-birth of the world. Accepted notions and proven theories seem all to be undergoing forced revision. May it please Merciful Providence that the new order which is supplementing the old may bring a cycle of peace and good-will for humanity. The world conditions have been, as was inevitable, more or less reflected in India so that Your Excellency has had to face problems calculated to strain nerves of steel and tax the most resourceful mind. During that period of stress and anxiety Your Excellency was at pains unflinchingly to do what duty appeared inexorably to dictate. What a man can do better than be true to himself, that is, to his conception of duty to the King of Kings? It is in the spirit of that conception that Your Excellency doubtless endeavoured to serve this country. Finally, the much desired Chamber has been brought into being and it only remains for me fervently to pray that its sessions may help to produce better mutual understanding and promote hearty and effective co operation between the British Government and the Princes of India."

Maharajah of Bikaner's Speech.

The Maharajah of Bikaner in seconding the resolution moved by the Maharajah of Gwalior said :—

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness :—I deem it an honour and a historic occasion to have been commissioned by my brother Princes to second the resolution just moved by my esteemed friend His Highness the Maharajah Scindia. The unflinching loyalty and devoted attachment with which the Princes of India are inspired towards the Throne and person of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor have stood the test of time through every period of stress and storm during a hundred years and more. The Imperial Crown is the one centripetal force in the Empire which attracts and welds together all its component parts, an undisputed fact which accounts for the remarkable unity and cohesion during the dark days of the war of the different countries forming the British Commonwealth of Nations, and to no one does the Imperial Crown appeal as a greater binding and inspiring force than to us, the Princes of India. The gracious interest which His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor together with Her Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress has at all times been pleased to evince in all that pertains to the welfare of the Princes and States of India, his ever-to-be-remembered appeal of greater sympathy for India and the Indians and the watchword of which he gave to us all in 1912, have been sources of the liveliest inspiration to us and have helped to stimulate and sustain us all in the face of difficulty and anxiety, whilst the solicitude displayed in his behalf by the establishment of the Chamber of Princes and the consideration in the Royal Proclamation of the gracious assurances regarding the inviolability of previous Imperial pledges safeguarding our privileges, rights and dignities, will find a most loyal and grateful echo in the Indian States throughout the length and breadth of this country, and it is our devout prayer that his Imperial Majesty may be enabled to guide the destinies of India and other parts of the Empire to further happiness and prosperity and afford to all concerned an inspiring example of the same devotion to duty and regard for the common weal which has so largely contributed to knit the Empire into still closer bonds of loyal and patriotic unity. We not only deem it a high honour but we regard it as a matter of happy omen that the ceremony of inaugurating the Chamber of Princes should have been entrusted by His Imperial Majesty to such an illustrious and popular member of the Imperial House of Windsor as Your Royal Highness whose name is held in the highest affection and esteem by the Princes and people of India. I feel that I am voicing the sentiments of my brother Princes when I give expression to our great disappointment that the other calls upon Your Royal Highness' time have not left you sufficient leisure to honour any of our States by a visit on this occasion, but we look forward with our anticipations to welcoming His Royal Highness



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The Prince of Wales to several of our States next cold weather when we sincerely hope that His Royal Highness will have been restored to his usual health and vigour after his recent arduous exertions in the course of his triumphant Imperial mission. I beg also to associate myself with His Highness the Maharajah Scindia in expressing our gratitude to Your Excellency and to Mr. Montagu and to the Prime Minister and His Imperial Majesty's Government. The solidarity, and identity of interests between the British Government and the Princes are indeed very real, and I would in conclusion give expression to our profound conviction that the Chamber of Princes will not only prove of great benefit to us, but that it will also prove to be a true Imperial asset, and we rejoice to feel that we shall have in Your Excellency's successor a sagacious statesman like Lord Reading, who we earnestly trust will develop still further the sympathetic policy of the British Government towards the Princes and States, whereby we may be enabled to take an ever-increasing share in upholding the honour and glory of our beloved Emperor and of his mighty Empire."

Maharajah of Alwar's Speech.

The Maharajah of Alwar in supporting Maharajah Scindia's resolution in the Chamber of Princes welcomed the Duke as a messenger of good-will and peace at a time when dark clouds were hovering over the Indian horizon, just as they appeared in other parts of the world. The Maharajah expressed disappointment at the postponement of the Prince of Wales' visit, but declared that the Prince when he would come next winter would receive a warmer and more reception in India than he was accorded in other parts of the Empire.

The Maharajah of Patiala, who followed, also spoke in the same strain, after which the function ended.

Inauguration of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly

Next day Feb. 9th, H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, accompanied by H. M. the King and armed with special commission from His Majesty, inaugurated the two Imperial Legislatures, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The building, viz., the immediately opposite the Assembly Chamber was astir from early morning and presented a scene of great animation and interest. The decorations were profuse with flags and bunting, and the soldiers' accoutrements glistening in the morning sun gave a splendid touch to the whole scene. The Council of State and the Legislative Assembly sat in joint Session and the Members were all in their places an hour before the time for the ceremony to begin. H. R. H. and his cortege left the Viceregal Lodge at 10 o'clock.

under a Royal salute, and was received by the Members of the Executive Council and the Presidents of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly at the pavilion.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford left the Viceregal Lodge a little after 10 o'clock, and their departure was announced by a salute. On the arrival of the Viceroy at the pavilion the Union Jack was unfurled and the Band played the National Anthem. The Duke and the Viceroy then proceeded to the Council Chamber in procession headed by the Presidents of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the Staffs of His Royal Highness and of His Excellency.

The scene inside the Hall was one of great though subdued excitement. The galleries were packed with Ruling Princes and Chiefs, the principal civil and military officers and a few chosen leading non-officials. H. E. Lady Chelmsford was in the Viceregal Gallery. On the floor of the House were seated Members of the Council of State and the Assembly, and immediately below the dais seats were provided for the two Presidents. As soon as the Duke and the Viceroy entered the hall, the entire audience stood up. The Duke took his seat on the Throne, supported by the Viceroy on his right.

His Royal Highness and the Viceroy stood for a moment before their thrones and bowed to the two Presidents and to the assemblage. His Excellency the Viceroy then gave the word: "Pray be seated," when all resumed their seats, and the Viceroy then immediately rose again to open the proceedings. In a long rigmarole speech full of dry details which befits the intellectual mediocrity of Lord Chelmsford, he delineated the various stages of the Reforms and what in his view appeared to be the constitutional development in the Government of India. He denied that there was any whittling down of the Reforms, probably with a view to calming the strong suspicion of the people about bureaucratic intrigues headed by him against the grant of any substantial power to Indians, and said with emphasis that the Reforms was a gift 'worthy of Britain to give and India to take',—an expression which a certain section of the House received with a significant smile, while others hung their head. His Excellency referred to the policy of the British in India from the time of Lord Macaulay who introduced the use of English in India, as England could only convey to India the ideas of the West in her own tongue. Familiarity with English literature, he said, has done more than any other cause to promote political development in India. As the poet said; "They must be free who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake"! In England, he said, self government was not the result of any sudden revolution or catastrophic change. It



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was built up gradually and the British Govt. in India were proceeding in a similar manner introducing political self-government here!

After the Viceroy His Royal Highness the Duke rose and said:—

"Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature—I am the bearer of a message from His Majesty the King Emperor. It is this:—

The King's Message

"Little more than a year has elapsed since I gave my assent to the Act which set up a constitution for British India. The intervening time has been fully occupied in perfecting the necessary machinery, and you are now at the opening of the first session of the Legislatures which the Act established. On this auspicious occasion I desire to convey to you and to the Members of the various Provincial Councils my congratulation and my earnest good wishes for success in your labours and theirs. For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland, of opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy. To you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils, there rests a special responsibility, for on you it lies by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgment to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow-countrymen, who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment and to cherish their interests as your own. I shall watch your work with an unflinching sympathy and with resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire."

"As you know, it has been the intention of His Majesty to send the Prince of Wales, the Heir to the Throne, with his greeting and his authority to open the Chambers of the new Indian Legislature. Events did not permit of his coming, and I received His Majesty's commands to perform these functions on his behalf. In me the King selected the Royal House and the only surviving son of Queen Victoria, whose love and care for India will ever live in its people's memory. I have myself a deep affection for India, having served it for years and made many friends among its Princes and leaders. It is thus with no common pleasure that I am here to receive you on this memorable occasion. Throughout the centuries Delhi has witnessed the pomp and ceremony of many historic assemblages. Two of these, at least, are remembered by most of you. Twenty years ago I took part in that brilliant concourse which celebrated the accession of my late brother King Edward VII. Nine years later, amid circumstances of unforgettable splendour, King George V and his Queen received in person the homage of the Princes and peoples of India.

"Our ceremony to day may lack the colour and romance of the gatherings I have mentioned, though it does not yield to them in the sincerity of its loyalty. But it strikes a new and different note. It marks the awakening of a great Nation to the power of its Nationhood. In the annals of the world there is not, so far as I

know, an exact parallel for the constitutional change which this legislation initiates. There is certainly no parallel for the method of that change. Political freedom has often been won by revolution, by tumult, by civil war, at the price of peace and public safety. It is now rarely has it been the free gift of one people to another in response to a growing wish for greater liberty and to the growing evidence of fitness for its enjoyment. Such, however, is the position of India to-day, and I congratulate most warmly those of you, old in the service of your Motherland, who have striven through good report and ill for the first instalment of that gift and to prove India worthy of it. I trust that you and those who take up your mantles after you will move faithfully and steadily fast along the road which opens to-day.

The Basis of British Govt. in India.

"When India became a dependency of the British Crown, she passed under British guardianship which has laboured with glorious results to protect India from the consequences of her own history at home and from the complications of international pressure abroad. Autocratic, however, as was the Government then inaugurated, it was based on the principles laid down by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria in that famous Proclamation of 1858, of which the keynote is contained in the following passage: "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward". And though there have been occasions on which the tranquility of this great country has been endangered by disturbances and disorders which have necessitated the use of military force, speaking on behalf of His Majesty and with the assent of his Government, I repudiate in the most emphatic manner the idea that the administration of India has been or ever can be based on principles of force or terrorism. All Governments are liable to be confronted with situations which can be dealt with only by measures outside the ordinary way, but the employment of such measures is subject to clear and definite limitations, and His Majesty's Government have always insisted, and will always insist, on the observance of these limitations as jealously in the case of India as in that of England herself. As His Excellency the Viceroy has observed, the principle of autocracy has all been abandoned. Its retention would have been incompatible with the contentment which had been declared by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria to be the aim of British rule, and would have been inconsistent with the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Indian people and the stage of political development which they have attained. Henceforward, in an ever increasing degree, India will



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have to bear her own burdens. They are not light. The times which have seen the conception and birth of the new Constitution are full of trouble.

The war which ended two years ago has done more than alter the boundaries of Nations. The confusion which it brought in its train will abate in time, but the world has not passed unchanged through the fire. New aspirations have awakened. New problems have been created and old ones invested with stinging urgency. India has escaped the worst ravages of the war and its sequels, and is thus in some respects better fitted than many other countries to confront the future. Her material resources are unimpaired. Her financial system is sound, and her industries are ready for rapid expansion, but she cannot hope to escape altogether the consequences of the world-wide struggle. The countries of the earth are linked together as never before. A contagious ferment of scepticism and unrest is seething everywhere in the minds of men, and its workings are plainly visible in India. She has other problems peculiarly her own. Inexperience in political methods will be irksome at times. The electorates will have to be taught their powers and responsibilities, and difficulties which are negligible in smaller and more homogeneous countries will arise in handling questions of religion and race and custom.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature, such are the labours which await you. They will have to be carried on under the eyes of a watching world interested but not uncritical, of sister nations who welcome you into their partnership in the British Empire, of that wider Council of Nations, which look to India as the future guide of the unknown forces of Asia. Your individual responsibility is great. You may perhaps be apprehensive that the arena for practical issues of immediate moment will be rather the Provincial Councils than the Central Legislature. You may feel that the Ministers in the Provinces will be in closer touch with the popular causes and have larger opportunities of public service, but this is true only in a very limited sense. It is the clear intention of the Act of 1919 that the policy and decisions of the Government of India should be influenced to an extent incomparably greater than they have been in the past by the views of the Indian Legislature, and the Government will give the fullest possible effect, consistent with their own responsibilities to Parliament, to this principle of a new constitution. From now onwards your influence will extend to every sphere of the Central Government. It will be felt in every part of its administration. You are concerned not with a Province, but with all British India, and statesmanship could not ask for a nobler field of exercise. Upon the manner in which your influence is exerted, upon

the wisdom and foresight displayed in your deliberations, upon the spirit in which you approach your great task, will depend the progress of India towards the goal of complete Self-Government to ensure, so far as political machinery can ensure, that the Legislature is fitly equipped.

For those lofty duties, two Chambers have been constituted. In the Council of State it has been the intention of Parliament to create a true Senate, a body of elder statesmen endowed with mature knowledge, experience of the world, and the consequent sobriety of judgment. Its functions will be to exercise a revising, but not an over-riding influence for caution and moderation, and to review and adjust the acts of the larger Chamber. To the Assembly it will fall to voice more directly the needs of the people. Soldiers and traders, owners of land and dwellers in cities, Hindus and Muhammadans, Sikhs and Christians, all classes and communities will have in it their share of representation. Each class and each community can bring its own contribution, its own special knowledge to the Council's deliberations, and may I say in passing, that help will be expected from representatives of the British non-official community. They have done great service to the trade and industry of India in the past. Will they not now, with their special experience of representative institutions in their own land, lend their powerful aid in building up India's political life and practice? In a legislature thus composed, it is both inevitable and right that strong differences of opinion and aims should manifest themselves. Struggle is a condition of progress in the natural world, politics is in fact the progress of the class of wide sympathies and interests striving for adjustment in the sphere of legislation and Government. But it is the great virtue of representative institutions that they tend to replace interest by reasoned discussion, compromise, toleration and the mutual respect for honourable opponents. The extent to which a body of law makers shows itself capable of controlling passion and prejudice is the measure of its capacity for enduring success. For these reflections I make no apology. They must already have been present to your minds, but they constitute the strongest plea for what all friends of India most desire to see—a greater unity of purpose among her various communities. In all your deliberations, let there be a conscious striving for unity in essentials, that unity which has been lacking in India in the past, but may yet become, if steadfastly nurtured, her greatest strength.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature,—Hitherto, I have spoken of your duties. Let me close with a word of your privileges. On you, who have been elected first Members of the two Chambers, a signal honour has fallen. Your names will go down to history as

those whom India chose to lead the van of her march towards constitutional liberty. I pray that success will attend you and that the result of your labours will be worthy of the trust that India has reposed in you."

Addressing the Viceroy the Duke then eulogised his work in India in connection with the Reforms, and said that it must be no small pride to a statesman, who had been directing the destinies of India during these difficult years, that he laid while still in office the foundations of that edifice which he helped to plan with infinite care in the face of much misunderstanding and with the full assurance of a nation's future gratitude. He then formally declared open the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly constituted under the Government of India Act, 1919. He concluded with the following peroration meant for the wider ear of India :—

The Shadow of Amritsar.

"Gentlemen, I have finished my part in to-day's official proceedings. May I claim your patience and forbearance while I say a few words of a personal nature? Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab. No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself. I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal the wounds and to reunite those who have been disunited in what must be, I feel, my last visit to the India I love so well. Here, in the new Capital, at the inauguration of the new Constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, put in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted. My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to day."

The Presidents of the two Houses of Legislature then thanked His Royal Highness.

Before declaring the proceedings closed, the Viceroy made a final appeal reiterating the words of the Duke: let us "bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where we have to forgive and join hands and work together."

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FOUNDATION CEREMONY

The Indian War Memorial,

Next day, Feb. 10th 1921, the Duke laid the foundation stone of the All-India War memorial consecrated to the memory of those Indians who had laid down their lives for the cause of the Empire in the last War. It is to be a monument in the form of a triumphal arch built in white stone upon a red sandstone base rising to a height of 162 ft. so that no window of even the tallest building in the Imperial City will look over it. The ceremony commenced in the afternoon amid a scene of oriental military splendour. The Viceroy and the Duke headed a procession followed by the Commander-in-Chief and their staff and proceeded to the ground where the representatives of the Indian Army were assembled. After formal receptions the Viceroy asked the Duke in a short speech paying tribute to the Indian Army to lay the foundation stone.

H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught then rose and addressed as follows :—

"Officers and Men of the Indian Army and of the Imperial Service Troops,—His Majesty the King Emperor has commanded me on this solemn occasion to convey a message of His Royal thanks to the Indian Army and to the Imperial Service Troops furnished by the Indian States. It is as follows,—

The Royal Message

The great war from which our Empire has emerged victorious involved the most powerful nations of the earth and spread over vast seas and continents. From the crowded records here and there certain features stand clearly out arresting the attention and admiration of the world to-day and claiming with confidence the verdict of posterity. In this honourable company the Indian Army has an assured place. Scattered far and wide under alien skies, in adversity and in triumph, they played their part with stout and gallant hearts. True to their tradition, they answered the Empire's call with soldierly discipline and fortitude, staunch in the loyalty they have ever displayed to the Throne and Person of their King-Emperor that made his cause theirs, and willingly laid down their lives for their sovereign. Gratitude for loyalty such as this lies deep in my heart and is beyond the power of word. They did their duty.

"Can the King, for whom they fought, give higher praise to his faithful soldiers? I have great pleasure in announcing that in recognition of the distinguished services and gallantry of the Indian Army during the great War, His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer the title of "Royal" on the following units,—The Deccan Horse, Sappers and Miners, 6th Jat Light Infantry, 34th Sikh Pioneers, 39th Garhwal Rifles, 59th Scinde Rifles (Frontier Force). His Majesty has also been graciously pleased to nominate me as Col.-in-Chief of the 47th Sikhs, a regiment which served with great distinction in the war. I greatly value an honour which will strengthen the many ties I have with my old friends, the soldiers of the Khales."



THE NEW COUNCIL CHAMBER

DELHI

The Duke then referred to the Brighton Memorial erected by the citizens of Brighton in memory of the Indian soldiers who died there in the days of the war in feeling terms, and then recounted in glowing terms the services of the Indian Army in the different fields of war.

After the foundation was declared duly laid the Commander-in-Chief thanked the Duke on behalf of the Indian Army and the proceedings closed.

The New Council Chambers.

On Feb. 12th. the Duke performed his last public function at Delhi, viz., laying the foundation stone of the new enlarged Council Chambers. The function was celebrated with great pomp amidst all the civil and military dignitaries and the Ruling Princes. Leaving the Viceregal lodge at 10 30 in the morning the Duke and the Viceroy motored to the site through streets splendidly decorated and lined with troops and was received by Sir Sidney Crookshank, Mr. C. A. Barron, Mr. H. T. Kiding, and Mr. J. C. Luke, members of the New Capital Committee, and others. The Viceroy invited the Duke to lay the foundation stone of a circle of 3 buildings in which the Chamber of Princes, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly are to be housed. "The joint building," he said, "is the symbol of the integral connection of the Indian States with the British Empire. It testifies to the united interests of British India and the Indian States. It stands for that two-fold allegiance which the Princes and peoples of India owe in their several degrees to our King Emperor and for the common desire to work to one great end." H. R. H. the Duke in the course of his speech said :

"All great rulers, every great people, every great civilisation have left their own record in stone and bronze and marble as well as in the pages of history. I need only recall the Acropolis of Athens, the Capitol of Rome and the great sites of the East, famous in history for their splendour and culture. India herself is rich in such precious legacies from the granite pillars on which the apostle Emperor Asoka engraved his imperishable edicts onwards through the chequered centuries down to the splendid palaces of the Moghal Emperors. Every age has left behind it some monument commensurate with its own achievements. Is it not a worthy ideal that equally noble buildings shall consecrate India's great achievements in the 20th century, her solemn entry upon the path of responsible Government with Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions of the Empire have trod before her? Is there any building in Great Britain around which cluster so many and such great memories as the stately Home of the Mother of Parliaments on the banks of the river Thames? Have not each of the self-governing Dominions in



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the Empire wisely sought to enshrine their new nationhood in a capital of which its own parliament is always the proudest monument? Surely India and her representatives in the new assemblies which it has already been my privilege to inaugurate will wish that these great institutions should be liberally and enduringly housed."

After the speeches the Duke was conducted to a table and some easels near the foundation stone where the design of the new building was shown to him. He then proceeded to lay the stone, guiding it into its place with his own hand as it was lowered by workmen, and declared it well and truly laid.

End of the Delhi Programme.

The same afternoon the Indian officers of His Majesty's Indian Army gave a garden party in honour of His Royal Highness which was attended by about 1300 guests including the Viceroy and the Ruling Princes and their suite. Col. Sir Umar Hayat Khan read out a loyal address on behalf of the Indian Army to which the Duke gave a felicitous reply.

On the morning of Feb. 13th, as a fitting close to the Imperial functions performed by His Royal Highness, a solemn Church Service was held at the Church of St. James conducted by the Chaplain of Delhi, Rev. H. England, supported by Rev. Y. C. Chatterjee of St. Stephen's Church and the Bishop of Lahore. The sermon was preached by the Most Rev. the Metropolitan of India. Taking as his text the words "Go ye and learn what this meaneth, I desire mercy and not sacrifice," he explained that a religion that does not place the principle of Love first is an empty mockery, and emphasised that love was the basis of the British Govt. in India! The new Councils, he said, reflect the great diversity of race, creed, and culture which characters India's population, and 'it is in working with those from whom we differ most widely that the reality of our love is manifested'!

Thus ended the official Delhi programme of His Royal Highness the Duke's mission in India. From Delhi he proceeded to the Punjab; not to Lahore, the Provincial capital, but to Rawalpindi, the head quarters of the Northern Army in India. In reply to an address of welcome from the Army H. R. H. said in the course of his speech:—

"Before the war the Punjab had 100,000 men of all ranks in the Army, of whom 30,000 came from your division. It is estimated that at the close of the war no less than 4,75,000 Punjabis had served in the Army. Of these the Rawalpindi Division supplied approximately 1,25,000, that is to say, one out of every fourteen of the total male population. Thus in contribution of manpower the districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum easily surpassed all the districts in India, while out of 1,738 war honours awarded to the Punjab, 625 or more than one-third have fallen to the Rawalpindi Division, including the two Victoria Crosses.

Furthermore, though the districts of your division are poor in comparison with the Central Punjab, you subscribed Rs. 90,00,000 to the war loan and the loans to various funds."

The Duke at Bombay

From the Punjab the Duke went to Bombay where he arrived on Feb. 21st. 1921, and was received by the Governor and all the high officials and Indian Princes. On Feb. 23rd. 1921, he inaugurated the Bombay Legislative Council at the Town Hall, attended by all the display of pomp and splendour of an Indian State function.

In opening the Council His Royal Highness said :—

"Your Excellency and Members of the Bombay Legislative Council,—His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor has directed me to open on his behalf your new Legislative Council and to convey to you and the people of the Presidency his message of good-will on this momentous day in your history. Your long period of waiting and preparation is over and to-day you pass through the gateway into a new political life. May it be rich in blessings to the millions in whose destiny you and your successors will have so potent a voice. My pleasure in fulfilling the King-Emperor's summons is greatly enhanced by the memories of my old association with the Presidency and the people of Bombay.

"Thirty-four years ago I came here as Commander-in-Chief of the then Bombay Army. In those days the Commander-in-Chief was a Member of the Provincial Government and it was thus my good fortune to be closely connected with the administration and to be able to put into practice the deep interest which I felt in all that concerned the welfare of the Presidency. Before I left India in 1890, links had been forged which bound me to you for the rest of my life. It has affected me deeply to revisit the scene of my happiest years. The change and progress in your beautiful city are material symptoms of what has been happening in the realm of man's minds throughout India.

"The ideals which 30 years ago seemed chimerical are now being realised, hopes which were hardly uttered are now being fulfilled. The pride and self-respect of nationhood have been awakened. Its responsibilities are gathering on the shoulders of those who essay to lead the intelligence of the country.

Tasks Ahead

"Gentlemen of the Bombay Council,—of those responsibilities you have a full share. In their insistence and complexity your local problems are second to none in India. In your capital city you have the problem of overcrowding with all its antecedent illa exaggerated to an unusual degree by the limitations of the geo-

glacial position. You have also with you those labour difficulties which to day confront the whole world and its Governments. Manual workers are no longer content to live lives of toil unrelieved by relaxation and a just share of wealth which their labour produces. Here, as in the Western world, they are combining to win improved conditions of life for themselves and their dependents. It will be for you to watch those developments with sympathy, to hold the scales of justice evenly, and with wise counsel and by prudent laws to encourage every movement towards agreement and for the promotion of mutual good feeling. Outside your manufacturing towns you have the vast majority of your people entirely dependent on the land, and for them your particular problem is their recurring distress in years of short rain-fall. Skilled project of artificial irrigation are in progress and in contemplation and to financing them and devising the necessary adjustment to tenures and landed interests, your energies may fruitfully be directed. I need not continue this tale of the Administrative tasks which lie before you, familiar as they must be to all of you and constantly in your thoughts. You can approach them with confidence in the inspired leadership of your alert and zealous Governor, Sir George Lloyd. It is the wider aspects of your new responsibilities which fill my heart after seeing what I have seen of the India of to-day and when I think of the India of to-morrow. On some of those aspects I have spoken to the other assemblies which it has been my duty to inaugurate, for they touch the deep interests of our common humanity, the advancement of which will be at the same time the pride of India's political leaders and the gauge of their success.

Evils to Combat

"You have at your doors three great causes of unrest and unhappiness,—ignorance, the insanitary conditions of life, and cruel inequalities in the distribution of all that makes life worth living. No mere skill in legislation will remove these, but all legislation must keep them in view and work steadily towards their amelioration. The second in importance to those primary evils are custom and social restrictions which impair the brotherhood and embitter the outlook of large sections of the Indian people. The ground is delicate and I am not here to arouse controversy or to offend honoured susceptibilities, but your own Reformers have cherished plans for a wider charity between classes and the abandonment of usages which, whatever may have been the justice of their origin, no longer serve to promote the well-being of the community as a whole. To such projects you will no doubt turn your minds with a single eye to the good of your fellow countrymen. Standing behind all these needs of the future is the need for the power to deal with them and that

power is unity of which I have spoken elsewhere, and I need not now do more than repeat my heart-felt conviction that it is only by a determined sinking of sectarian differences that India will advance into its proper place in the federation of the world.

Parting Message

"Your Excellency and Gentlemen, I am near the end of the duty which brought me to India. During my tour throughout the country I have been deeply impressed by the magnitude of the task which awaits the new Ministers and Councils and by the high expectations which have been formed of their achievement.

"I have been equally struck on the one hand by the courage of the responsible leaders of Indian public opinion and on the other by the steady confidence of British officials in the success of what has been styled this great experiment. It is in the hands of these two agencies that the future lies. To both of them, my parting message and my most earnestly cherished plea is for co-operation and goodwill. A Government such as is now installed cannot work in discord without the gravest detriment to the State and the people's welfare. It must go forward in substantial union. Each side must sacrifice something, must be contented with less than its preconceived perfection and must leave its own ground to seek for common ground. I do not for one moment believe that Indian leaders mean to jettison the ideals which the British race has endeavoured to bring into Indian life. On the other hand I am just certain that British Officers will not be negligent of the reasoned will of the people. In that spirit I pray that either side will strive to eliminate personal misconceptions and to reconcile divergent lines of vision, for thus only will India move forward to conquer herself and to bring her victory into the service of humanity."

The Boycott Demonstrations

Wherever the Duke went to carry out official functions a complete *hartal* was observed by the mass of the people. In Bombay on Feb 21st several meetings were held, as at Calcutta, all over the city where resolutions were passed urging the public to abstain from taking any part in the Duke's visit. Bullion merchants' and the Sindhi merchants' associations resolved to keep their business suspended during the official ceremonies in connection with H. R. H's. visit. Printed hand-bills in the vernacular were circulated and placarded at prominent places with the following notice purporting to be Mahatma Gandhi's order: "The Duke is a good man but he has come in obedience to British authority. If a reception is accorded to him it would amount to giving reception to slavery. Boycott all functions and be away from where he passes."

Everywhere the name of M. Gandhi was invoked and joined against the Duke and his reception, and the name worked like magic. Mahatma Gandhi himself had on February 1st, while at Calcutta, addressed a public letter to the Duke wherein he stated his grounds for the boycott. No notice was however taken of this letter by the Royal emissary, much less a response to the sentiments therein expressed obviously because Indian sentiments count so low. The letter is reproduced below :—

M. Gandhi's Letter to the Duke

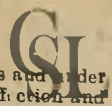
"Your Royal Highness must have heard a great deal about non-co-operation, non-co-operationists and their methods and incidentally of me—its humble author. I fear that the information given to Your Royal Highness must have been in its nature one-sided. I owe it to you and to my friends and myself that I should place before you what I conceive to be the scope of non-co-operation as followed not only by me but my closest associates such as Messrs. Shaikat Ali and Mahomed Ali.

"For me it is no joy and pleasure to be actively associated in the boycott of Your Royal Highness' visit—I have tendered loyal and voluntary association to the Government for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years in the full belief that through that way lay the path of freedom for my country. It was therefore no light thing for me to suggest to my countrymen that we should take no part in welcoming Your Royal Highness. Not one among us has anything against you as an English gentleman. We hold your person as sacred as that of a dearest friend. I do not know any of my friends who would not guard it with his life, if he found it in danger. We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. We do desire to destroy a system that has emasculated our country in body, mind and soul. We are determined to battle with all our might against that in the English nature which has made O'Dwyer and Dyerism possible in the Punjab, and has resulted in a wanton affront upon Islam—a faith professed by seven crores of our countrymen. The affront has been put in breach of the letter and the spirit of the solemn declaration of the Prime Minister. We consider it to be inconsistent with our self-respect any longer to brook the spirit of superiority and dominance which has systematically ignored and disregarded the sentiments of thirty crores of the innocent people of India on many a vital matter. It is humiliating to us, it cannot be a matter of pride to you, that thirty crores of Indians should live, day in or day out, in fear of their lives from one hundred thousand Englishmen and therefore be under subjection to them.

"Your Royal Highness has come not to end the system I have described but to sustain it by upholding its prestige. Your first pronouncement was a laudation of Lord Willingdon. I have the privilege of knowing him. I believe him to be an honest and amiable gentleman who will not willingly hurt even a fly. But he has certainly failed as a ruler. He allowed himself to be guided by those whose interest it was to support their power. He is not reading the mind of the Dravidian provinces. Here, in Bengal, you are issuing a certificate of merit to a Governor who is, again, from all I have heard, an estimable gentleman. But he knows nothing of the heart of Bengal and its yearnings. Bengal is not Calcutta nor Fort William, and the palaces of Calcutta represent an insolent exploitation of the un murmuring and highly-cultured peasantry of this fair province. Non-co-operationists have come to the conclusion that they must not be deceived by the reforms that linker with the problem of India's distress and humiliation. Nor must they be impatient and angry. We must



THE DUKE'S PARTING MESSAGE



I came to her as a true and tried friend, bound to her by many ties and under the spell of old and happy memories. I came to her in a spirit of affection and sympathy and in that spirit to-day I leave her, comforted and sustained in the hour of parting by the firm grip of the hand which Bombay has given to me and by the moving and all too gracious words in which Your Excellency nobly bids me God speed.

"What is there that I can say to India in this hour of farewell? On this that I have not moved among her peoples and her cities with my ears and eyes closed. I have seen, I have read, and I have listened, and I have tried to sift the grain from the chaff. If India will accept me as an impartial and unbiased judge free to speak as I choose, let me tell her this. I am glad that I came to India to do the work which I have done. As I fervently pray, so I firmly believe, that the new constitution now inaugurated places India securely on the upward road and that through them, if moderation rule your counsels, if you practise wisely what to discard and what to establish, the high ideals which India holds dear will assuredly be realised. Press forward on the broad highway which now lies open before you and the future is in your hand, and as you march onward remember that the future has its roots in the past.

"Do not forget the story of your nationhood's unfolding and the glamour of the long comradeship between this vast Eastern Continent and the little Island in the far Northern Seas. You know how a frail plant will establish itself at the foot of a forest tree, how it will struggle upwards sheltered by the giant's shade clinging as it grows, till at last it swells its mighty sinews upon the central trunk, repaying strength, lending its powerful aid against the shock of storm and tempest. There they stand together, separate yet bound, and the hour which decrees the fall of the one must inevitably bring the other in ruin to the dust. Thus do I conceive the relationship in which Great Britain and India now stand. Long may they so continue in mutual sympathy, their sap and loyalty to a joint Throne, the spring from which they draw their united strength.

Message to England

"What message can I take back to England? I shall say this that a greater effort must be made in England to understand and appreciate the Indian point of view. The voice of India has not carried the weight and does not carry the weight which India has a right to claim. To my mind one outstanding merit of India's new constitution is that the Government of India must henceforth weigh more heavily in the scale as more truly representing the Indian point of view than it has done in the past. But in the main my message to England will be of high confidence. I shall say: the heart of India is sound and true, her loyalty is untarnished, her progress is great and her hopes are high. Keep in close and sympathetic touch with her, send her your best—your second best will not be good enough—and you need have no doubt or misgiving as to the course of your future partnership.

"And now the curtain must fall on my work here. But while life lasts no curtain shall divide India from my fond and grateful thoughts of her, or blot out the happy memories I so dearly cherish. My heart is too full to say more. I now bid India farewell and I pray that her people may be blessed with peace and plenty and her leaders with wisdom and understanding."



Inauguration of the Provincial Legislative Councils

Of the other Reformed Councils inaugurated early in the year, that of Bihar & Orissa was of special significance as it was opened by Lord Sinha, the first Indian Governor in India. This bold experiment of putting an Indian at the head of a British bureaucratic government, where the prejudices of a century of a ruling race holding in contempt Indians of all classes have crystallised into a rigid exclusive system, has since proved a failure, and Lord Sinha had, within a year of his term of office, to resign a post which was made intolerable for him. The circumstances leading to his resignation remain to this day a mystery, but it is well-known in Indian society that officials of the Govt. house at Patna used deliberately to circumvent his wishes and in this they were said to have been instigated by the European members of his council. The inauguration ceremony was performed in the new Council Chamber at Patna on the 7th February, when all the new members, except four, and a large number of high officials and the local aristocracy attended. The prospect of seeing a Council inaugurated by an Indian had a charm in it which drew large numbers of the educated Indians, men and women, to the visitors' gallery.

In opening the Council His Excellency Lord Sinha made an exceedingly interesting speech which is quoted in full below :—

Lord Sinha's Speech

"Mr. President and Members of the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa :—I consider it a great privilege that in the performance of the high office which His Majesty the King Emperor has graciously bestowed on me, it is my duty to-day to open this Council and to join with you all in a heart felt prayer for guidance in your labours for the benefit of all classes, creeds and communities in this province. I am filled with gratitude that we witness to-day the beginning of Representative Government,—a system of government which the experience or more fortunate countries has proved to be the highest ideal of policy and the one best calculated to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and I trust that I may be pardoned if I recall with pride the fact that it is my unique good fortune to have borne a share, however small, in the deliberations which led to the famous Declaration

THE DUKE IN BOMBAY

nothing our impatient anger resort to stupid violence. We freely admit that we must take our due share of the blame for the existing state. It is not so much the British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary co-operation. Our non-participation in a hearty welcome to your Royal Highness is thus in no sense a demonstration against your high personage, but it is against the system you have come to uphold. I know that individual Englishmen cannot, even if they will, alter the English nature all of a sudden. If we would be equals of Englishmen we must cast off fear. We must learn to be self-reliant and independent of the schools, courts, protection, patronage of a Government we seek to end, if it will not mend. Hence this non-violent non-co-operation. I know that we have not all yet become non-violent in speech and deed. But the results so far achieved have, I assure Your Royal Highness, been amazing. The people have understood the secret and the value of non-violence as they have never done before. He who runs may see that this is a religious, purifying movement. We are leaving off drink, we are trying to rid India of the curse of untouchability. We are trying to throw off foreign tinsel and splendour and by reverting to the spinning-wheel reviving the ancient and the poetic simplicity of life. We hope thereby to sterilize the existing harmful institution. I ask Your Royal Highness as an Englishman to study this movement and its possibilities for the Empire and the world. We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam in the manner we are doing, we are protecting all religions. In protecting the honour of India, we are protecting the honour of humanity. For, our means are hurtful to none. We desire to live on terms of friendship with Englishmen but that friendship must be friendship of equals both in theory and practice. And we must continue to non-co-operate i. e. to purify ourselves, till the goal is achieved.

"I ask Your Royal Highness and through you every Englishman to appreciate the view-point of the non-co-operationists."

I beg to remain

Your Royal Highness' faithful servant

M. Gandhi.

In Delhi, too, a complete *hartal* prevailed in the Indian quarter of the town. The authorities had previously taken precaution to avoid this quarter from the route of the Royal procession. The Duke arrived at the Kingsway station, 5 miles away from the city. The Municipal Address of welcome presented by the District Magistrate in the name of the people of Delhi was not subscribed to by the Indian commissioners. Out of eleven elected members of the Municipal Board, nine absented and even some of the government nominees were absent. Some of the elected and nominated municipal commissioners warmly opposed the presentation of the address on behalf of the people. A manifesto was issued by the Congress office exposing the deception that was being practised. On the day of the inauguration of the Councils a mass meeting of the people of Delhi was held at Ghaziabad, a suburb town, attended by some 12,000 people who had gone from Delhi specially for the purpose. The authorities had previously warned the holding of public meetings in the forbidden city. As one speaker said, the very fact that the meeting had to be held at Ghaziabad and not in Delhi was

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THE CLOSE OF HIS VISIT

not based on terrorism and brute force. Dr. Ansari presided. Three resolutions were passed. The newly opened legislature was condemned as unrepresentative and a tentacle of the bureaucracy to complete its work of enslaving the Indian people. The address presented to the Duke in the name of the people was repudiated. Students, lawyers, and honorary officers of the Government were urged at once to give up their connection with the machineries of the bureaucracy, and devote themselves to the work of organising indigenous institutions in their stead. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Asaf Ali, Lala Shanker Lal, Sardar Gurbaksh Singh and other prominent citizens of Delhi addressed the meeting. A "Swaraj ashram" was started and funds were collected for the Tilak Swaraj fund of the Indian National Congress.

The Close of the Duke's Visit.

From Bombay His Royal Highness went to Poona where he reviewed the troops and presented colours to the 110th Maharatta Light Infantry and the 120th Rajputana infantry. Feb. 21st was the last day of his stay in India. On that day was witnessed once more all the pomp and circumstances of a Royal departure from Apollo Bunder, Bombay. Officials in brilliant uniforms, decked with Orders and Decorations that scintillated in the blaze of a typical Indian sun; Princes in gorgeous costumes; emissaries of foreign nations in the picturesque "full dress" of their countries; boy-scouts and girl-guides in sombre khaki, and many leading non-officials in still more sombre "morning dress"; and ladies of all nationalities were collected there to bid God-speed to His Royal Highness. At 9.30 a.m. the booming of the Royal salute of 31 guns announced the departure of H. R. H. from Government House, and after inspecting the Guard-of-Honour furnished by the British Infantry the Duke drove in a car to Queen's Road where he changed it in favour of the State Coach when he proceeded to the Apollo Bunder in State escorted by squadrons of the Indian Cavalry, Artillery and the Governor's Body-guard. At the shamiana erected at the Bunder, after the Governor had read the farewell address, His Royal Highness delivered his last message to India in the following words:

H. R. H.'s Parting Message.

"Your Excellency and Gentlemen:—In a few hours the shores of this dear land of India will pass from my sight. To the very best of my endeavour I have discharged the task which His Majesty the King-Emperor entrusted to me. But I am an old man now and what I have failed to achieve a more youthful vigour of mind and body might have accomplished. India, with the kindness and loyalty she has always displayed towards the Royal House, will generously overlook my short-comings and console her disappointment with the thought that



THE B. & O. REFORMED COUNCIL

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of 17th of August 1917, in the investigations which followed its honorable pronouncement, and the proceedings in Parliament which resulted in the Statute of 1919 and Rules and Regulations under that Act.

I do not claim that they constitute a revolutionary change in the constitution but I assert that they are the logical and the inevitable outcome of the beneficent labours of many generations of English and Indian statesmen and administrators. I cannot help thinking that the shades of Monro, Macaulay, Elphinstone, Bright and Ripon join to day with those of Ram Mohon Roy, Naoroji, Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta, Gokhale and others of revered memory, in sending their benedictions on this Assembly. I have said that the change in the constitution is not revolutionary. It would indeed be of little lasting benefit if it was. Continuity is the first necessity for the life of a State, and a change is essential to the health of all forms of life in society. The problem in every field, whether politics, literature or religion, is the same—that of finding continuity in progress. I claim for the new system that it is both progressive and continuous involving the non-violent breaking away from the past and ensuring that stability which is the most important of all elements of political strength.

The New Electorate


"It is not to be expected that opinion should be unanimous with regard to either of these characteristics of the constitution. I will not attempt to meet the criticism which has been so freely bestowed upon it from both sides, one denying that it is continuous and the other alleging that it is not progressive ; but there is no gainsaying the fact that these Councils have become more and more representative and that their authority and influence have been raised with the increase in their representative character. About sixty years ago a small non-official element was introduced into the provincial Councils by nomination in order to ascertain non-official opinion on projects of legislation only. The number of such nominated members was gradually increased, but it was not till 1909 that the principle of election was avowedly introduced, though the elected members were still left in a minority and the elections were, for the most part, indirect through the District Boards and municipalities. The new system introduces the method of direct election by the people grouped under different territorial constituencies. Whereas under the old system the number of voters was only 2,404 consisting as follows:—Municipal Commissioners 620, District Board members 262, Landholders 321, Muhammadans 1,201, total 2,404, we have under the new system non-Muhammadan rural voters 2,55,014, non-Muhammadan urban voters 38,992, Muhammadan rural

voters 21,919, Muhammadan urban voters 8,338; total 30,257, without taking into account the Europeans, Landholders and Special Constituencies, whose voters are 1,463, 370 and 1,548 respectively.

"If a Representative Government, i.e. that form of it which is called Responsible Government, is the end desired, the primary necessity is to create a sufficiently large and intelligent electorate. Who will deny that an increase from 2,404 to 3,28,674 is a substantial increase? Ought it to have been further increased? I think I can safely say that a substantial majority of opinion is against any such idea in the existing circumstances, and I venture to remind you of the weighty words of John Stuart Mill in this connection. Representative institutions, he pointed out, are of little value when the generality of the electors are not sufficiently interested in their own government to use their vote, or if they vote at all, do not bestow their suffrages on public ground, but sell them for money or vote at the back of some one who has control over them or whom for private reasons they desire to perpetuate. A popular government, as thus practised, instead of being security against mis-government, is but an additional wheel in its machinery. I assert with confidence that we have got the best electorates possible under present conditions. Have we got the best Council possible? Those who have set themselves up as irreconcilable opponent of the system inaugurated to-day proclaim loudly that this Council is not representative. Of course, here and there there are men whose presence in this Council would be welcome and a source of strength who are to-day outside, but that is the case wherever representative institutions exist. But if we want to satisfy ourselves impartially and honestly that a large proportion of the Province are in this Council, we have only to look round this Chamber, and I congratulate the Province that in spite of many adverse circumstances over forty per cent of the voters went to the poll in the contested elections, and that they succeeded in returning such a number of able and zealous members.

Power Over Budget.

"The next point that I desire to touch upon is the power this Council has for the first time in relation to the Budget. With very few exceptions, the necessity for this is universally admitted. All proposals of the local Government for the appropriation of public revenues and other moneys every year must be submitted to the vote of the Council in the form of demands for grants, and the Council may assent or refuse its assent to the demand or reduce the amount. Only those who have any experience of the working of responsible government can realise the transference of power from the Executive to the Council which this provision involves. There



THE B. & O. REFORMED COUNCIL

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we contend that the power reserved to the Governor to disallow such a vote under strictly limited conditions detracts to any appreciable extent from the reality of the power conceded to the Council seem to me determined either to ignore the realities of the situation or deliberately to mislead public opinion.

"The only other point that I would draw your attention to is what has been called the key-note of these Reforms—the complete control conceded to the Council over the administration of some of the most important departments of Government, compendiously called transferred subjects. These have been felicitously described as the nation-building activities of the Government. These are, broadly speaking, education, public health and medical relief, industries including agriculture, local self-government, and excise. For the administration of these departments I have chosen as my colleagues two of your fellow-members with varied knowledge and wide experience, who, I have every reason to believe, possess your confidence and are likely to pursue a policy in accordance with your reasonable desires. But I do most earnestly commend you not to expect great results in the immediate present from these Ministers. They have very big difficulties to face and they may find them insuperable if the Council insists on thrusting them into policies before they have had time to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the details of administration and the directions along which it is possible to advance. We want reform based on knowledge and experience rather than on impatient idealism. The one will be steadily progressive; the other will lead to confusion and ultimate disaster.

The Wheat and the Chaff.

"Gentlemen, we are passing through a period of general strain and excitement. The cataclysm of the war cannot subside by magic into universal harmony. Past injustices and errors, equally with sonorous phrases full of promise for the future, have caused a widespread longing for a new heaven and new earth, and the people are finding it difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff, the attainable from the impracticable. There is great confusion of thought and consequent waste of energy and effort. The air is thick with plans for the development of education on national lines. Surely, this does not mean an abandonment of modern education, which is no more English than it is French, German or Japanese! The country is invited to take to the spinning wheel as the surest method of developing national industries, and social reform by way of temperance is sought to be promoted by methods some of which at any rate must come into collision with law and order. If the direct object of all these movements were the amelioration of the people



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THE OPENING CEREMONY

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are not a destruction of government, I am confident they would appeal to members of this Council whose special functions are to advance education, promote industries and develop social well-being. But I cannot believe that you will seek to carry out that policy by banishing all modern culture from our schools and colleges, by paralysing the growing industries of the country, or by trying to create habits of temperance by means other than a well-considered excise policy regulating the control, manufacture, possession and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs. It is for you to choose. The policy regulating all these matters must be framed in general consonance with your wishes to the extent that they coincide with the wishes of the people. I can only say, using the words lately used by that veteran Bombay educationist, Professor Pranjpye : "Remember that it is not always easy to remedy defects without introducing other and greater defects in their place."

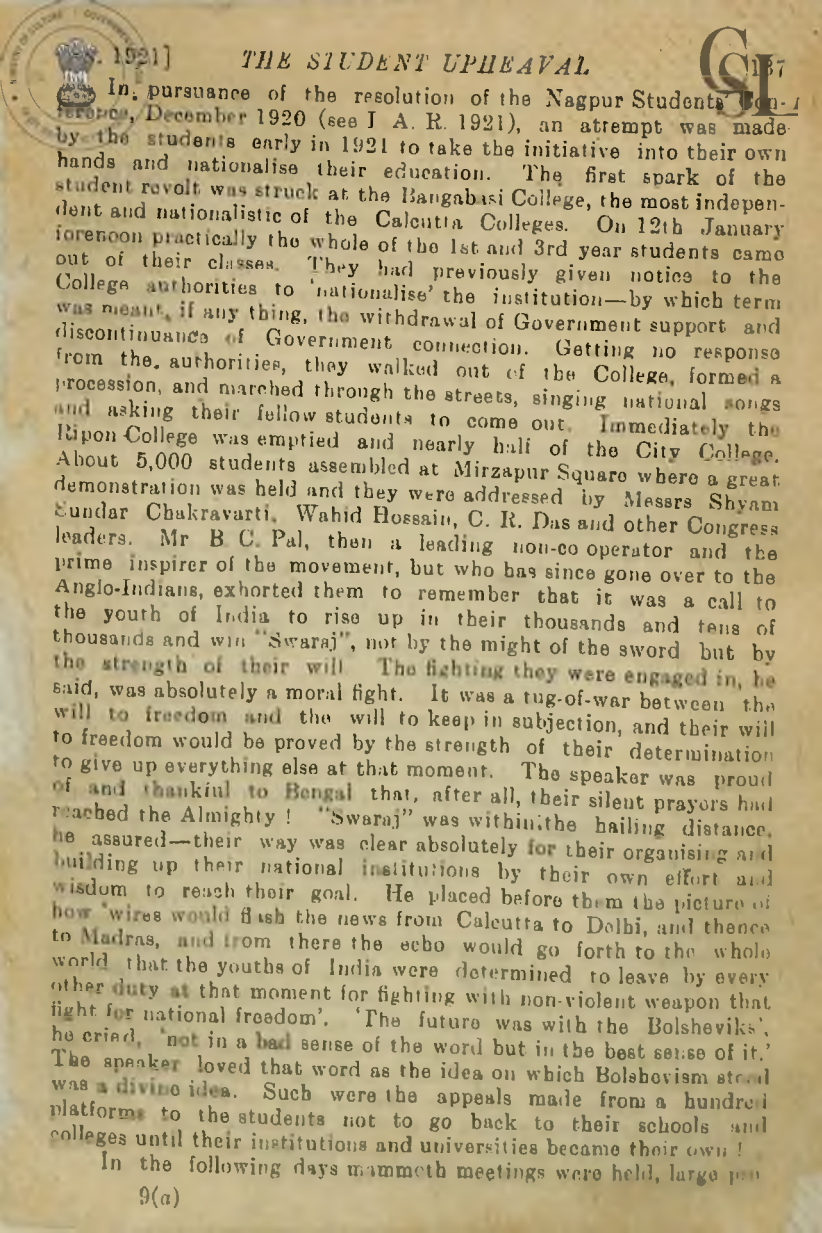
"May I conclude by reminding you of the noble words of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught : 'Sink your differences and magnify the points on which you are in concord. Thus united, use your new political machinery to raise the depressed and to lower the walls between creeds and castes and hostile interests. And may Almighty God guide you in your labour.' I now declare the Council open".



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The Non-Co-operation Movement

After the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress the non-co-operation movement was pressed forward first amongst students and lawyears with great earnestness and zeal. No sooner did the Congress pass the N-C O. resolution than the Deccan Nationalists began putting into practice the constructive part of the programme. Bombay, some time before, had established a National Education society with a National College at Gujrat and besides half a dozen National Schools. Seths Haji Yoosuf Sobhani and Haji Md. Maneyar, Justices of the Peace, renounced all government connection. The Maharastra Nationalists under the lead of Poona—the centre of the great Tilakite school of Indian politics—were the first in the field with an all round constructive scheme. Leaders of the Bar under the eminent lead of Mr. Bhopatkar suspended their practice and took up national educational work. Mr. N. C. Kelkar followed by a chosen band of young men took up social reform work, removing untouchability and the drink-evil. At Nagpur, Messrs N. R. Kelkar, Neogi, V. R. Kelkar, B. G. Pundit, G. R. Deo, Pleaders and Messrs M. V. Abhyankar, and G. Dashmukh, Advocates, sacrificed their practice at the Bar for Congress work. This part of the N-C-O programme was nowhere so much in the forefront as in the Maharastra country, At Amritsar Dr. S. Kitchlew, the famous Khilafatists and a victim of the late O'Dwyerian reign of terror in the Punjab, collected a sum of five lacs and was dashing forward with the work of national organisation on the lines of the Congress and Khilafat mandate. In the Punjab the great leader Lala Lajpat Rai was moving up and down the province collecting funds and starting National Schools. In the U. P. Pundit Motilal Nehru with a chosen band of Congress-workers was directing the turbulent Kishan movement in that province into a peaceful and non-violent channel. At Patna Babu Rajendra Prasad was leading the way to establishing national schools. In the course of four months following the Aligarh Student's upheaval in October 1922 were started the National Moslem University of Aligarh, the Gujrat Vidyapith, the Behar Vidyapith, the Benares Vidyapith, the Bengal National University, the Tilak Maharastra Vidyapith and a large number of national schools of all grades with thousands of students on their rolls. It was, however, at Calcutta, amongst the students under the lead of Mr. C. R. Das that the greatest storm raged.



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THE STUDENT UPHEAVAL

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In pursuance of the resolution of the Nagpur Students Conference, December 1920 (see J. A. R. 1921), an attempt was made by the students early in 1921 to take the initiative into their own hands and nationalise their education. The first spark of the student revolt was struck at the Bangabasi College, the most independent and nationalistic of the Calcutta Colleges. On 12th January forenoon practically the whole of the 1st and 3rd year students came out of their classes. They had previously given notice to the College authorities to 'nationalise' the institution—by which term was meant, if any thing, the withdrawal of Government support and discontinuance of Government connection. Getting no response from the authorities, they walked out of the College, formed a procession, and marched through the streets, singing national songs and asking their fellow students to come out. Immediately the Ripon College was emptied and nearly half of the City College. About 5,000 students assembled at Mirzapur Square where a great demonstration was held and they were addressed by Messrs Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, Wahid Hossain, C. R. Das and other Congress leaders. Mr B. C. Pal, then a leading non-co operator and the prime inspirer of the movement, but who has since gone over to the Anglo-Indians, exhorted them to remember that it was a call to the youth of India to rise up in their thousands and tens of thousands and win "Swaraj", not by the might of the sword but by the strength of their will. The fighting they were engaged in, he said, was absolutely a moral fight. It was a tug-of-war between the will to freedom and the will to keep in subjection, and their will to freedom would be proved by the strength of their determination to give up everything else at that moment. The speaker was proud of and thankful to Bengal that, after all, their silent prayers had reached the Almighty! "Swaraj" was within the hailing distance, he assured—their way was clear absolutely for their organising and building up their national institutions by their own effort and wisdom to reach their goal. He placed before them the picture of how 'wires would flash the news from Calcutta to Delhi, and thence to Madras, and from there the echo would go forth to the whole world that the youths of India were determined to leave by every other duty at that moment for fighting with non-violent weapon that fight for national freedom'. 'The future was with the Bolsheviks', he cried, 'not in a bad sense of the word but in the best sense of it.' The speaker loved that word as the idea on which Bolshevism stood was a divine idea. Such were the appeals made from a hundred platforms to the students not to go back to their schools and colleges until their institutions and universities became their own!

In the following days mammoth meetings were held, large pro



celebrations of youthful enthusiasts marched through the streets, singing national songs, picketing schools, colleges and the university, and the agitation was kept at white heat. One by one all the Colleges were emptied. On the 15th January a conference of the Principals of Calcutta Colleges was held at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor, who was decided that it would be dangerous to take strong steps against the strikers. An unfortunate incident happened at the Ripon College where through the nervousness of the Principal a circular was issued to the professors requiring their punctual attendance and threatening severe action on failure. This was very much resented and seven professors at once resigned. It seemed as if the whole staff would resign and join the students, and a few more of such indiscretions would have found quite a large number of the junior members of the professoriate in company with the students. The catastrophe, however, was averted by the circular being withdrawn after some of the professors had resigned. On the 17th Mr. C. R. Das addressed seven large meetings of students and asked them to hold on till new National Colleges were opened within the next fortnight. Mr. C. F. Andrews from "Shanti Niketan" wired signifying his intention to join the new National University. The news that Mr. C. R. Das had given up his practice at the Bar and sacrificed his princely income and had given all his property to the national movement took the hearts of the young men by storm. There was something electric in the atmosphere to goad youth to rush into new channels which promised new hope and fresh life. Professor H. K. Sarkar, a brilliant university man, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Ph. D., assistant Assay Master, Calcutta Mint, and a few other university alumni, gave up their service and dedicated themselves to the *Charka* movement. But, on the whole, the professors did not take any practical part in the movement. Had even a hundred out of the thousand and odd professors of Calcutta come out to lead the movement, it would have been a crowning piece of success, and the Calcutta university would then have undergone as thorough a process of nationalisation as the most ardent nationalist could wish. Nor were the efforts of the students themselves in this direction less sparing. They approached their teachers with agony at heart and humility in bearing, but all to no purpose. Nothing more was necessary to demonstrate the deadening effect of the University education. Left alone they chose their leaders from amongst themselves, and the whole mass of 10,000 students hung upon the single-handed activity of Mr. C. R. Das. The fever very rapidly spread amongst students in the mofussil. The example set by Calcutta was followed everywhere. At Mymensingh, Faridpur,

Calcutta, Pabna, Dacca and other towns, the colleges were besieged. One novel method of picketing pursued by the students was of tying flat on the ground, side by side, on the pavement, blocking the entrance to the colleges. There was great uproar for a few days owing to the rumoured action of some of the professors of European Colleges having forced entrance by trampling upon this human barrier. This method was very effectively practised before the University Hall where B. L. candidates were sitting at their examination. As a result only 150 out of 500 candidates could appear. On the 19th January Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, the Vice Chancellor, addressed the strikers assembled in front of the University and said that he was prepared to cut off all connection with the Government and nationalise the University if the leaders of the N.C.O. movement gave him a crore of rupees for its running. This challenge, it is said, was taken up by Mr. C. R. Das who offered to raise this sum if Sir Ashutosh gave a written undertaking that on receipt of the money he would retire from the High Court Bench and lead the National Education movement. Nothing, however, came of it.

Gradually new accessions of strength were coming to the students. On January 19th Mr. C. F. Andrews, who had promised to join the new National University as soon as it started, addressed a large gathering of students on "Swaraj or Independence". In the course of this very weighty pronouncement, which more than anything else served to keep burning the intense ardour of the youngmen to get rid of their educational nightmare, the learned lecturer said :—

"Independence, complete and perfect independence for India, is a religious principle with me, because I am a Christian. I want to say quite clearly that after ten long years of painful experience, travelling over the world and seeing the British Empire in all its different parts, in Fiji, in Australia, in New Zealand, in East Africa, in the Malaya Peninsula, and in Ceylon and in India itself. I have come at last to the conclusion that Indians cannot stay any longer in the British Empire as it stands to-day. That Empire does not allow Indians as settlers over nearly four fifths of its land surface, that is to say, in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and in South Africa; in nearly every other part it only tolerates Indians as subordinates, as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

"After over a hundred years there is hardly a single country in the Empire (outside England itself) where Indians have full and equal citizen right together with the free right of entry. I have seen with my own eyes, on every land, in almost every part of the world, the religion of White Race supremacy taught and practised. This arrogant creed makes it absolutely impossible for Indians to remain in such an imperial system with any self-respect. I believe that this religion of White Race supremacy is the greatest of all curses to the human race to-day. I hate and detest this White supremacy religion. It is fundamentally opposed to my own Christian religion, the religion in which Christ Himself declared of the brotherhood of all men in the common Fatherhood of God.

"I wish to say with deep conviction that independence can never be won

if fifty to seventy millions of the untouchables, the depressed classes of India, remain still in subjection which amounts almost to serfdom. No one can be truly free himself, no one is worthy of freedom who enslaves others. To take my own case, I am an Englishman, but England cannot be England to me, the England of Hampden and Cromwell and Milton, Burke and Shelley, Byron and Clarkson, Wilberforce and Gladstone, England cannot be England to me, the England I love, if she keeps others in subjection in her colonies and in her Empire and if she holds down Ireland and India by military force and repression, and India cannot be India to you, the India of your dreams (and of my dreams also, if I may speak as one of her children) if she keeps others in subjection. That is why the Mahatmaji himself has said that India cannot win Swaraj in one year or in hundred years if she does not give Swaraj to her own depressed classes, her own untouchables."

Ten thousand students roaming in the streets of Calcutta!—On January 23rd Mr. Gandhi at last came to Calcutta. This helped to fan the agitation still more. A great spirit of national awakening found a new influx into the youthful hearts. At a huge meeting attended by tens of thousands of students Mr. Gandhi congratulated them for the steps they had taken and deplored that professors and educationists had not joined them. He pressed for the adoption of the spinning-wheel and said that students should undergo training *Charka* during the present year of probation. Their ordinary education would commence after Swaraj was established. He also urged medical students to leave College and undertake humanitarian work of clothing the naked and of ridding India of her shame, degradation and helplessness. He urged Bengalee students to learn Hindustani and said that they had over-rated the importance of the English language and suggested that English language found very little place in the economy of Swaraj. He announced that Babu Gopal Chandra Singh, who had recently given one lakh of rupees to the National Council of Education, had again promised and had given the first instalment of an yearly donation of Rs. 10,000.

Mr. Gandhi's advent, however, gave a new turn to the movement. So long it was a question of nationalisation of Education—a filibustering campaign to break the officialised university of Calcutta. Mr. Gandhi made it clear that he wanted it to be a part of the Swaraj movement—students are to leave colleges and their study in order to devote themselves to the work of the nation. In the fight with the bureaucracy for Swaraj, the students are to be the vanguard, marching forth into the interior of the country preaching Non-co-operation, carrying the message of economic independence through the *charka*, organising village schools mainly for reviving the art of the spinning wheel, and otherwise completing the Congress programme of Non-co-operation in view of further preparation to establish Swaraj within a year. The nation was at war—albeit non-violent—with the Government. And just as during the last

European War the Schools and Colleges of England, France, and Belgium were closed down and the students were drawn away into war-work, so too in that crisis of the Indian Nation, Indian Students were to think not of Education but of Swaraj : Swaraj first and education after—that was the Mahatma's creed. But it was too hard for those to whom it was addressed : they had not bargained for so much sacrifice. This was the first rift in the lute—the first envisagement of the Mahatma's 'practical idealism' standing athwart the path along which in the rush of emotion they had sped.

Students' Strike in Lahore.

The great enthusiasm of the students of Calcutta and the apparent success with which the University was all but paralysed gradually began to rouse the student world all over India, but the strike fever was nowhere much in evidence except at Lahore where it was little less intense than in Calcutta.

A series of articles contributed by Lala Lajpat Rai in his paper "Bande Mataram," exhorting students to boycott University examination and leave colleges, proved irresistible. On January 15th, in the course of an open letter to Lala Hansraj, ex-Principal of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai drew the attention of the Managing Committee of the College to the present condition of the D. A. V. College. The Lala asserted that the wishes of the founders of the college were to run it independent of Government and University control, and make it the nucleus of a Dayanand University. But since 1907, he alleged, the policy of the college had been changed and it had sacrificed its principles in order to please the Government and the University. Lala Lajpat Rai then referred to the new spirit in the country which, he said, was preached to Arya Samajists, the founders of the College, long ago by Swami Dayanand and asked Lala Hansraj either to declare openly that the D. A. V. College authorities had changed the policy of the founders or that they would free the college from the control of the Government and the University and nationalise it. Lala Lajpat Rai further assured Lala Hansraj that the latter need not entertain any fear as regards financing the national University as he guaranteed to pay Rs. 50,000 to make up the deficiency in the income for two years within one week the college had freed itself from University control. In the end, he requested Lala Hansraj to place the matter before the Managing Committee of the College and inform him their decision within two weeks, so that he may decide his future position in connection with the D. A. V. College. To this, however, no reply was vouchsafed, and meanwhile the students were becoming very restive.

On January 24th, news spread that the students of the D. A. V. College had refused to attend classes and that only a small percentage

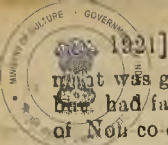
THE STUDENTS' STRIKE MOVEMENT

LAHORE

attended. Two days before some four hundred students of the College had sent an application to the Principal requesting him to invite Lala Lajpat Rai and permit him to address the students in the college hall on the subject of Non-co operation. On receipt of this letter an emergency meeting of 20 local members of the Managing Committee was held the next evening and it was unanimously resolved that the Principal was to inform the students that although under ordinary conditions he would have been glad to give the necessary permission, he regretted that it could not be done as the Seditious Meetings Act was in force in Lahore at that time. On the 24th, before college classes began, the Principal witnessing some excitement in the college hostel, issued a notice asking students to meet him at the college hall. The majority of students met there, when the Principal addressed them for about an hour and tried to impress upon them the futility of their action. He asked non-co-operation students not to coerce those who conscientiously felt it right and proper to continue their studies in the college and gave all students freedom of action to work according as their conscience dictated. He said that the college authorities would be ready to start a non-University college, if such a demand was manifested, side by side with the existing institution, but he could not build on the ruins of the present D. A. V. College.

After the address of the Principal, most of the students attended classes. Those who did not held a meeting on the lawn of the hostel and passed a resolution requesting the Principal to close the college next day to enable all students to go to Gujranwala, where a conference had been arranged between the Non-co-operation leaders and the students to discuss the matter in all its aspects with Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders. On receipt of this resolution the Principal informed the students that such of them as applied for leave would have their applications granted.

Accordingly, next day, January 25th, some 500 students of the D. A. V. College, joined by their compatriots from other colleges, marched all the way from Lahore to Gujranwala, a distance of 40 miles, to hold the longed-for conference with the N-C-O leaders. Lahore was then a proclaimed area, and no meetings or processions could be held; so the meeting was arranged to be held at Gujranwala which till then enjoyed civic freedom. A large number of people, some 5,000 in all, including students of the local Khalsa college and schools, attended and great enthusiasm prevailed. Lala Lajpat Rai accompanied by Pt. Rambhuj Dutt came from Lahore and addressed the meeting. He said that they had to come all the way from Lahore to Gujranwala because the Punjab Government would not allow him and others to address them in Lahore owing to the Seditious Meetings Act. Their faith in co-operation with the Govern-



that was gone for ever. They had tried all methods of co-operation, but had failed and had been compelled at last to adopt the weapon of Non-co-operation. Their grievances would not be redressed until they became free in their own land as Englishmen were free in their own. Turning to the students the Lala said that he would boldly and unhesitatingly ask the students to leave their colleges at once and join the Non-co operation movement whole-heartedly. They must show to the world that they could win Swaraj without shedding a drop of blood by following the principal of non-violence. He appealed to the D. A. V. College students to leave the College at once. As soon as they left the College, it could be converted into an excellent technical College. So long as they would be inside the College, the authorities would do nothing to give them true national and technical education. He would be the last to see the Dayanand College ruined and destroyed, as he had given twenty-five years of his life to build that College and had worked day and night for it. He wanted the D. A. V. College to be a true national College, and its students true national workers and not slaves and job hunters. In conclusion, he said:— 'Remember one thing—don't be a bluffer. Think and consult your conscience. Do not leave the Colleges unless you are absolutely determined to follow your conscience. But once you take the step, do not recede.'

This meeting was followed by the Punjab Students' conference held at Gujranwala on the 30th January with Dr. Kitchlew as the President. A resolution was here passed by an overwhelming majority welcoming the Congress resolution on Non-co-operation as far as it concerned students above the age of 16, and strongly urging college students to make immediate and effective response to the call of the nation by unconditional withdrawal from all arts, science and professional institutions connected with the Government.

Meanwhile the other Lahore colleges had been affected—the Foreman Christian College and the Sanatana Dharma College became soon involved. Their students went on strike wholesale on the 27th and passed at their meetings similar resolutions. The students of the Government College and Law College were visibly hesitating. The authorities had at last to close the Colleges for several days varying from a week to a month and by the end of February the movement quieted down and all the colleges re-opened and resumed work.

At Calcutta, too, the Colleges reopened on the 21st Feb. more than half the number of students returned.

In Bombay and Madras

In Bombay N-C-O leaders held daily meetings in the first half of January, in which they passionately exhorted students out for national service. Like Mr. C. R. Das at Calcutta

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Jayakar, a leading Barrister, suspended practice and engaged himself in the constructive work of national education. Under the auspices of the Swarajya Sabha, the Home Rule League, and the National Union, an important public meeting was held on the 20th January with M. Gandhi as the president and the Brothers Ali as the chief speakers. The cult of non-co-operation was explained to the large audience mainly composed of students. Daily meetings were also held, of more or less importance, in which the students were harangued to take their own share in the country's fight for freedom. Some 700 students in all left their study and actually enrolled themselves under the N.C.O banner. But there was no dramatic hiatus of a sudden strike as at Calcutta. Further, from the very beginning the students of Bombay had a more accurate understanding of the N.C.O programme of College boycott than elsewhere. As a matter of fact there were two different propaganda in Bombay asking students to leave their colleges. One was headed by Mr. V. J. Patel who advised suspension of education altogether in order that the students may carry N.C.O propaganda in the villages and remote parts of the country ; and the other was headed by Mr. Jayakar who wanted education but of the nationalised variety, to further which his party was busy in organising national schools and colleges.

In Madras Province the movement did not catch on except in the Godavery district and Trichinopoly where students were in ferment for a short time. On January 22nd the Godavery District Students Conference was held at Rajahmundry, and the occasion was utilised in carrying the boycott campaign but with very little success.



Riots & Repression

The pent up fury of the officials at the success of the boycott of the Duke and of the student upheaval broke out even before His Royal Highness left the shores of India. Early in 1921 the peasant population of Rae Bareilly and the Fyzabad districts in the U. P. suffered, as is their wont, severe hardship from the oppression of the land-lords who used to levy illegal cesses with the connivance of the Govt. The authorities instead of removing the grievances of the poor tenants, sided with the rich land-lords and thus oppression went on unabated, till the exasperated men, seeing the success of the boycott movement, adopted N C O and took the law into their own hands. They refused to pay illegal and extortionate demands, and on being harrassed by their masters, rose in revolt. From January 2nd. to 7th. a great riot raged in many villages of Rae Bareilly and Fyzabad. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and other N C O leaders tried to pacify the rioters but they were warned off the field by the Police. In every case the mob was dispersed by police and military fire inflicting serious losses on the people. Obviously, in such cases, reprisals were taken. At Munshiganj on the 7th January, a mob ten thousand strong stormed the Jail, burnt the bazar and looted the Zamindars property.

On the 14th. a riot took place in Behar parganna in Fyzabad. On the 23rd. a serious riot took place in Rachrawan where several constables were killed. On the 29th. at Goshainganj there was another Kishan (peasant) rising. The depth of their feeling may be gauged from the fact that about 1000 men lay flat on the Railway line on hearing that their leader was being carried away in the train. The train had to stop for 3 hours during which the police cleared the line by buck-shot fire. The trouble gradually subsided on the N-C O leaders organising a kishan league under the guidance of Pt. Motilal Nehru and Mr. Purushottam Tandon.

From February to May 1921 all over India there were disquieting riots and everywhere the method of repression was a standardised one : namely, the opening of fire by the military and police on an unarmed crowd. The most glaring cases were at Tanjore, Kumbakonam, and Nagpur, which are reported in detail at the end of the 2nd volume of this Register. One of the earliest attempts of repressing the N-C-O was made in February in Malabar. Mr. Yakub Hassan, the great Khilafat leader, along with some of the prominent N-C O workers were warned by the Magistrate not to



THE NANKANA TRAGEDY

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at Malabar or bold meetings. This order was disregarded with the result that the Magistrate sent them forthwith to jail. This created a great sensation and hartal was held in Madras and other places in South India to commemorate the event. Mr. Yakub Hassan was soon set free but another dastardly police outrage was committed in the Malabar at Ottapallam in April 1921. On the 23rd April a provincial conference of the N C O party was held at Ottapallam. A posse of the Reserve police force was brought in with obvious intention. And on the 26th when the Students Conference was in session some of the prominent leaders and Moplahs were mercilessly beaten by the police.

After the proceedings a procession, a furlong long, started from the pandal headed by Messrs Prakasam and Ramunni Menon and passed through the important streets, orderly and solemnly, lasting for three hours. Complete hartal was observed in the town. Shop-keepers induced by the police to open, refused.

Needless to say, this affair kept the Moplahs in a high state of tension, and this is one of the many causes that led them openly to revolt in the October following (see *postea*).

As a result of the police riot the first class Honorary Magistrates of Ottapalam, Messrs Sankuni Menon, Narayanier, and Abdal Kader resigned. As Mr. Ramunni Menon narrated the details of riot and assault on him, Vakil Mr. V. M. Govindan Nair announced suspending his practice and also Messrs. Kocheun Nair and P. S. Narayana Nair.

The Nankana Tragedy

Though not directly connected with non co operation, a politico-religious affair of stupendous significance was about this period happening in the Punjab which culminated in a wholesale massacre of some 150 Sikhs at Nankana Sahib. To understand the event it is necessary to relate the history of the recent Sikh movement in the Punjab.

In 1919 the Sikh League was inaugurated with the avowed object of demanding communal rights for the Sikh nation, seeing that the Europeans, Moslems and other minorities had already secured special communal rights under the Reforms, and also of reviving in the Sikh public an interest in politics. The first session of the League determined to demand from Government more seats in the Legislative Council than had been allotted to the Sikhs and it also attacked the official management of the Sacred Golden Temple in Amritsar and the irritating and officious control exercised by Government. With the adoption of the policy of non co-operation the agitation among the Sikhs spread rapidly, and at the Sikh Con-

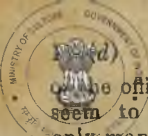
In October 1920 resolutions were passed demanding control by the Sikhs themselves of their educational and religious institutions without interference of any kind from Government.

Eventually, after a good deal of harassment from Government officers, they secured full control of their Golden Temple, and the management of the Khalsa College was also handed over to a Sikh Council after a great deal of excitement in the College itself where the Professors once resigned in a body and the students refrained from joining their classes (see I. A. R. 1921). The Khalsa College cut itself off from the official University and tried to evolve a national system of education. A Committee was appointed, mainly under the influence of the Maharaja of Patiala, the Premier Sikh Prince, with a number of popular representatives to manage the affairs and income of the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

Profiting from their terrible experience of the blessings of the British *Raj* as manifested during the Martial law days in 1919, the Sikhs had adopted non-co-operation and wanted now to take their religious affairs into their own hands. In November 1920 a Committee, called the 'Gurudwara Prabhandak' or the Reformed Sikh Committee, was formed to undertake the management of all Sikh Gurudwaras or religious institutions. The Sikh shrines hitherto were under Mahants, some of whom were very bad characters and abominably licentious. Disputes regarding the possession of Gurudwaras in Amritsar, Lyallpur, Sheikhupura, Attock and Lahore quickly arose and certain of these shrines were occupied by the Reforming Party. Some voluntarily joined the reformers, others, more conservative, had to be occupied by force. During the occupation of the shrine in Tarn Taran in January, 1921 a serious fracas took place between the two parties resulting in the death of two men and injuries to others. Government, always suspicious of the Reformers, and appealed to by the Mahants for preserving their vested interests, tried to collect evidence against the former but owing to the hold of non-co-operation people did not come forward to support the Mahants. The movement continued and the reformers made no secret of their intention to seize the Nankana Gurudwara which is the wealthiest of these shrines possessing large estates in some 32 villages with an annual income running to lakhs of rupees.

The Nankana Massacre

In Nankana the chief Mahant, Narain Das, a notorious profligate and a desperado, appeared to have realized his precarious position and secretly collected men and arms for the purpose of defending the shrine. He was a very influential man and was always spending money like water to keep himself in the good graces



THE NANKANA TRAGEDY

[NANKANA]

of the officials, especially of the police. His murderous preparations seem to have been overlooked by the local authorities, and he not only managed to smuggle a large amount of arms and ammunition, but also engaged many new pathans and others as his guards who were regularly drilled in military fashion.

The Akalis are puritan Sikhs and form the vanguard of reforming party. They used to form *jathas* or companies which travelled from shrine to shrine in their work of reformation. February 23rd was the date of a Grand Diwan or session of the Khalsa at Nankana Sahib to enquire into the administration of the Shrine, and there could be little doubt of what the decision would be. The Mahant, Narain Das, prepared to resist by force any expropriation of his hereditary shrine, had in the meantime engaged some 500 hooligans and Pathans as chowkidars and had also collected a large amount of arms and ammunition and also petroleum, in view of the nefarious deed he contemplated, obviously with the connivance of the authorities. Two days before the Diwan an Akali Jatha appeared at Nankana Sahib but was not admitted. The object of this Jatha was to make collections for the coming Diwan. On occasions of a Diwan it is the rule with the Sikhs to keep a free kitchen open for the brotherhood. A second company of 150 appeared and quietly entered the temple and, it is reported, sat down to read the Sacred book.

The doors of the shrine were then shut; and when they were opened a couple of hours after scarcely a man was found alive to tell the tale of what took place within. The following account of the tragedy is given by Lala Girdhari Lal of Lahore :—

Sardar Lachman Singh of Dharolal with a party of about 125 to 150 men came to Gurudwara early in the morning. As soon as all had entered and sat down in Janamasthan Sahib to read out the Holy Book, all the gates of the Temple were closed and the attack began on all the members of the Jatha with rifles, chavies, takwas, revolvers, etc. by Mahant Naraindas and his men who were hidden on the roofs and in the verandahs of the temple. Brickbats were also thrown at the Jatha party from roofs where I saw about 15 heaps of them. In all the attacking party consisted of the Mahant, Pathans and Bhatts hired by him for this heinous crime assisted by his right-hand man, one Jemaad Bhatti. Like the martyrs and their Panthans of old Sardar Lachman Singh is reported to have said that he did not come for taking possession of the temple but stopped on his way to Sarauli where he was going to arrange for the Diwan to pay homage in Gurudwara. Some say that the Jathadar came with an expressed solemn aim for possession and determined to sacrifice himself and his party, if only to avoid a greater price being paid at the time of the big Diwan proclaimed for the 3rd to 5th March next. Most bodies were dragged to the north side of Gurudwara where they were burnt with wood and kerosine oil. The heads of many were cut. In these burnt heaps there were traces of arms, heads, legs and other parts of bodies chopped off into small bits. Practically the whole compound was full of blood where persons appear to have been cruelly and brutally

One man apparently took shelter on the roof above the small gate to the south where he was massacred and his body thrown down outside. Another must have tried to save himself in a small Samadh but was mercilessly killed.

When I visited the temple on the 2nd I saw 5 places inside where bodies were burnt in a fiendish manner. There were traces of at least eighteen tin of oil having been used in this foul deed. In all I counted skeletons and 14 dead arms, legs etc of about seventy persons besides those that must have been completely and fully burnt out to ashes. Karas and Kirpans were clearly distinguishable. The remains of a few in these heaps clearly showed of their being thrown into burning flames while still alive.

A few words are necessary as to what took place outside the temple. About 40 to 50 reached Gurudwara. One who was in it told me that they heard shots at some distance from Nankana Sahib and thought their friends gone ahead may be victims of an attack. These brave fellows fully realising the danger they were running into boldly and unflinchingly marched forward to join in the glorious martyrdom of their brothers. When they arrived at the outer compound of Gurudwara they were also attacked by Mahant Naraindas who was fully armed on horseback with others near the southern gate. Sardar Dalip-singh who had come to stop Lachman Singh from entering Gurudwara and 5 to 6 others laid their lives at the altar of their gurus at the hands of the blood-thirsty ruffians.

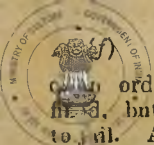
Sardar Uttam Singh, mill-owner and a respectable citizen, sent 2 of his men to bring correct news of the affair, but these also fell under the fire of Bhattias, Pathans and the Mobaut. The bodies of the killed outside were burnt in a furnace in the compound. I saw the remains of 5 men in this heap. In all I believe about 150 brave and noble hearts sacrificed their lives to enable their other brethren to achieve their cherished wish of purging their oldest Gurudwara of the infamous Mahant that had squandered in revelries the hard-earned money of the public.

Jathadar Kartarsingh of Jhobar reached Nankana Sahib with about 1,000 companions and insisted on being given charge of Gurudwara. The authorities tried to talk tall as usual but Kartarsingh was determined not to turn back but to go straight to Gurudwara even if they had all to die to the last man in having to fight with European or Indian soldiers or the Mahant's people. At this determination the representatives made over the Gurudwara to members of the Siromani Gurudwara Committee who were present on the spot.

Such is the gruesome tale! The Akalis have since suffered much from the hands of the Government in their reform campaign the full history of which is reserved for the next issue of the Register. After a protracted trial the Moha. Narain Das with seven of his men were on Oct. 12th, sentenced to death.

The Malegaon Riots

In contrast to the police out-breaks, mentioned above here occurred in Malegaon in the Nasik district, Bombay, a murderous mob out-break ending in serious loss of life and property. The population of the place consists mainly of Mahomedans with a sprinkling of Hindus, and the Khilafat propaganda was going strong for sometime. On the 25th April several Momias were prosecuted for carrying arms at a mass meeting in contravention



THE MALBGAON RIOT

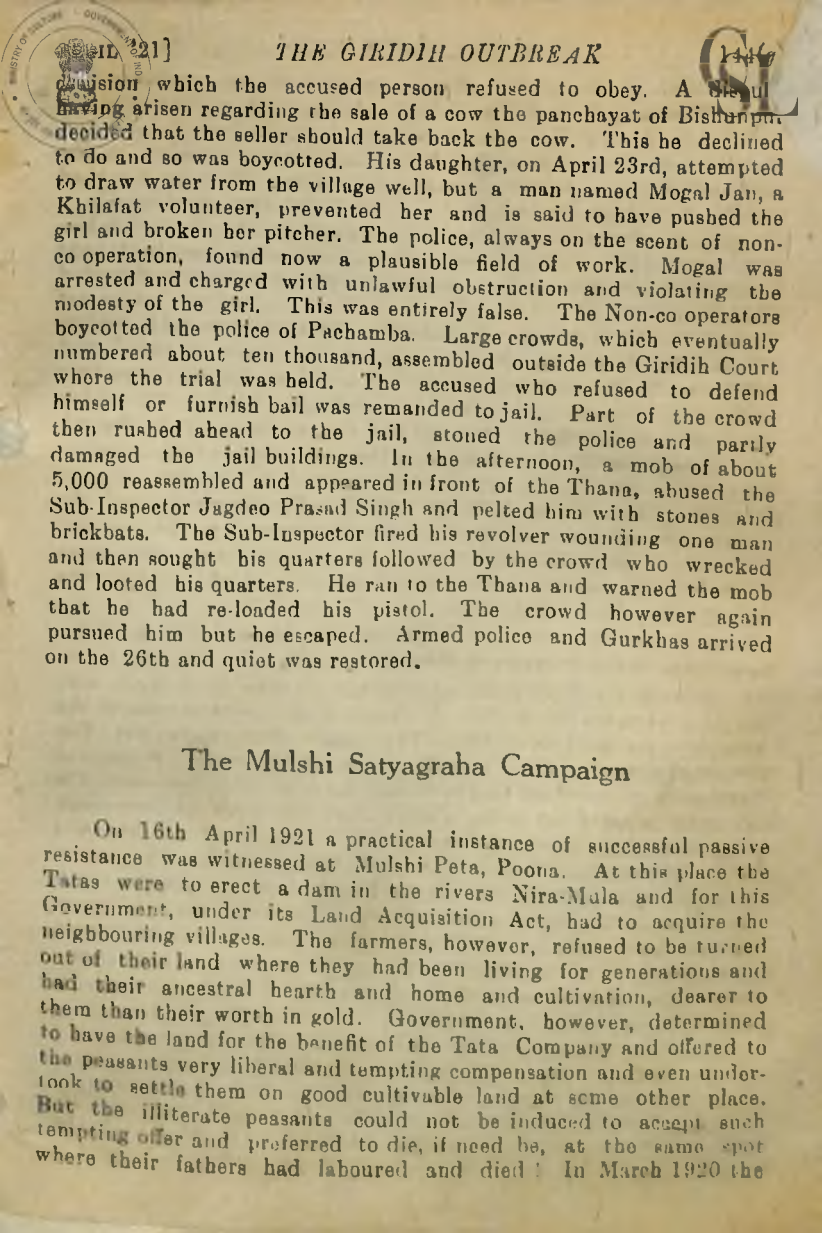
[MALBGAON]

order by the District Magistrate. They were convicted and fined, but some of them in default of payment were committed to jail. A disturbance being threatened, the City Sub-Inspector, the Mamlatdar and the Resident Magistrate proceeded to the town with three or four armed constables. The mob attacked the City Sub-Inspector with stones and his men fired some rounds in the air. As, however, the mob did not disperse the City Sub-Inspector took refuge in the house of Mr. Pophate, a merchant, next to which is a temple. The mob surrounded the house and demanded that Mr. Pophate should give the Sub-Inspector up, but he put them off. The mob then climbed up to the windows with ladders and the Sub-Inspector and his men are said to have wounded and killed several in self-defence. Failing to obtain the Sub-Inspector's person by force, the mob brought fuel and kerosene and set fire to several houses and the temple. Mr. Pophate and family escaped. One or two constables escaped over the roof, but the Sub-Inspector was caught, beaten to death and thrown into the fire. One or two constables were also killed and burnt. The Mamlatdar and the Resident Magistrate were stoned but they escaped to the hospital near the entrance to the Fort, both being injured, the latter seriously. The mob cut the telegraph wires and stopped the Mail tongas from running.

Next day the mob began plundering the houses of Mahomedan leaders who had counselled moderation regarding the Khilafat agitation. The mob marched out for securing the release of the 6 men who had been sent to jail for not paying fines. It next went to the 'kutchary' and told the Mamlatdar in charge that unless the men were immediately released they would set fire to the Government treasury room. Realising the helplessness of the situation the Mamlatdar released the men. The mob carried these men on their shoulders through the town shouting "Allah-O Akbar." Other acts of incendiarism followed. Many residents, especially the Hindus, left their home. For three days the mob raged. On the 29th April the Commissioner, the Inspector General and the Deputy Inspector General of Police with 70 British troops from Ahmednagar appeared and quiet was restored. The report of the committee appointed to enquire into the outbreak is given in Vol. II, pp. 780-92.

Mob Outbreak at Giridih

Another outbreak of violence occurred at Giridih on April 25th. The disturbances appear to have originated from the efforts of the Non-co operation panchayat to enforce by means of social boycott a



decision which the accused person refused to obey. A dispute having arisen regarding the sale of a cow the panchayat of Bishanpur decided that the seller should take back the cow. This he declined to do and so was boycotted. His daughter, on April 23rd, attempted to draw water from the village well, but a man named Mogal Jan, a Khilafat volunteer, prevented her and is said to have pushed the girl and broken her pitcher. The police, always on the scent of non-co operation, found now a plausible field of work. Mogal was arrested and charged with unlawful obstruction and violating the modesty of the girl. This was entirely false. The Non-co operators boycotted the police of Pachamba. Large crowds, which eventually numbered about ten thousand, assembled outside the Giridih Court where the trial was held. The accused who refused to defend himself or furnish bail was remanded to jail. Part of the crowd then rushed ahead to the jail, stoned the police and partly damaged the jail buildings. In the afternoon, a mob of about 5,000 reassembled and appeared in front of the Thana, abused the Sub-Inspector Jagdeo Prasad Singh and pelted him with stones and brickbats. The Sub-Inspector fired his revolver wounding one man and then sought his quarters followed by the crowd who wrecked and looted his quarters. He ran to the Thana and warned the mob that he had re-loaded his pistol. The crowd however again pursued him but he escaped. Armed police and Gurkhas arrived on the 26th and quiet was restored.

The Mulshi Satyagraha Campaign

On 16th April 1921 a practical instance of successful passive resistance was witnessed at Mulshi Peta, Poona. At this place the Tatas were to erect a dam in the rivers Nira-Mula and for this Government, under its Land Acquisition Act, had to acquire the neighbouring villages. The farmers, however, refused to be turned out of their land where they had been living for generations and had their ancestral hearth and home and cultivation, dearer to them than their worth in gold. Government, however, determined to have the land for the benefit of the Tata Company and offered to the peasants very liberal and tempting compensation and even undertook to settle them on good cultivable land at some other place. But the illiterate peasants could not be induced to accept such tempting offer and preferred to die, if need be, at the same spot where their fathers had laboured and died! In March 1920 the

made a strong declaration that they must acquire their land by any means and would not have any truculence. On Feb. 1st, 1921 the Collector of Poona visited the spot, and tried to *samjao* the peasants, using threat, cajolery and other methods suitable to the occasion, but none agreed to leave their land. Meanwhile, all petitions unavailing the peasants determined to practise Satyagraha. Some of the Poona non-co-operators and other leading men organised them into a band of Satyagrahis of the genuine Gandhi-brand, and then followed a remarkable scene of passive resistance as narrated below.

On the 15th. Dr. Phatak, Secretary, Satyagraha Sahayak Mandal, Poona, wired to the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay as follows:—'Feeling helpless and driven to desperation by the proposed intimating that the poor peasants acquisition of lands in 54 villages in Mulshi Peta, Poona District, for the construction of a tank by the Tata Hydro Electric Company, the poor peasants have decided to practise Satyagraha on strictly non-violent lines from the 16th of April. We think it desirable that His Excellency should, with a view to meet the ends of justice, equity and good conscience, intercede to stop the work to save the peasants from deprivation of their lands and the consequent devastation of their homes and hearths by their submergence under water. It is expected that about one to two thousand Mavalas would assemble at Mulshi to-morrow in the Satyagraha camp.'

Accordingly Satyagraha commenced on the 16th April. The Satyagrahis were instructed to remain absolutely non-violent, even under the gravest provocation. They marched in a body to the place of construction. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, the Engineers of the Tata Company with an army of labourers led by the contractors tried to begin work, but hundreds of Satyagrahis laid themselves down on the ground. The labourers began to lay down stones and mortar but the Satyagrahis folded their hands in prayer and laid themselves flat lengthwise on the work and also on the road leading to the masonry. No room was left for the labourers to work unless they threw stones on the bodies of the Satyagrahis. The labourers could not be so inhuman and stopped work. They were ordered again to begin work by watering the masonry which resulted in drenching the bodies of the Satyagrahis. None moved an inch and ultimately this work had to be stopped too. At another point wherever crow bars were raised they found the Satyagrahis underneath. That work also was stopped. So too at other points. Gradually the whole work stopped. One by one the labourers left; they refused to belabour their poor brethren. Supreme quiet prevailed for some time. Meanwhile Mr. Bhaba of

Tata Company arrived. After his arrival an attempt was made under his superintendence to resume the work of watering the masonry where the Mavalas had laid themselves down. Orders were given to the contractors to throw water on the masonry even when the Mavalas had covered the masonry with their bodies. But the idea was revolting, not of course to the authorities, but to the labourers and they refused to throw water on the bodies of their fellow-countrymen. Being enraged at these failures the Engineer, Mr. Cameron, in consultation with Mr. Bhaba, improvised a water-pipe line on the high river wall directly over the heads of the Mavalas and commenced throwing boiling water from above, but not one of the hundreds of the brave Mavalas stirred an inch from his position. Amongst those who were subjected to this hot-water ordeal were Messrs. Bhuskute, Deo, Palsule, Dewara, Gokhale, Bhopatkar, Paranjpye, Joshi, Dr. Phatak and other local leaders. Thus ended the first day of the Satyagraha struggle at Mulshi.

On the 18th the Satyagraha struggle opened just as before in the early morning with Satyagrahis sitting or lying flat on the work of the dam. A feeble attempt was made to commence work but it had soon to be abandoned. Supreme silence ruled over the whole scene. Several women also joined. At 9 A.M. Mr. Kelkar with Messrs. Bhopatkar and Gokhale arrived from Poona. Mr. Kelkar went about the whole dam. Messrs. Bhaba and Cameron saw Mr. Kelkar and requested him to give them an opportunity to talk about the matter. Mr. Kelkar referred the matter to the Mavalas and after consultation they agreed to send their representatives to Poona only to give a hearing to the Tata men, the final decision in the matter being reserved in their own hands. Both parties agreed and amidst loud cheers the Satyagrahis returned to their camp.

For several days the same thing continued. Practically all work came to a standstill. The Satyagrahis triumphed, and none, as they had feared and come prepared, was killed or even beaten. And on April 28th Mr. A. Cameron, Chief Engineer of the Mulshi Works, gave a written undertaking that for 6 months, i.e. up to the 7th of November 1921, no work of any kind would be done towards the erection of the dam.

The success of the Mulshi Satyagrahis was a practical demonstration of the Gandhian creed. Where a body of men, acting on high principles, meekly submit themselves to the threatened consequences of their faith, they secure their ultimate triumph, and really have not to suffer much after all. But the preparedness to suffer and the faith in the cause must be there. Gandhiji's doctrine of non-co-operation was fundamentally based on this, and to those who understood this the Mulshi affair carried conviction.



The Assam Coolie Exodus & The Gurkha Outrage

Early in May 1921 a serious situation was created in Assam by a stampede of labourers from the Tea Gardens. The reason why they left was that owing to a slump in the tea trade, great reductions and wholesale dismissals were made in some of the European gardens with the consequent hardship on the labourers. Extremely low wages, two annas or six pice per day, and inhuman treatment were their common complaint. The companies having already earned 100 to 200 per cent dividend, at this period of depression applied the shears ruthlessly. Harrowing tales of torture at the gardens were recited by the coolies. Theirs was a life of abject slavery combined with cruel sweating—and partly also of shame for the woman-kind. They had lately heard of the name of Mahatma Gandhi, and fables concerning his supernatural powers of doing good to the oppressed and poor got current. The simple folk believed that he was an *Avatar* and that he had come to deliver people from their insufferable bondage. Their misery ultimately drove them to determine to follow the line of the Mahatma, to go back to their land, spin charka, abjure western sin, and lead a simple and pure life. In spite of promises of the planters to enquire into their grievances, they declined at last to listen to any terms and resolved to leave their life of shame and slavery or else die. Thousands left the gardens. Of these a few hundred succeeded in getting away to their homes, mostly in the Madras Presidency. Others left the gardens with nothing on save a rag tied round their waist, carrying their babes and invalids in their arms or shoulders, and marching on and on, on foot, over long distances, along railway lines and banks of rivers, with Mahatma Gandhi's names on their lips, bent on reaching their homes anyway in some far distant district in the U. P., Behar, C. P., and Madras. Large numbers congregated in some of the big towns on the way, notably in Karimganj, Sylhet and Chandpur. Half-fed, half-naked men and women, with emaciated or dying babes in arms, some just born, and with cholera and fever and abortion dogging their steps, thronged the public high-ways, the railway station and the bazaars. From Karimganj large batches were sent by rail to Chandpur and Goalundo by the public to release the awful congestion and danger to public health.

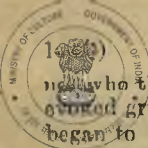
The Chandpur Gurkha Outrage.

At Chandpur they came to a halt, as at this place they must cross the river, apparently destitute and unable either to pay for their journey or to feed themselves. The local people took charge of them but the question of repatriation of so large numbers became a difficult problem and the money could not at first be raised from

chittable people. The Government of Bengal was approached, the Ministers were appealed to, but they were living in the planter's stronghold at Darjeeling confronted by the solid phalanx of planters' opposition. They put up the plea that Government could not take side in labour disputes. The result of this was that the coolies found themselves stranded, and by the 19th May their number in Chandpur alone swelled to 4000. Meanwhile, Mr. Macpherson, a representative of the European Tea Association of Assam, had come to Chandpur and with the help of the S. D. O. tried to induce the coolies to go back to the gardens. This alarmed them and there was a panic to leave the place at once. They rushed an outlying steamer that was to leave for Goalundo on the other side of the river the next morning. At this stage the S. D. O., the Hon. Mr. Sinha, arrived along with Mr. Macpherson. The gangway between the steamer and the receiving flat was by order removed and several of the men fell into the river. A tumult arose and with the help of the police, the S. D. O. and Mr. Macpherson drove the onrushing coolies from the flat to the river-side and from the river-side to the Railway station. It seems that the S. D. O. while driving the men before him had struck an old wreck of a woman. The woman caught hold of the stick and began to cry. This had the effect of exciting some of her male companions who turned round, snatched the stick from the S. D. O.'s hand and, it was alleged, assumed a threatening attitude.

The stranded coolies thus driven into the shed of the railway station remained there the whole of the following day. The local people guided by the local Congress Committee distributed rice and food, and the coolies were made to understand the Government order on repatriation and were told that they must not attempt to board nor rush the ordinary passenger steamer and must wait till suitable arrangements were made for their transport. This calmed them, and they cooked and took their meals, and spread themselves on the floor with peace in their mind.

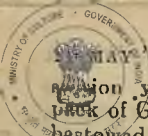
Meanwhile the matter of the assault on the S. D. O. and Mr. Macpherson was brought to the notice of the Divisional Commissioner Mr. K. C. Das who was on the scene, and immediately he ordered for a batch of armed Gurkhas from Narayanganj. 50 Gurkhas arrived at 7-30 p. m. and were at once marched to the station. At 10 P. M. as the last train left the station, all light in the station was extinguished, and then followed an awfully brutal outrage. Gurkhas were ordered to clear the station of the coolies who were sleeping there—male, female and children. They at first kicked coolies about and asked them to get up. Taken unawares in that dark shed the men could not understand whence the order emanated



night who they were that disturbed their peaceful slumber. It only availed grumbling and resentment; then the Gurkhas became furious, began to kick more violently and to beat the coolies with lathis and butt-ends of their guns with their accustomed ferocity. For full 15 minutes the assault continued on those helpless wrecks of humanity and at last, as even Mr. K. C. De could not stop excesses, he had to carry through the S. D. O. a message to the European Commander of the Gurkhas to order discontinuance of the assault. And when at last the Commander sounded his whistle, the assault stopped.

The reason why this outrage was committed was given in a Government communique issued on the 25th May in the following words: "the station precincts being in a very insanitary condition, cholera having broken out among the railway staff and with a view of guarding against the recurrence of the previous night's disturbance (the rush to the steamer in which the Magistrate was alleged to have been assaulted), it was decided to remove the coolies to a field near the station in which it was proposed to house them. A small force of military police armed with rifles with bayonets unfixed cleared 3000 coolies from the station at the cost of 30 minor casualties none of which was serious!" The non-official committee which enquired into the matter, however, found in the course of their investigation that the local officials were not at all apprehensive of a further rush, nor was there any outbreak of cholera among the station staff, and further, the coolies were driven into the station premises the previous night by the authorities themselves. The Committee said that there was no room for doubt that the assault was a premeditated one and in retaliation for the assault on the S. D. O. and Mr. Macpherson. Mr. Akhil Ch. Dutt, the President of the local Congress Committee, who was in the enquiry, examined Mr. De, the Divisional Commissioner, and Mr. Wares, the District Magistrate. These high officials admitted that the coolies were sleeping at the time of the assault, that they offered or could offer no resistance, that no warning was given and no time allowed to disperse before the assault began and that it was done to produce an impression. It sounded much like the creation of a "moral impression" in the Punjab during the O'Dwyerian Reign of Terror of 1919. A large gathering of poor wretched starved people, practically sleeping with little babes and children and invalids, were kicked about in the dead of night and asked to away nobody knew where. Naturally they remonstrated, especially the females, as Mr. Wares said that the females were very true and would not move on. And for this they had to be dispersed by force!

After the perpetration of this unaccounted barbarity, when



station yard was thus cleared of the coolies, the officials with their pack of Gurkhas left and no thought on the maimed and injured was bestowed, no medical aid was offered. It was much like Jhallian-walla repeated in a miniature scale, and the pity of it all was that it was done under orders of such a highly popular and respected Indian official as Mr. K. C. De.

As said the Rev. C. F. Andrews : "I could picture the turmoil and confusion, the crying and weeping on that platform, in the middle of the night, under the light of the moon. Women would be dragging their children here and there separated from their husbands. Children would be driven in one direction and mothers in another, and all the while the blows were being struck to force the people to move on.

"Some of the victims of the Gurkha outrage were brought before me for inspection. I saw one poor little girl with her left eye injured by a blow, which narrowly missed the eye-ball itself. Two women, if I remember rightly, were also there, one with a bad scalp wound. One weak elderly man was present also wounded. I saw no one among the wounded who could have offered resistance. All that I subsequently found out corroborated my first impression, that a wicked and an inhuman act had been perpetrated which the people of India are not likely soon to forget. If I were to describe it in barest outline, it means that human beings in the last stage of misery and exhaustion, who should clearly have been objects of tenderness and compassion, were assaulted while they were lying on the railway platform late in the night by Gurkha soldiers. They offered no resistance. Yet weak women and children and feeble old men, who were too infirm to move quickly, were hit over the head and on the body with the butt-ends of rifles and other weapons in order to force them to get up from the ground. I met several Englishmen on my journeys to and from Chandpur who had seen with their own eyes the condition of these poor human wrecks. They expressed to me their indignation at the thought that Gurkhas could have been turned loose upon them in the middle of the night to drive them from one place to another. When I challenged the Commissioner himself, he acknowledged that he had pulled one Gurkha soldier off with his own hands because he found him beating the people roughly with his weapon. The Commissioner also told me that he had ordered the whistle finally to be blown because he saw the violence that was being used was too great. This, at least, is an acknowledgment of the assault and some sign of repentance. But the Government Press Communiqué by its white washing account and suppression of the truth reflects no credit upon its author or upon the Government whom he represents.

The Government, not only of Bengal but of India, in its actions, has come more and more to side with the vested interests with the capitalists, with the rich, with the powerful against the poor and the oppressed. That is the terrible indictment. That is why the poor, in their misery, have flocked to the banner of Mahatma Gandhi who is himself the poorest of the poor, and who understands his own people. That is why they are even beginning to refuse such help as Government itself is still willing to offer. There was no more fateful sign of these critical days in which we live than that which was told me by an eye-witness at Naihati. These poor Assam-returned labourers were actually starving. The steaming cooked rice was put before them. But when they heard that Government had provided it, they refused to touch it. They were frightened that it was a plot to bring them back on to the plantations. But when the Seva Samiti workers brought them uncooked rice from the people, they were so ravenous that they began to eat the hard rice-grains uncooked."

Mr. Andrews, who went to Darjeeling some days later to see the Governor and the members of the Bengal Govt. to seek help in the way of repatriation of the unfortunate stranded coolies, further wrote thus :—

"The autocratic methods of the Bengal Government officials and their reliance upon brute force have been exposed. It has been shown clearly that the year 1921 in no way differs essentially from the year 1919. The so called Dyarchy has been proved up to the hilt to be the old Autocracy over again, dressed up in a new garment. In no single matter was Indian opinion in the Council, or of the Executive, of the slightest account in influencing the actions of Sir Henry Wheeler. I am taking the test which the new Viceroy has laid down, and I am judging Sir Henry Wheeler by actions rather than by professions. A situation, which should have been dealt with primarily by the Ministry of Health, was taken in hand by the Home Department and decided by the Home Department. In Darjeeling I was not introduced to a single Indian member for the purpose of consultation. The whole matter appeared to be settled by Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Henry Wheeler, and Mr. Donald—three of my own countrymen. This was the attitude there although, to my mind, as I have already said, the question was primarily one of public health. I do not charge Sir Henry Wheeler or Lord Ronaldshay with consciously and deliberately slighting their Indian colleagues; but I do say that the mentality of autocracy at Darjeeling is still unchanged, and that the Responsible Government promised by the Reforms Act—by which ought to be meant respect for Indian opinion and Indian initiative,—is still entirely absent."

Next day, May 21st., there was a complete hartal in the town. Mr. K. C. De, the Commissioner, unmindful of the abject state of the poor coolies into which his own action had driven them, cared not what happened to them but held out the vulgar threat to fight the non-co-operation movement, which according to him was the prime cause of all the trouble, with the aid of Gurkhas. On this there was a panic in the town and even the ladies of high families sent a joint letter to Mr. De stating that no body really expected him to do better but should he think fit to let loose the Gurkhas once more in the town, they would die by the side of their husbands and sons like their sister in days of yore.


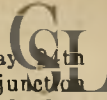
Meanwhile, hartal continued in the town for several days and weeks together. All shops were closed, the schools were emptied, courts were boycotted by all, the servants of the officials, especially of Europeans, left, and no food was sold to them; they had to secure provision from Calcutta or other places through steamers guarded by armed police. The stranded coolies numbering some 4,000 were fed by the people who organised themselves into relief parties and relief camps and had the coolies sheltered in their own premises. The Bengal Government refused to repatriate, and Mr. Andrews' prayer that government should grant Rs. 5,000 for the purpose to be supplemented by private charity was not heeded. The Govt. even forbade railway and steamer companies to grant concessions. Cholera soon broke out and terrible conditions prevailed. Soon, however, public funds poured in, and with the help of Mr. Andrews and the Bishop of Assam, who, along with his wife, showed true Christian charity in looking after the relief work and tending the sick and wounded, the local leaders under the lead of Mr. Hardayal Nag were able at last to send the unfortunate people to their homes. Some generous Marwaris of Calcutta came to the rescue, and one brave Marwari even died from cholera while tending the sick. Bengalee volunteers from Comilla and other districts poured in and such government help as was ordinarily available, though scant and grudgingly given, was soon dismissed.

Sir Henry Wheeler came down from Darjeeling and visited Chandpur on the 29th May. He went round the various camps and the hospitals. His investigation lasted for 3 days and on June 7th his report was out. It was, as was to be expected, a heartless 'white-washing' report. He condoned the use of force on the coolies, maintained his partisan spirit against labour and non-co-operation, and threw all the blame on the latter. The official and non-official reports on this affair are given in full in the 2nd Vol. (Pp. 755-79).

The A. B. Railway Strike

The result of the Gurkha outrage at Chandpur was a long

THE A. B. RY. STRIKE

  **Railway and Steamer strike in East Bengal.** On May 24th the Railway staff at Chandpur and Laksham, an important junction station, went on sympathetic strike. There were rumours of Garkha assault. The Railway Union at Chittagong, the headquarters of the Railway, met on the 25th and after a prolonged sitting declared a general sympathetic strike to last till the question of repatriation of the coolies was justly settled by the Government. Mass meetings were held the same evening and on the following days when universal sympathy was held out to the Chandpur people and collections were made to help the stranded coolies. On the 28th a ladies' meeting was also held at Chittagong where ornaments were freely pulled out and given over in sympathy for the strikers and the coolies. Fearing disturbance, or making a show of the fear, the authorities brought in a platoon of 33 Gurkhas to protect the Railway workshop at Pahartali and the European bungalows. On the 27th May the men of the Steamer service joined the sympathetic strike as the Secretary of the Serang's Association, M. Abdul Majid, was arrested on some pretext only 2 days before. By the 28th May the whole Railway line was deserted, and Chittagong town went on hartal.

The whole land and water traffic route of East Bengal was deadlocked for some months together. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta at Chittagong and Mr. C. R. Das with a large number of volunteers organised this huge strike and kept it going in wonderful order. Some of the improvised means of communication amongst the sympathisers and followers of non-co-operation were marvellous for their efficiency. A cycle post was established throughout the whole tract. A water-transport system was evolved. These not only produced a deadlock of the Government institutions but also showed the ingenuity of the people to replace them if need be. On June 7th the Railway authorities gave the men an ultimatum and new recruits were admitted replacing the old staff wholesale. This led to trouble. The new recruits had to fly away. Markets were closed against them; menials refused to serve them. The whole inland transport trade of Bengal lay standstill. On July 2nd an influential deputation of Indian Commercial men and Moderates, headed by Rai Janaki N. Roy Bahadur, waited upon the Governor, Lord Ronaldsday, imploring him to intercede, but they were curtly told to help themselves. Early in August several trains were wrecked. Government then began repression and by the middle of September the strike collapsed and work was resumed gradually.



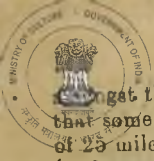
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The Bezwada N-C-O Programme

The repressive measures adopted by the Government all round a more and more goading Congress-men to despair, and the whole country was throbbing with expectations for a definite lead from the Congress. Resistance was in the air, and the more ardent spirits amongst the national workers were beginning to feel that the restraint put upon them by the Congress was too irksome. The rash and dashful Moslems were getting impatient to declare a *jehad*. On March 28th Moslem Divines met at a Conference (*Jamiat ul-ulema*) Bareilly and Moulana Murtaza Hassan and others delivered "Zar." Resolutions were passed affirming that Mussalmans who were still working against the safety of the Khilafat and the Holy places and still co-operating with the enemies of Islam were within the purview of *Zajar* and *Tajers* (punitive measures) and declaring that the complete independence of India was essential for the integrity of the Islamic *Shariat* and their religious susceptibilities. It was further declared that for the time being milder efforts like non-cooperation should be continued till independence was achieved. Recruiting for the Army, specially for the Moslem units, it was urged, should be boycotted, and the Ulemas (Moslem Divines) prepared themselves for a wholesale religious propaganda to emanate from a central and powerful college of priests whose decrees would be binding on Moslems of India as a whole. This was the starting point of that formidable combination of 500 Ulemas of India which later on issued a *fatwa* or religious decree declaring it sinful for a Moslem to serve in the British Army.

It was under such circumstances that the leaders of the Non-cooperation movement were called upon to divert the popular mind to a more fruitful and constructive channel. The All-India Congress Committee was hastily called and it began its historic meeting at Bezwada, Madras Presidency, on March 31st 1921. The opinion was fast gaining ground that a lead of civil disobedience may be at once given by the Congress, so that the resultant Government repression against Congress-men may spend itself out before "Swaraj in the next 4 months" may even become remotely capable of achievement. An *Imperium in imperio*, a Swaraj State living within and flourishing upon the bigger adventitious State of British India, was fast capturing the popular mind, and this was sought to be debated thread-bare before the Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee which sat at Bezwada was an unique gathering. So great was the national feeling working



ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE [BENARAS]

get the masses even at this early stage of the N-C-O programme that some 200,000 people, depleting scores of villages from a distance of 25 miles all around, poured into the little town to have a *darshan* (audience) of the great Mahatma and his co-workers. Though a committee meeting, it looked very much like a special session of the Congress. All the great leaders, including Mr. C. R. Das from Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai from Punjab, Pundit Motilal Nehru from the United Provinces, Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar from Madras, Mr. Kelkar from Poona, Mr. Tyabji from Baroda, Mr. Vijiaragha chariar from Salem, in all more than 50 out of a total of 170 members were present. The most important result of the meeting was the aggressive and mass civil disobedience was, on the persuasion of the Gandhis, postponed till the subordinate Congress organisations were perfected.

Business began with the consideration of draft resolutions prepared and proposed by Mahatma Gandhi in regard to the further programme of Congress work and organisation.

Mr. Gandhi in proposing the first resolution for adoption made a lucid and clear statement of the present situation.

The First Resolution—Men Money & Munitions

The resolution runs as follows :—

1 In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee all organisations and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon—

(A) bringing the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to one crore of rupees and before 30th June next each Congress province to collect in the ratio of its population ;

(B) putting in Congress registers one crore of members in pursuance of the constitution and before 30th June next each province to contribute the number of members in the ratio of its population ;

(C) introducing into villages and houses 20 lakhs of Charkas (spinning-wheels) in good working order and before 30th June next each province to introduce the number of CHARKAS in the ratio of its population.

He pointed out that in respect of their propaganda upon which they had so far concentrated, namely giving up of titles, councils, educational institutions and courts, there was no need for further concentration thereon and he considered that the success already achieved therein was in every way satisfactory. Whatever be the number of students who had given up college, or of lawyers who had given up practice, the Congress had achieved the real object of the propaganda, namely, the demolition of the prestige of these institutions of the bureaucratic Government of the country. Most of those who yet continued in schools or in courts were fully convinced of the principle for which Congress has fought, although for a variety of reasons they were not able to give effect to the resolution immediately. The Congress may therefore well trust to time

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the movement to work its way fully. He therefore pointed out in order to achieve the programme of Swaraj within the time allowed in the Nagpur Congress resolution, they should now concentrate upon those parts of it which would directly lead the masses of this country to its realisation.

The awakening of the masses, he said, was phenomenal and while the masses were fully alive to the urgent need of realisation of Swaraj, the leaders were lagging behind. It was, therefore, necessary to give form and shape to the aspirations of the masses. Their aspirations for Swaraj were based upon the very definite perception that without Swaraj their condition could not improve and the direct means of improving their condition was to enable them to clothe and feed themselves. It was for this purpose that he felt that the *Charka* movement was full of the utmost potentialities in the winning of Swaraj. If the masses were enabled to perceive that situation and to realise that by securing their economic independence through the use of the spinning wheel in their houses so as to obtain the maximum of production and wherewithal to feed and clothe themselves, it would immediately have the effect of making them feel that they were no longer dependent on foreigners for their livelihood and progress. It would also effect a complete economic boycott of the most important of foreign imports of the country. If this was achieved, Swaraj could be considered to have been realised. That was why he desired that the *Charka* movement should be pressed forward.

In order that this propaganda might succeed, workers were needed. Congress organisations should be thoroughly put into operation. If, as the resolution insisted, one crore of rupees was collected before the 30th June, as he was quite hopeful it would be, and one crore of the manhood and womanhood of the country were registered as Congressmen, there could be no more patent proof of the fitness of the people for Swaraj than of their ability to achieve it through the Congress organisation itself.

Mr. C. R. Dass from Bengal in seconding the resolution pointed out that he was one of those who did not at first take to the spinning wheel kindly, but he found by actual experience that the spinning wheel movement was in every way calculated to achieve their object of Swaraj. If Swaraj meant that India should be self-contained and self-sufficient, it was desirable that her people must be made to understand how they could do so. He considered the spinning wheel as a most simple, honest and straight proposition which could be put before the masses and taken to by them easily. He was asked, he said, to define Swaraj many times. He desired to say that there had been a good deal of needless discussion over

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE [BENARAS]

its Swaraj did not mean any particular system of Government which the Congress might argue about or settle. Swaraj was the right of the people to determine their own affairs and their form of Government. It was the freedom to so determine their constituted Swaraj. It was futile to discuss particular forms of Swaraj. Their idea in asking people to take to the *Charka* was not based upon any desire to enter into competition with foreign capitalist production, either from without or from within. Their idea was to enable the people to understand and fashion for themselves their economic life and utilise to their level best the spare time of their families and all opportunities with a view to create more economic good for themselves and improve their own condition. He emphasised that collection of a crore of rupees and a crore of members on the roll would be the most signal proof of the ability of the people to realise and exercise their right of Swaraj.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta pointed out that, in so far as the spinning-wheel movement was intended as the means of displacing the import of foreign cloth into India, a more efficacious method would be to see that all yarn produced in India was used entirely for the production of clothes needed for this country. If proper steps were taken that no yarn produced in this country was exported and all available yarn was used for production of indigenous cloth, the boycott could be easily effected. He quoted figures of the import and export of yarn and cloth in support of his statement.

Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Dass and other prominent leaders then addressed the meeting and urged that what was then needed was a perfected Congress organisation, which meant ample 'men, money, and munitions', and that was all that the resolution demanded. After further discussion the resolution was carried.

The Second Resolution—On Civil Disobedience

II. (A) The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the orders of officials in various provinces against Non-co-operators in pursuit of the policy of repression are totally unwarranted by the situation in the country and are in most cases pronounced by the highest legal opinion to be illegal.

(B) Whilst the Committee believe that the country has responded in a wonderful manner and in the face of grave provocation by Government to the principle of non-violence enjoined by Congress in the country's pursuit after Swaraj and redress of Khilafat and Panjab wrongs—

(C) This Committee is of opinion that, apart from the fact that Civil Disobedience is not expressly comprised in the Congress resolution relating to Non-co-operation, the country is not yet sufficiently disciplined, organised or ripe for the immediate taking up of civil disobedience.

(D) This Committee, by way of preparation, therefore advises all those upon whom orders may be served voluntarily to conform to them and trusts that new workers will take the place of those who may be disabled by the Government, and that the people at large instead of becoming disheartened or frightened by



CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

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their work of quiet organisation and construction
ss resolution.

and resolution on the question of the repressive policy
ment and the expediency and propriety of offering civil
once was the pivot of the Conference. Round it flourished
great difference of opinion and a heated debate went on for
time. The younger and more ardent people wanted civil
dience to be started at once, even though they were not well
ired for the struggle. The older people headed by the great
hatma, however, stressed not so much on their unpreparedness
a to give the new Viceroy, Lord Reading, some time to take in the
situation in the country in its proper light before any aggressive move
was decided upon by them.

Mr. Gandhi pointed out that, in deference to the ruling of the
chair that civil disobedience as such was not in express terms
recommended by the Nagpur Congress and was not within the
four corners of the resolution on Non-co-operation, he proposed that
the All-India Congress Committee in this matter should only express
its opinion in the form of advice, in order that the country might
have a lead from the Committee. The question of civil disobedience
had been raised in several quarters in consequence of the deliberate
repressive action of Government against non-co-operators. He
referred at length to the entirely illegal and unjustifiable character
of several proceedings taken by the authorities in several provinces
and pointed out how wonderfully the people had conformed to non-
violence even under grave provocation. Nevertheless he felt that
the Committee should not recommend civil disobedience suggested
in the form which was understood by those who advocated it. Though
it was true that non-payment of taxes was one form of civil disobe-
dience contemplated by the Congress resolutions, yet it was not
initiated as part of a programme of civil disobedience against Govern-
ment in respect of particular laws or orders, lawful or otherwise.
The scheme of civil disobedience which he had practised in South
Africa and developed in his own mind was one which could not yet
be put into operation. If the country was organised and restrained
so thoroughly as he desired, it would then be time enough to put
it into operation. As it was, he considered that notwithstanding
the great progress of non-violence among the people, there was
still an element of what he would, for want of a better term, call mob
law, not in the wrong sense but in the sense that the people had
not yet so thoroughly disciplined themselves as to restrain themselves
when their dearest wishes were violated or when their great leaders
were snatched away to prison under the most provocative circum-
stances. Until, therefore, they were able to self-control themselves



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perfectly. they should not initiate civil disobedience. he was glad to note that the people were in a fair. However, any person took upon himself the responsibility of civil disobedience to particular orders or laws which he thought he could not obey, as for example in the case of Yakub Hasan, he was at liberty to do so. But he might do so on his own responsibility and not in the name of the Congress.

After a heated debate the resolution was passed and civil disobedience was postponed for the time.

Next day April 1st. 1921, the All-India Congress Committee re-assembled to complete their work on the agenda. Before the proceedings commenced some time was given to the Municipal Council, Bezwada, who had come there to present their address of welcome to Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. D. V. Hanumantha Rao, Chairman, read the address to which Mahatma Gandhi gave a suitable reply in which he emphasised the need of the Municipal Councils adopting the policy of the Congress for the attainment of Swaraj. He showed how valuable the support and the work of the Municipal Councils would be in the programme of work now before the country for the realisation of Swaraj and referred to the examples of Nadiad, Ahmedabad and Surat. He exhorted them to help in the collection of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the organisation of the Congress Committees.

Congress Sabhas.

When the meeting began the adjourned discussion on the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi the previous evening was resumed. The resolution was to the effect that the All-India Congress Committee was of opinion that in the organisation of Congress Sabhas under the new constitution, no person who does not conform to the resolution on Non-co-operation specially applicable to himself should hold any office therein. Mahatma Gandhi in urging the proposition observed that though the enforcing of such a resolution might be difficult and unpleasant, it was a duty that had to be faced and overcome by those who had to bring into being the new constitution. It seemed to him that while the masses of the country and Congressmen were overwhelmingly in favour of Non co-operation, it was right that those who were not prepared to give effect to it in their own person and conduct should not be asked to control the working of the Congress organisations.

Mr. V. Ramaswami Pantulu raised a point of order and observed that the passing of such a resolution would be inconsistent with the Congress constitution and would not be within the competence of the All-India Congress Committee. The constitution having defined

the qualifications of Congressmen and having imposed no disqualifications upon any of them to serve on the executive of any of the Congress organisations, it was not competent for the All-India Congress Committee to frame a rule disqualifying particular Congressmen from holding offices. All that the constitution required of the Congressmen was that they should sign the creed and accept the constitution, and any one who did so was entitled to be elected to the Congress office, and it was not for the All-India Congress Committee to impose any restrictions of the kind proposed, however much it may be desirable that those who were not in favour of the accepted policy of the Congress should not undertake any executive office which might involve the carrying out of its resolutions.

Pundit Motilal Nehru in supporting Mr. Gandhi pointed out that the resolution would only operate as a recommendation and would not render void the election of anyone in violation of such resolution. He considered it desirable that such a lead as Mr. Gandhi proposed should be given by the All-India Congress Committee to the country in this matter.

Mr. N. C. Kelker observed that even if such a resolution was technically in order it was not right and it was beyond the legitimate exercise of the powers of the All-India Congress Committee to seek to impose restrictions of the kind suggested, and he had no doubt that the electors could be well trusted to exercise their rights properly.

Mr. A. Rangaewami Aiyangar, who raised the point of order and strongly opposed, observed that the resolution would be clearly *ultra vires* of the Committee as it would be an infraction of the right of the Congress electors as such and the imposition of an unjustifiable restriction on the freedom of their choice of their own office-bearers. The All India Congress Committee, he remarked, stood in the place of the Congress between its annual sessions, and any restrictions passed by the Committee would be considered to be in the nature of a mandate of the Congress itself—the mandate in the present case being an alteration of the constitution in fundamental matters, viz, the rights of election and candidature for offices. Such an alteration can only be made in accordance with the procedure for the alteration of the Congress constitution and this was beyond the powers of the Committee. Further the restrictions proposed were absolutely unnecessary having regard to the work on which the Committee had resolved to concentrate itself solely in the next three months, viz, that mentioned in the first resolution. For such comprehensive work it was necessary to enlist the services of as many Congress workers as would sincerely and legitimately co-operate in it, and he urged that the good sense of



ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE [BEZWADA]

the electors as well as those who might aspire for offices might be safely relied upon to avoid the contingency of insincere people coming in to lead the Congress movement.

Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar said that the resolution was opposed to both the letter and the spirit of the constitution. It would in effect, he said, create two classes of Congress within the Congress fold, viz. those general Congressmen who accepted the creed and conformed to the constitution, and a special group of Congressmen who by reason of special qualifications had the sole right of being office bearers or workers in the Congress organisations. It was extremely undesirable that any such distinctions should be created or encouraged, and he appealed to Mahatma Gandhi not to press for it.

Mahatma Gandhi replying to the debate said he felt the force of the subtle and suggestive arguments advanced by Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar and realised the difficulties he had indicated. But he observed that was the very reason why as staunch Congressmen they should face them and overcome them instead of avoiding them.

There was a strong opposition to the Mahatma's proposal and after a lengthy discussion the matter was adjourned to the end of the agenda, and finally the consideration of the proposition itself was, on the intervention of the President, deferred for the time.

Other resolutions passed are :—

III. The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the country on the rapid progress made in the organisation of panchayats, and trusts that people will make still greater efforts to boycott Government law-courts.

IV. This Congress Committee congratulates the country on its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification underlying the movement of non-violent Non-co-operation by taking up the campaign against the drink evil and trusts that the habit of taking intoxicating drinks and drugs will totally disappear from the land by the persistent and continued efforts of self-sacrificing workers.

V. The All India Congress Committee expresses its sense of horror over the Nankana Massacre and tenders its respectful condolence to the families of the victims of the tragedy and assures the Sikhs of its sympathy with them in the heavy losses suffered by them.

VI. This meeting of the All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Burmese nation in their great struggle for freedom and sympathises with them and with U. Ottama in their trouble created by repressive measures adopted by the Government.

VII. The All-India Congress Committee congratulates all those who are suffering by way of imprisonment or otherwise in the cause of religion and India's freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi's Tour.

Immediately after the Bezwada meeting the leaders dispersed to their respective provinces to take up the work delineated by the Committee and to build up district and village organisations on the

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of the Congress mandate. Mahatma Gandhi toured in the Madras Presidency collecting funds and delivering the message of the Congress. On April 8th. before a mass meeting in Madras presided over by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and attended by Congress leaders the Mahatma delivered an important address on the Bezwada resolutions which is reproduced below :—

"I hope that it is time India will recognise that foreign cloth is a badge of our slavery, that foreign cloth is a badge of the degradation of Islam in India. The more I think of the salvation of India, economic, political, moral and religious, the more I think of the Khilafat question, the more I am convinced that if the Khilafat wrong is to be redressed through India, through the Hindus and Mussalmans of India, if India is to gain Swaraj during this year, at least we owe it to the Motherland that we discard the use of foreign cloth, no matter at what cost. As Moulana Muhammad Ali in one of his recent speeches in Calcutta remarked : 'a hundred years ago or more we sold away the spinning wheel and we purchased our slavery.'

Spinning

"I want, therefore, to invite your attention to the most potent part of the resolution arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee after the programme of Non-co operation had worked for so many months. If we want one crore of rupees before the 30th June, we want it not in order to promote deputations to England or America or any part of the world, not for any foreign propaganda, but we want that money and more for introducing the spinning-wheel into every home in India. We want that money in order to pay a mere livelihood to the workers who will go out throughout the length and breadth of the Dravida land to introduce the spinning-wheel. Only the other day I was in Masulipatam and had the honour of visiting a few villages where even to-day our sisters are spinning beautiful fine yarn not for money but for love. I, therefore, hope that if you are going to be instrumental in attaining Swaraj during this year, in redressing the Khilafat wrong and the Punjab wrong, you will make during this sacred National week a fixed determination to throw away all the foreign cloths that you may possess. I hold it to be a crime to see an inch of foreign cloth in our mosques. I am glad to note that the more we make progress, the more convinced our countrymen are that the success of our battle depends mainly, if not solely, upon non-violence.

Non-violence

"In my opinion our non-violence is the greatest part of our Non co-operation, but our non-violence will have to stand the



MAHATMA GANDHI'S ADDRESS ON [MADRAS]

... greatest stress and the greatest strain that might be put upon it. I have just heard that somewhere in Malabar a Non-co-operating father had to witness violence unprovoked done to his son by some police-men. I shall still hope that the story is untrue, that there is some defect somewhere about the evidence collected by friends who brought the thing to my notice. But let us understand that such a thing is not impossible under this Government, or for that matter, any other Government. We had too much of it at the time of the the martial law in the Punjab two years ago, and the greatest time of our triumph will be only when we can stand tortures without returning any violence whatsoever. This Government must either repent of the violent wrongs done to India, or it must hold India by a system of terrorism. It was only when I came to the conclusion that Dyerism or O'Dyerism was not an isolated phenomenon, but that it was a settled policy of the Government bent upon holding India at any cost, that I called it a Satanic system of Government. But to Non-co operators there is only one road left open, and that is to turn the searchlight inward, to purify ourselves, to exercise the greatest restraint under the greatest provocation. Therefore I ask fathers of boys who are doing any Non-co-operation, and I ask Non-co-operators themselves who are actively engaged in propaganda, to understand that if they continue this work, they should do so knowing that they might be subjected to violence, and even then they are not to retort. If India can only exercise self-restraint during this year of probation and purification for her, I assure you that I can see nothing that can prevent our onward march and establishing Swaraj in India during this year. Therefore, if you believe in God—and no Non-co-operator can be a real Non-co-operator who does not believe in God—if you believe in God, during this week* of prayer, purification and sacrifice you will concentrate your prayer to God that He may give every one of us, the whole of India, the power to bear all the violence that this Government may choose to subject us to. It is infinitely more necessary that we, Non-co-operators, should control our speech, control all our movements, and free them even from any danger or any smell of violent tint. If we should but continue along this course of purification, to use the expression of the late President Kruger, we shall stagger humanity during this year, for what is it that we have seen of this repression not merely in the Madras Presidency but in the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces, and in the other parts of India? In spite of the denial of Sir William Vincent, I am here to say that the temperance crusade in the Central Provinces has become a crime.

* April 6th to 13th is observed as a National Week all over India as it was during this week that the Punjab massacre of 1919 was perpetrated.

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Brahmans and Non-Brahmans

"If this Non co-operation movement is a Brahmana movement—the remedy is incredibly simple, because Brahmans want no leaves and fishes if they are Non-co-operators. But let us make haste to patch up our quarrels as we have patched up the Hindu Muslim quarrels. I wish to repeat what I said to a select audience of students of Law some time ago in Madras. I have not a shadow of doubt that Hinduism owes its all to the great traditions that the Brahmans have left for Hinduism. They have left a legacy for India for which every Indian, no matter to what *varna* he may belong, owes a deep debt of gratitude. Having studied the history of almost every religion in the world, it is my settled conviction that there is no other class in the world that has accepted poverty and self-effacement as its lot. I would therefore urge—a Non-Brahmana myself—all Non-Brahmans who may compose this audience and all Non-Brahmans whom my voice may reach, that they will make a fundamental error if they believe that they can better their position by decrying Brahmanism. Even in this black age, travelling throughout the length and breadth of India, I notice that the Brahmans take the first place in self-sacrifice and self-effacement. It is the Brahmans all over India who silently but surely are showing to every class in India their rights and privileges. But having said so much I wish to confess too that the Brahmans together with the rest of us have suffered of all,

They have set before India voluntarily and deliberately the standard that a human mind is capable of conceiving, and they must not be surprised if the Indian world exacts that standard from them. The Brahmans have declared themselves to be and ought to remain custodians of the purity of our life. I am aware that the Non-Brahmans of Madras have many things to say against Brahmans for which there is some cause. But let the Non-Brahmans realise that by quarreling with the Brahmans, by being jealous of them, and by mud-slinging, they will not better their lot but they will degrade Hinduism itself. I hold that it behoves Non-Brahmans, shrewd as they are, to understand the beauty and the secret of this movement. This movement is especially designed to dethrone intolerance from office. He who has eyes may see what is happening in India to-day, that it is a process not of levelling down but of levelling up. Let Non-Brahmans beware of attempting to rise upon the ashes of Brahmanism. Therefore, I would urge Non-Brahmans, if they cannot throw themselves heart and soul into this movement, at least to refrain from interfering with this movement by intriguing with the Government. The grievances of Non-Brahmans against Brahmans are mere nothing compared to the

Grievances of Women

against Hinduism. Hinduism has made a sex of itself lepers. We have become lepers of the Empire in turn. Non-Brahmans are equally guilty with Brahmans in making Panchamas crawl on their bellies. It is my deliberate conviction that we are suffering this yoke of slavery for the sake of the sins that we have committed against our brothers whom we arrogantly consider to be untouchables. I claim to be a Sanatana Hindu. I claim to have read our *Shastras* to the best of my ability. I claim to have understood the spirit of Hinduism. I claim to have understood the message of the *Vedas* and the *Upanishadas*. I claim to have left the life of a Sanatana Hindu deliberately, knowingly, voluntarily, for a period of thirty years; and notwithstanding anything that may be said by any Hindu to the contrary, I ask you to accept the authority of my experience that there is no warrant in our Scriptures for considering a single human being as untouchable. I am content to be a Hindu: I am content to die a Hindu, and I am ready, I hope, to die for the defence of my religion at any moment, but I should cease to call myself a Hindu if I believe for one moment that Hinduism required me to consider it a sin to touch a single human being. Therefore I invite Brahmans and non Brahmans of this great Presidency to battle against this curse of untouchability and rid ourselves of it.



THE BEZWADA RESOLUTIONS

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I do not want you to mix up inter-marriage and inter-dining with untouchability. Thus, if we shall but close our ranks as we Hindus and Mussalmans have done, if Hindus will also among themselves close up their ranks, and if we shall consider in the language of the *Bhagabat Gita* that in our hearts occupy an equal place for both Brahmans and Chandals, that very day you will see that there is no Non-Brahman movement awaiting solution. Non-co-operation, in the language of medicine, is a kind of aseptic treatment. Anti-septics are necessary only when we gather dirt and want to introduce other germs to destroy that dirt. Aseptic treatment pre-supposes purity from within. Our Non-co-operation with the Government simply means that we have done away with dirt and uncleanness. We do not want to pretend to have dispelled darkness by making darkness deeper. We do not want to meet or neutralise the violence of the Government by greater violence on our part. Our Swaraj must not consist of exploitation of any human being on earth. I would therefore urge you simply to concentrate your attention upon the three things that the All-India Congress Committee has placed before you. I would like never to give the slightest excuse to the Government for imprisoning us for any speeches, but I would allow and open the gates of prisons without a drop of tear in my eyes and send the whole of the womanhood of India to prisons for possessing a single spinning-wheel. Let us not be impatient either with the Government or with our friends who are opposed to us to-day. Rather let us be impatient with ourselves. All our speeches, all our resolutions are now mostly or should be addressed to ourselves, and if we can only carry through this simple programme that is mapped out by the Congress, by the Khilafat Committee and by the Muslim League, I repeat my conviction that we shall attain Swaraj, that we shall redress the Khilafat wrong and the Punjab wrong during this year.

"You will accept the evidence that I tender that throughout my long travels I have noticed that the masses, that the women of India, are absolutely with us. I ask educated Indians to accept my testimony that they are neither so unintelligent or uncultured as we often consider them to be. They see far more truly through their intuition, and we, educated Indians, with our intellects, are clouded by a multiplicity of ideas, and I ask you to accept the testimony given by Sir Thomas Munro, and I confirm that testimony, that the masses of India are really more cultured than any in the world."



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The Change of Viceroyalty

On April 2nd, Lord Chelmsford left India much to the relief of all. This is no place to assess pontifical performances in preference to public affairs. Suffice it to say that an obscure man, raised from the Captaincy of a British Infantry to the Viceroyalty of India, when capable men in England were all absorbed in the great War, Lord Chelmsford brought with him the tradition of an infantryman and took away with him the unabated pity of every class of men in India. His puerile submission to Mr. Montagu's Reforms, and his subsequent undignified recantation, earned for him the undying hostility of Anglo-India. He was popular with no one; he was in confidence with no one. In his own Council, he was ruled and his weakness was exploited by his Councillors. The Departments of State acted independently of him. The I. C. S. was in revolt against him. A mentally and intellectually weak man, the Captain-Viceroy has done more to undermine the foundation of the British Empire in India and to bring sorrow and travail to the Indian people than all the age-long pile of natural inequities which the autocratic system of a foreign administration is bound to produce in the long run. Blissfully ignorant of the art of administration and statesmanship, with a blank umbrageous past, His Lordship will ever remain seared in the hearts of Indians for his infamous Rowlatt Act, the out-Heroding massacre at Jhallianwalla, and his sneaky whittling down of the Reforms that a trusted Minister of the Crown thought over-due to India. Throughout 1920 Indians wanted his recall and impeachment from a hundred platforms. No other Viceroy has carried away such an encomium from a people he was placed over to rule.

On April 2nd, Lord Chelmsford left the shores of India. There was no Indian crowd either to cheer him or to 'ring' him out, no Indian farewell address. The same day H. E. Lord Reading, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, landed in Bombay and assumed charge of the Viceroyalty.

After Lord Chelmsford there remained at least one man, Sir William Vincent, in the Government of India whom the country would have been happy to spare. As said the *Capital* of Calcutta :—

"India would also profit by the appointment of a new Home Member. Sir William Vincent has dropped into a rut from which he cannot extricate himself. He has come to regard as infallible his own system of weights and measures, and like Old Polonius is irritatingly self-sufficient. He puts me in



THE CAMPAIGN OF REPRESSION

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ment of Mathew Ridley, the Home Secretary, who thought it quite the right thing for coarse warders to forcibly feed suffragettes who went on a hunger-strike in jail. Why not try the experiment of a non-official Home Member?"

The first pronouncement of the new Viceroy was delivered on the 3rd of April 1921 in reply to the address of welcome presented by the Bombay Municipality. In the course of a humorous speech Lord Reading feelingly said:—

"Justice and sympathy never fail to evoke responsive chords in the hearts men, of whatever race, creed or class. They are the two brightest gems in 7 diadem.

"Without them there is no lustre in the Crown,—with them there is a liance that never fails to attract loyalty and affection. The British reputation for justice must never be impaired during my tenure of office. I must gratefully admit your statement that there is discontent in India. I join with you in the prayer that it may be my good fortune to allay it, but I must not at a moment discuss its causes or effects. India is too responsive and too generous to expect me to make a pronouncement which could not be based upon my individual observations and information. Any declaration of policy to-day could be and must be founded upon opinions of others and could not be the result of my own deliberate judgment. I feel convinced that I shall best discharge my duty to the King-Emperor and serve the interests of India if I take me to collect information, seek advice and form conclusions."

Thus the new Viceroy took time to take in the situation and then to crystallise his own policy. By a consensus of opinion the N. C. O. leaders suspended for the time the more aggressive parts of their campaign. The great name that Lord Reading brought to India as the ex-Lord Chief Justice of the British people, and his obviously sincere utterances that justice was to be paramount even in India, had already biased many a grateful Indian heart, not excluding the most vapid non-co-operator, in his favour, for, after all, non-co-operation was born out of despair. So after a partial exhaustion suffered on account of the hurricane campaign of boycott of the Duke and the Colleges in the first two months of the year, non-co-operators now kept one eye on the Viceroy and the other on their preliminary work of organisation and training. On the other hand, Government, still moving in the Chelmsfordian tradition, and now relieved from the pre-occupation of the Royal Tour, turned its attention to the Gandhi movement. Repression was started early in March, very soon a *carte blanche* was given to all officials to fight non-co-operation.

The first move was taken by Lord Sinha's Government in Bihar. His unenviable position as the first Indian Governor pitiful-forked into position by an astute Minister of the Crown surrounded by a hostile band of high I. C. S. dignitaries and European vested interests, was easily exploited to show the incongruous setting, and soon his Government became the laughing stock of all by its ludicrous actions against N-C O. The anti-drink campaign of the latter was

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 fought by a counter-propaganda which emphasised the "value" of wine both as a food and as a medicine. Many great men were wine drinkers, Moses, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Shakespeare, Watt, Gladstone, Tennyson, Bismark, etc." said the Govt. !!!

By a circular, now known as the Rainy Circular, the Government instigated its officials to suppress the anti-drink and other activities of the N-C-O. and the officials utilised their new power with great zeal and vigour that sometimes Government found it impossible to justify their action.

Next came the U. P. Government with more drastic measures. Sections 144 I. P. C. was lavishly used to gag persons and public meetings. The Seditious Meetings Act was proclaimed in Oudh. On 15th March the Government issued a communique stating that the N-C-O. movement was revolutionary and anarchical, and that it was the duty of all servants of the Crown to counteract it; that "existing prohibitions to officers in regard to participation in political movements can not apply to them when actively opposing N-C-O. and it is the policy of the Govt. to encourage all officials to declare themselves openly and actively against the movement!" On the 6th April another urgent epistle was addressed to all Commissioners and peripatetic officers to take the first offensive move in its fight with N-C-O. It said :—

"Orders already issued have authorized an extensive use of the restricted powers conferred by the ordinary Law. District officers are permitted to enforce the total prohibition of inflammatory meetings . . . there is no reason why Collectors should not attend and address meetings of Reform leagues and Liberal leagues designed to oppose the movement."

And so on ; in fact orders were passed as if there was a regular war or rebellion in the land !

The Punjab Government, less demonstrative than the Government of Sir Harcourt Butler, had already kept several districts gagged, and on April 26th by a further notification it declared the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Shekhpura to be proclaimed areas, and the operations of the Seditious Meetings Act was further extended. It was only the Government of Bombay that kept its head cool in trying times. The hysterics of the U. P. Government was fortunately not followed anywhere else, though in Bengal the Governor Lord Ronaldsday tried his best to keep the excessive zeal of the subordinate magistracy under proper control (for details see Chronicle of Events of this period).

In the Legislative Assembly on March 24th a full dress debate was held on Non co-operation, during which Sir William Vincent laid down the policy of the Govt. with reference to N-C-O and its alleged evils, and talked of the necessity of taking repressive measures

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"DIVIDE AND RULE"

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But it down (see Vol. II p. 487). In reply to the author of the *Govt. Bill* and the friend and ally of O'Dwyer, M. Gandhi wrote in his paper "Young India" as follows.

"Sir William Vincent's speech is a plausible defence of the Government's policy of repression. It is a distortion or concoction of facts, an appeal to our cupidity and a misinterpretation of the motives of non-co-operationists.

"He says that the declared object of non-co-operationists is paralysis of the Government and that "in their effort to achieve the object there is no source of discontent which they have not used." Now both these statements are half-truths. The primary object of Non-co-operation is nowhere stated to be paralysis of the Government. The primary object is self-purification. Its direct result must be paralysis of a Government which lives on our vices and weaknesses. Similarly, it is a dangerous half-truth to say that we have left no source of discontent unused. We could not help using sources of legitimate discontent. But Non-co-operationists have rigidly refrained from using any and every discontent, if only because we would weaken our cause if we did. The illustration of what I mean will be best seen from the refutation of the very next sentence which Sir William has spoken in support of his contention: "Wherever they find discord between employer and employee, there some agent or emissary of Non-co-operation party proceeds at once to foster discontent and promote ill-feeling." This is not only untrue, but it is an incitement to the two to oppose Non-co-operation. The avowed policy of Non-co-operation has been not to make political use of disputes between labour and capital. They have endeavoured to hold the balance evenly between the two—we would be fools if we wantonly set labour against capital. It would be just the way to play into the hand of a Government which would greatly strengthen its hold on the country by setting capitalists against labourers and vice versa. In Jharia, for instance, it was a non-co-operator who prevented extending strike. The moderating influence in Calcutta was that of non-co-operators. The latter will not hesitate to advance the cause of strikers where they have a just grievance. They have ever refused to lend their assistance to unjust strikes. "Where there is a racial ill-feeling", declares Sir William Vincent, "these emissaries hurry on their evil errand." He must know that this is a false statement. There is a racial feeling between Englishmen and Indians. There is the memory of Jallianwala—an evergreen. But "these emissaries" have been veritable messengers of peace. They have everywhere restrained the fury of the unthinking. And I make bold to say that but for the existence of the spirit of non-violence, there would have been more innocent blood spilled in spite of the threat of Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. Our fault has lain in refusing to lick the boot that has kicked, in withdrawing co-operation until there was frank repentance. Non-co-operators are to be pleased for turning the fury of an outraged people from Englishmen to the system they are called upon to administer.

"But Sir William is nothing if he is not thorough in his attempt to divide and rule. He declaims: "Where there are quarrels between landlord and tenant—have we not seen this in the United Provinces—there again proceed these emissaries of evil to propagate unrest, and stir up disorder." Sir William should know that the tenant movement is under the control of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whose one purpose regarding the tenants has been to educate them to be patient and calm. Sir William has simply attempted to set the land-lords against Non-co-operation movement. Fortunately, the land-lords know as well as the tenants that, so long as they are just, they have nothing to fear from Non-co-operators.

"The movement," says Sir William, "is purely destructive, and so far as I

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has been able to ascertain contains no element of constructive ability. It is undoubtedly destructive in the sense that a surgeon who applies the knife to a diseased part may be said to make a destructive movement. This destructive movement bears in it the surist seed of construction as the surgeon's knife contains the seed of health. Is temperance destructive? Are national schools springing up everywhere destructive? Are the thousands of spinning-wheels destructive of a nation's prosperity? They will destroy foreign domination whether it hails from Lancashire or is threatened from Japan.

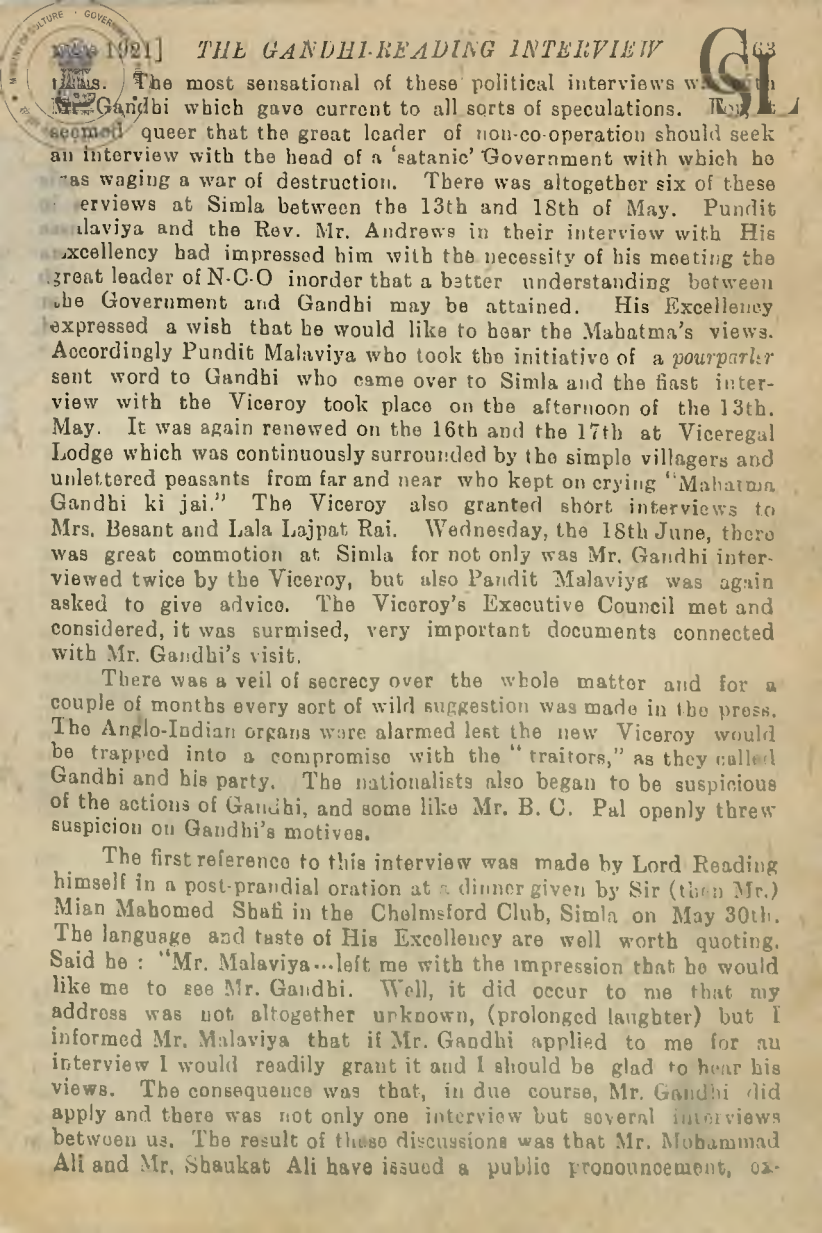
"Having attempted to set classes against masses, Sir William proceeds to paralyze both, with the feeling of helplessness and the fear of internal strife and aggression from without. Is Hindu-Muslim unity such flimsy stuff that we shall begin to quarrel as soon as the British guns are withdrawn from our shores? Were we sixty years ago less able to protect ourselves than we are now? Or is it not a fact that judged by the western standard we were never so helpless as we now are? Self-government, as I have said before, connotes the power of self-protection, and a country which cannot protect itself is not prepared for immediate and complete self-government. In this one sentence Sir William has unwittingly condemned British rule and proved the necessity of immediate mending or ending of that rule. According to my method—the method of suffering or soul-force,—the country is to-day prepared for self-protection. According to Sir William's standard, the reforms have nothing in them to enable India in a hundred years to arm herself for defence against a combination of powers. Judged by that standard, the reforms do forge stronger the chains we bind India and make her feel helpless. The speaker talks glibly of impending destruction of every vested interest. He needs to be reminded that the great vested interest of India—her self-sufficiency—was destroyed by this foreign domination, and the speaker's plan will still further deepen India's poverty."

"Sir William has been extremely disingenuous in describing the Government's methods of dealing with Non-co-operation. Defence of India Act he will not use against men who have hurt nobody and who are restraining people from committing violence. But he is using ordinary statutes against them in an extraordinary manner under a licence given to him by non-co-operators who will not challenge orders in a court of law. He will not conciliate the malcontents by granting Swaraj, for that would lead to anarchy. He does not bother his head about the two things which have caused all the unrest and which have acted like two active and corroding poisons in the Indian body—the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. He does not tell us what catastrophe is likely to befall India if the Khilafat promises were redeemed and the Punjab wound healed."

"He has ornamented his extraordinary speech with an ungentlemanly and insinuating attack upon the Ali Brothers who are putting up a noble fight for Islam and India, and a still more ungentlemanly attack on a 'gentleman of the name of Yakub Hasan' and an ungracious reference to his Turkish wife."

The Gandhi Reading Interview.

The policy of the Govt. in the early months of 1921 was really the continuance of the policy which characterised the Chelmsfordian regime—an indecent bluster of brute force and a cowardly inaction in times of great popular upheaval. It was not the policy of Lord Reading who had still to depend upon Sir William Vincent for guidance. Almost the first important and the most hopeful work which the new Viceroy took in hand was an exchange of views with the prominent nationalist leaders of the country in private conversa-



The most sensational of these political interviews was with Mr. Gandhi which gave current to all sorts of speculations. It seemed queer that the great leader of non-co-operation should seek an interview with the head of a 'satanic' Government with which he was waging a war of destruction. There was altogether six of these interviews at Simla between the 13th and 18th of May. Pundit Malaviya and the Rev. Mr. Andrews in their interview with His Excellency had impressed him with the necessity of his meeting the great leader of N.C.O. in order that a better understanding between the Government and Gandhi may be attained. His Excellency expressed a wish that he would like to hear the Mahatma's views. Accordingly Pundit Malaviya who took the initiative of a *pourparler* sent word to Gandhi who came over to Simla and the first interview with the Viceroy took place on the afternoon of the 13th. May. It was again renewed on the 16th and the 17th at Viceregal Lodge which was continuously surrounded by the simple villagers and unlettered peasants from far and near who kept on crying "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai." The Viceroy also granted short interviews to Mrs. Besant and Lala Lajpat Rai. Wednesday, the 18th June, there was great commotion at Simla for not only was Mr. Gandhi interviewed twice by the Viceroy, but also Pandit Malaviya was again asked to give advice. The Viceroy's Executive Council met and considered, it was surmised, very important documents connected with Mr. Gandhi's visit.

There was a veil of secrecy over the whole matter and for a couple of months every sort of wild suggestion was made in the press. The Anglo-Indian organs were alarmed lest the new Viceroy would be trapped into a compromise with the "traitors," as they called Gandhi and his party. The nationalists also began to be suspicious of the actions of Gandhi, and some like Mr. B. C. Pal openly threw suspicion on Gandhi's motives.

The first reference to this interview was made by Lord Reading himself in a post-prandial oration at a dinner given by Sir (then Mr.) Mian Mahomed Shafi in the Chelmsford Club, Simla on May 30th. The language and taste of His Excellency are well worth quoting. Said he: "Mr. Malaviya...left me with the impression that he would like me to see Mr. Gandhi. Well, it did occur to me that my address was not altogether unknown, (prolonged laughter) but I informed Mr. Malaviya that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that, in due course, Mr. Gandhi did apply and there was not only one interview but several interviews between us. The result of these discussions was that Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement, ex-

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expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches, so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi."

This speech along with a public apology published on the previous evening by the Ali Brothers came as a surprise. No one ever thought that the famous interview at that momentous period would end in such a fiasco; on the contrary, high expectations were entertained of a just and honourable compromise. His Excellency's reputation as the ex-Lord Chief justice of England had obviously travelled faster than that of the British Diplomat at Washington for a lost cause. In this matter it was clear that Lord Reading was scoring a hit over Gandhi. The instinct of a British diplomat could not let pass the splendid opportunity of hitting the rival at his sore point. Gandhi was made the unwary instrument of extorting a public apology from the great Moslem leaders which the Govt. now flourished before the world as a confession of guilt made to buy immunity from prosecution. Nothing more could be damaging to the reputation of both the Brothers Ali and Gandhi. Nothing more could have better rent assunder the Hindu-Moslem pact so assiduously cultivated by the N-C-O party. The artistic handling of the situation by a master-diplomat to secure the same end which a Chelmsford or O'Dwyer would have secured by a much more crude and plebian method was as admirable as it was insidious. As said Gandhi later on repenting for his part in the affair, "the statement made by the Brothers was instigated by me and me alone. It is an apology tendered to friends, and not to the Govt. It is made not to evade prosecution but to put themselves right with their own conscience and with their friends. The assurance to them therefore that there would be no prosecution so long as they abided by their undertaking was gratuitous, if not offensive." He further said:

This campaign of Non-co-operation has no reference to diplomacy, secret or open. The only diplomacy it admits of is the statement and pursuance of truth at any cost. The Viceroy showed me the speeches. I realised that some passages in them did not read well. They were capable of being interpreted as an incitement to violence, and I realised that, prosecution or no prosecution, there was no doubt in my mind as to the advice I should tender to the Brothers. I venture to suggest to His Excellency that, if he is anxious to disarm Non-co-operators, he will do so only by becoming undiplomatic and absolutely frank. The latter seek and need no shelter or protection, and I invite His Excellency to reciprocate by not shielding the offenders amongst the governing class.

The Ali Brothers' Apology

The following is the text of the apology published by the Ali Brothers on May 29, 1921.

"Friends have drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours which, in their opinion, have a tendency to incite to violence. We



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desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence and we never imagined that any passage in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation. We, therefore, sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it that so long as we are associated with the movement of non-co-operation, we shall not directly or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future, nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed, we hold it contrary to the spirit of non-violent non-co-operation to which we have pledged our word."

And next day, on May 30th, the Govt. of India issued a press communique stating that: "In view of the publication of these expressions of regret and promises for the future, the Government of India desire to make it known generally that they had decided on the 6th May to prosecute Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali for certain speeches delivered in the United Provinces during the last few months. These speeches in the opinion of the Government of India were direct incitements to violence. The immediate object of the Government in determining to enforce the law on the present occasion was to prevent incitements to violence and to preserve order. After the decision to which reference has been made was reached, it was urged on the Government that their immediate object could be obtained without recourse to the criminal courts. The Government consequently suspended further action, and in view of the statement now issued over the signatures of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, have decided to refrain from instituting criminal proceedings against them in respect of these speeches so long as the solemn public undertaking contained in the statement issued to the press is observed. Should the condition of this undertaking not be performed, the Government of India will be at liberty to prosecute them for their past speeches. It must not be inferred from the original determination of the Government to prosecute for speeches inciting to violence that promoting disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law. The Government of India desire to make it plain that they will enforce the law relating to offences against the State as and when they may think fit against any persons who have committed breaches of it."

The statement of the Brothers would have been justified had they given the undertaking they gave to those of their co-workers who, unlike themselves, did not believe in the cult of violence. But the general words "public assurance and promise to all who may require it" could not in the circumstances leave any one in



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do not as to the particular party who did require such 'assurance and promise', and at whose bidding it was given. The Viceroy's speech at the Chelmsford Club made it perfectly clear that the only definite result of the interviews was the apology and the undertaking from the Ali Brothers, and nothing less than fine sophistry could detect anything but the fact that Gandhi was treating with the Viceroy.

As has been mentioned before, a split threatened the Gandhi camp over this matter of the interviews and the Ali Brothers' apology. Feelings, and especially the Hindu-Moslem pact seemed to be very much strained when the Anglo-Indians press, following on the wake of the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club, began to gloat over the humiliation of the Ali's, while the more radical of Gandhi's followers interpreted the Viceroy's speech in the sense that the leader of non-co-operation had been treating with the Government and had secured a pardon for the Ali Brothers by inducing them to give a public apology. What made the affair so very galling was that whilst the Ali Brothers remained free, the lesser lights, the rank and file of the non-co-operators, were encouraged to court arrest and imprisonment for speaking far less strongly. Hundreds of young non co-operators, unused to the slippery ways of politics, had willingly gone to gaol firm in their stand of saying the truth about the Govt., however hard and unpalatable. Some of them could easily have been saved by giving a similar apology, and it never occurred to any one to advise them to do so. On the contrary, their action was applauded by leaders and the whole of the N-C-O Press. One such was the case of Hamid Ahmed who had recently been sentenced at Allahabad to transportation for life and forfeiture of property for his active work in connection with the Khilafat. Mahomed Ali himself paid him a high tribute in a Bombay speech on 30th May. But the question was raised what consolation this tribute could mean to Mr. Ahmed coming as it did from one, similarly situated, who had saved himself by an apology and an undertaking to "all who may require it" ? That Gandhi had for once capitulated before the seductive diplomacy of the Viceroy, there was no doubt, and the open charge was flung that in making the compromise as he did, Gandhi had given away the whole principle of non-co-operation and compromised the position of his Moslem friends in the eyes of the world.

"The Agreed Statement"

The matter, however, came to a close on July 30th after a great deal of excited and acrimonious writing in the Press, by the issue of the following government statement agreed to by Mr. Gandhi on one side and the Viceroy on the other :—

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His Excellency the Viceroy's attention has been directed, and notably by Mr. Gandhi, to various statements that have appeared and to inferences that have been drawn in the public press relating to the conversations between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi concerning Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, and which in some respects do not correctly represent the purport of these communications. Consequently the Viceroy authorises the publication of the following agreed statement, which briefly reproduces the substance of these conversations :—

" All the interviews between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi resulted from conversations between His Excellency and Pandit Malaviya, relating to conditions generally prevailing in India. His Excellency informed Pandit Malaviya of the Government's decision to commence criminal proceedings against Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali for having made speeches inciting to violence, and the discussion turned upon the disturbances that might possibly ensue. Pandit Malaviya expressed the opinion that it would be of advantage for His Excellency to meet Mr. Gandhi. His Excellency replied that he would be glad to see Mr. Gandhi and hear his views if he applied for an interview.

" On the next day, Mr. Andrews saw His Excellency and suggested that His Excellency should see Mr. Gandhi. It should be observed that various important matters were discussed during these conversations and that the proposed interview between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi was intended to have reference to the situation generally.

" His Excellency is, however, aware that Pandit Malaviya in inviting Mr. Gandhi to Simla did not refer to the contemplated proceedings against Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali.

" In due course Mr. Gandhi came to Simla at the request of Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Andrews, and asked for an interview with His Excellency which was immediately arranged.

" At the first interview no mention was made of the proposed prosecutions. The conversation related to the causes of the discontent in India. Upon the next occasion His Excellency stated that according to the Government reports responsible non-co-operators had made speeches inciting to violence contrary to the doctrine advocated by Mr. Gandhi.

" Mr. Gandhi repudiated incitement to violence on the part of any of the responsible non-co-operators, and said that if he was satisfied that any of them had incited to violence he would publicly repudiate them and their teachings unless they withdrew statements that amounted to incitement to violence.

" His Excellency mentioned the names of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, and promised to show Mr. Gandhi passages in their speeches which, in his opinion, were calculated to incite to violence, and when the passages were actually read to Mr. Gandhi, he admitted that they were capable of bearing the interpretation His Excellency put upon them. He, however, asserted that he was convinced that it was not intended by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali to incite the audience to violence. Mr. Gandhi added that he would see them as soon as he left Simla and advise them to express publicly their regrets for the unintentional incitement contained in the passages.

" His Excellency thereupon asked whether, in view of the importance of the document, Mr. Gandhi would show him the draft of the statement he intended to advise Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali to publish.

" It was at this stage that the Viceroy said that it was proposed to institute criminal proceedings against Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali in respect of the passages, and that if Mr. Gandhi showed him the statement, and if it satisfied him from the standpoint of his Government, he would use his influence to prevent the institution of the prosecutions, for, the Viceroy said, the object

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of the Government would be attained if the making of speeches of a violent character was in future prevented.

Mr. Gandhi readily agreed to show the statement. The draft statement was only shown by Mr. Gandhi to His Excellency who pointed out that the introduction of certain paragraphs gave the statement the appearance of a manifesto including that of the religious creed of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali. The Viceroy observed further that the statement was incomplete in so far as it did not contain a promise to refrain in the future from speeches inciting to violence. The Viceroy added that after publication of the statement Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali could give any explanation by means of speeches, provided they did not infringe the law. Mr. Gandhi agreed to delete the paragraphs in question and add a passage to cover promises of future conduct.

"His Excellency then informed Mr. Gandhi that if Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali signed the statement as then altered by Mr. Gandhi, with the addition of the promise as to future conduct, steps would be taken to suspend the institution of proceedings and that no prosecution would take place so long as the promises given in the published statement were observed. But, if they were not observed, the Government remained free to take up prosecutions for the past speeches. The Viceroy added that in the event of the statement by Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, and of the Government refraining in consequence from the prosecutions, it would be necessary to issue a communique explaining the attitude of the Government. There was, however, no desire to bargain. Mr. Gandhi even said that whether the prosecutions took place or not, he would be bound, after having seen the extracts, to advise his friends, for their own honour and that of the cause, to express publicly their regrets.

"During the whole discussion His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi were actuated by the desire to prevent any untoward events that might result from the prosecutions as also to prevent speeches inciting to violence. The Viceroy informed Mr. Gandhi that he might not be able to prevent the commencement of proceedings if the statement was not published with the least possible delay. There was already much discussion of the speeches, not only in India but also in the United Kingdom. Mr. Gandhi agreed that the statement should be published without delay. Mr. Gandhi then left Simla, and some days afterwards telegraphed to His Excellency that Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali had signed the statements, with an immaterial alteration and sent it to the press for publication.

"The alteration was as follows:—The passage in Mr. Gandhi's draft statement was:—"We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, but we recognise that certain passages in our speeches are capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them." The passage substituted by Mr. Shaukat Ali was:—"We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognise the force of our friend's arguments and interpretation."

"After the publication of the statement an official "communique" was issued by the Government. The terms of the "communique" were not actually settled until just before its issue, and Mr. Gandhi never saw it, although the substance of it as already indicated has been communicated to him.

"The main part of the interviews between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi consisted of conversations which ranged over the various causes of discontent in India, including the Punjab disturbances, the Khilafat agitation, the Treaty of Sevres, and the general conditions of the people. Mr. Gandhi did not submit any scheme of "Swaraaj" to His Excellency neither was a scheme of "Swaraaj" discussed at the interviews."



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THE ALI BROTHERS & The Karachi Khilafat Conference

The violent speeches of the Ali Brothers which caused so much flutter in the viceregal circle have reference specially to the Ulama Conference held at Erode, South India, in the first few days of April 1921. This was the first large conference in the Malabar of some 5000 Moslem divines and others, attended by numerous eminent Ulemas from Upper India, where the Ali Brothers, M. Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and other Moslem leaders of the N C O party preached their campaign. It was here that Mr. Mahomed Ali was reported to have said that were the Afghans to invade India, Indian Moslems would side with the invaders and declare a *jihad* or holy war. The pan-Islamic activities of Mr. Mahomed Ali created a panic in Anglo-Indian circles. In the House of Commons a question was asked on the matter and in reply Mr. Montagu promised to communicate with the Viceroy, and presumably on official inspiration from Simla, a section of the Moderate and the Anglo-Indian Press started the bogey of an Afghan invasion and tried to drive a wedge between Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Gandhi and the Congress creed of Hindu-Moslem unity. The ball was set rolling by the *Leader* and the *Pioneer* of Allahabad and the *Pratap* of Lahore. On May 11th. the *Pioneer* roundly challenged Mr. Ali to say definitely whether directly or indirectly he was not in communication with the Amir on the subject of the invasion. A similar story had been invented during his internment at Chindwara during the last War. The Govt. was challenged then to publish the letter alleged to have been written to the Amir. Sir William Vincent who stage-managed this 'Afghan bogey' had a personal animus against the great Moslem leader, but his method of attack was never open nor substantiated by facts. And beyond base insinuations and sly hints as to the alleged objective of this 'traitor,' according to Sir William, no data were made public by the Govt. for supporting such a serious charge.

The Allahabad District Conference.

The attempt made by interested people to create a Hindu-Moslem split, however, did not prove much of a success. The reputation of Mahomed Ali as sought to be assailed by the 'Afghan bogey' remained inviolate. This was seen in the Allahabad District Conference held on 11th May 1921, which, from the large attendance of Congressmen from all over India, looked very much like an all-India meeting. Mr. Mahomed Ali was elected president and in the

course of his address touched on the story of the Afghan spy and said that it was not true that any non-co operator would ever desire an Afghan invasion. It was much better, he said, to remain in hell than to go to heaven with the aid of a foreign power. They wanted to win Swaraj but not with the aid of a foreign power. If any such waged war against the present Government for the purpose of making India free, they would not render any help to Government but would simply watch the fight and take no part in it because they did not believe in violence.

Mr. Gandhi, who did not think it necessary to refute such an outrageous story as that he was in communication with a 'spy' was, however, also drawn into the controversy. Writing on the 'Afghan bogey' he said that the non co-operators were not to help the Government in any case, and his writings were misinterpreted by many within the Congress-fold. Mr. Bepin ch. Pal and the Rev. Mr. Andrews were afraid that Mr. Gandhi was unwittingly supporting pan-Islamism. Mr. Lajpat Rai also wrote three articles in his paper *Bande Mataram* strongly condemning the attitude that Moslems should join the Afghan invader in case a *jehad* was declared. All this controversy, however, died down with the publication of the apology.

The Broach Khilafat Conference

On June 2nd, in the course of his speech delivered as the President of the Gujrat Provincial Khilafat Conference held at Broach, Mr. Mahomed Ali referred at great length to the "apology" and said that he knew of no speech of his or of his brother in which either had incited anyone to violence, nor did they know of any speech which they had undertaken not to repeat. Unlike Govt. he had no personal prestige to maintain beyond the prestige of truth and they could not sacrifice honesty and justice at the heathen altar of personal prestige. Neither they nor anyone else on their behalf had ever dreamt of bargaining with the Government and to talk of giving up their prosecution as if it were a *quid pro quo*, for their expression of regret to their own people is childish, but they would once more emphasise that, while their present policy coincided entirely with the creed of Mahatma Gandhi and those who like him believed in *Ahimsa* alone for all time, their creed did not coincide with the Mahatma's but also permitted the use of force in self-defence and certain circumstances may make the use of such force obligatory. It was their firm opinion based upon the experience of working the non co operation programme that the movement had taken deep root in the country and that it would be absolutely enough for achieving their purpose, namely the redress of Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and the attain-

men of Swaraja, even during the year, and they were fully convinced that the success of their movement depended entirely upon the continuance of the spirit of non-violence among the people. Whilst, therefore, gladly reiterating their faithful adherence to the programme of non-violent non-co-operation, they must exert their right to take up arms against the enemies of Islam, should non-co-operation be found to have failed and should *Jehad* be proclaimed in terms of the law of Islam. No follower of the faith could shirk his clear duty if it ever came to him, as it had come to the warriors Badu, of responding to the call of *Jehad*. In support of this view he then quoted authentic passages from the Holy Quoran.

It was not, we said, because Mahatma Gandhi had preached *Ahimsa* that the Brothers also preached it to Mussalmans, but because their prophets also had preached and practised it before they were permitted in the last extremity to unsheath their sword in defence of Islam against its implacable foes. The teaching of Mahatma Gandhi was dear to them because in similar circumstances it had been the teaching of their Prophet, but should circumstances change, nobody knew better than the Mahatma and nobody honoured them more for it than he did, that they would follow their own faith and their own conscience. What they certainly considered mean and despicable beyond measure to do was to sail under false colours and make use of non-violent non-co-operation to create an atmosphere of preparedness for the use of violence. If nothing else, the honour of Islam itself demanded from the brothers and those whom they could influence, a faithful and literal adherence to the joint programme of work by Hindus and Mussalmans and the followers of other faiths at two successive sessions of the Congress and initiated in the first instance by the Central Khilafat Committee itself. They were glad that Government had abandoned the idea of prosecuting them for adherence to their faith, but they would have equally and gladly faced such a prosecution. What concerned them was the movement of non-co-operation and keeping faith with other co-workers, not what Government chose to do or not to do.

The Karachi Khilafat Conference

And again, at the famous Karachi Conference, held at a time of great national triumph and all-India rejoicing over the Tilak Swaraj fund (see poste). Mr. Mahomed Ali referred to his famous apology in scathing terms of indictment of the honesty of the Government. This was the 8th All-India Khilafat Conference opened at Karachi on 8th July, 1921 and continued for 3 days. Some 5,000 persons were present. Moulvi Mohamed Sadiq, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his speech gave a lengthy recital



THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

[Karachi

of the well-known Khilafat grievances. (See I. A. R. 1921). Mr. Mahomed Ali said in the course of his speech :—

"In the eyes of our enemies we are politically extinct to all intents and purposes! We have been represented by the Sircar that having apologised none is prepared to listen to us. But the wonder is that after my brother and myself made the statement at Brnach I went to Bombay and I was repeatedly asked to address which however I could not do owing to other engagements. I was given a warm reception at Poona and also an address of welcome by the Municipality of Belgium. If more evidence were needed for our undisturbed public life, Sindhis have given proof of it. If there ever were a doubt about it, it no more exists now. I shall now refer to an important matter and there is a deep secret in it. I shall begin and end with it. The degree of Government anxiety to malign us surpasses all. The cordial relations of unity between Mahatma Gandhi and ourselves are like a magic drug which cures all diseases. The Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy have admitted it in the Montford Report. Some reactionary papers like the "Daily Telegraph" and the "Morning Post" have repeatedly characterised the unity as an unscrupulous and unnatural alliance. Wonderful it is that a unity between master and slave should be considered natural. Regarding the so-called statement, apology, or whatever you call it, I wish to say that it was primarily meant for the public; but if mention of individual names were permissible, I declare it was meant for Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya who entertained fears of an Afghan invasion. The apology was only concerning violence in general, and not regarding any particular speeches. When copies of the speeches complained of were asked for, they were refused. The statement contained two things. (1) apology to you and Pundit Malaviya, (2) a declaration against violence unless the contrary is decreed in clear terms. I have given up carrying even a walking stick lest I should cause anxiety to Englishmen. The assurance that I have given is meant for all those who fear violence. Public assurance is given to all who may require it. I want you to understand that the apology is meant for you. We can never apologise to the Government.

"I have at this moment in my bag a document regarding my statement which I wish were published before I leave Sind. I have no authority to make it public. The Viceroy at a dinner in the Chelmsford Club boasted of having humiliated us. But that was a speech at 12 o'clock in the night and the intoxication was away in the morning. If the Viceroy does not agree to a joint announcement by Mahatma Gandhi and himself, the Mahatmaji would issue a separate statement and let the Viceroy then issue his own. The world will give credence to each on its merits and I know the Indian people would believe Mahatma Gandhi more than the Viceroy."

It seems that it was in view of the last statement that Government opened correspondence with Mr. Gandhi the result of which was the issue of the "agreed statement" of July 30th, 1921.

The following are the famous Karachi Resolutions on which the trial of the Ali Brothers was subsequently held.—

(1) This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference declares allegiance of the Muslim population to His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, the Commander of the Faithful and gives him an assurance that they would not rest content until they had secured complete fulfilment of the Khilafat demands.

(2) It records its sorrow at the death of Jan Mahomed who had led the Hijrat movement and sends its condolence to his family.

(3) It further congratulates those workers in Sind who have undergone im-

movement in the cause of their religion and country and hopes that their efforts will meet with success.

(4) This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference declares that so long as the demands of Indian Muslims regarding the integrity of the Khilafat and the preservation of the sanctity of Jazirat-ul-Arab and other holy places which are based upon their religious canons are not fulfilled, neither shall they rest in peace nor shall they leave it to the enemies of Islam; that the entire provinces of Thrace and Smyrna shall form the indissoluble components of the territories of the Turkish Sultan as they used to be before the war, and in no part of them shall Muslims tolerate the influence and interference of Greek or any other Power. The Muslims shall never agree to the condition the Allies wish to impose upon the Turkish Government, or on its military, naval and air forces, or in connection with the financial, economic or judicial administration, as that would tend to interfere with the complete independence of the Khilafat and the Sultanate. This Conference calls upon local committees to make fresh declarations to the above effect so that no doubt be left as to the religious obligation of the Muslims.

(5) Whereas Mesopotamia contains holy places, such as the burial places of the descendants of the Prophet and holy saints, and is in addition an integral part of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, the influence, residence or entrance of non-Muslim nationals without the authority of Islamic Powers is not permissible by religion, and in case a colonisation of the above character comes about, it would conflict with their holy Shariat. The Mussalmans are convinced that the Americans would take advantage of their nearness to the holy places and revive their old enmities towards Islam. This Conference therefore demands that the above country be immediately vacated.

"This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference heartily congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Angora Government upon their magnificent victories and the success of their most desperate (or self-sacrificing) endeavours in upholding the laws of Islam and this meeting prays to Almighty God that they may soon succeed in expelling the whole of the armies of the foreign Government from every nook and corner of the Turkish Empire.

"In addition this meeting clearly proclaims that it is in every way religiously unlawful for a Mussalman at the present moment to continue in the British Army or to induce others to join the army and it is the duty of all the Mussalmans in general and the Ulemas in particular to see that these religious commandments are brought home to every Mussalman in the Army.

"Furthermore this meeting also announces that if the British Government were to take any military measures against the Angora Government, directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, then the Mussalmans of India will be compelled to commence the breaking of laws, that is civil disobedience, with the concurrence of the Congress and to proclaim in the complete independence of India and the Indians and the establishment of a Republic for the Government of India."

(7) This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference calls upon all local Khilafat Committees to devise measures to absolutely stop drinking within their districts, and congratulates the workers and volunteers of places where the liquor traffic has diminished and further commands to them to put forth their best efforts to achieve greater success.

(8) That this meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference calls upon all Provincial, District and Village Committees to put forth their last efforts to enlist a crore of Khilafat members and collect 10 lakhs of rupees to relieve the distress in Smyrna and aid the Muhajirin Relief Fund.

(9) This Conference strongly appeals to the Pirs and Zamindars of Sind to



THE TILAK SWARAJ FUND

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the more interest in the Khilafat movement than they had done hitherto and requests the former to command their disciples to do the same.

Other Resolutions

This Conference strongly condemns the repression inaugurated by the Government of the Frontier Province in its various districts such as Kohat and Bannu, its policy of imprisoning Khilafat workers and organizers and refusing admission to the students of the National Muslim University for collection of funds.

This Conference congratulates Sirdar Sardul Singh Cavashtur* of Lahore on the great suffering he has patiently borne in the cause of his religion and country and further condemns the mischievous attempts of the Government to create disunion among the Sikh community.

This Conference appeals to all people to take to the spinning-wheel and wear Khadder leaving the mill-made cloth for the use of the poor, while sending out their clothes, made out of foreign articles, for the use of sufferers in Smyrna. It appeals to them to carry out effectively this new step of the Non-co-operation programme, and secondly appeals to women to discard foreign cloth and thus remove the cause of the nation's poverty.

THE TILAK SWARAJ FUND &

The All-India Congress Committee

The month of July was the month of great National rejoicing as a crowning piece of triumph attended the constructive efforts of the Congress party in the way of building up a fund commensurate with the gigantic work undertaken on behalf of 30 crores of the Indian people. In spite of the party plank of non-co-operation about which opinions differed, there was no doubt that Indian opinion in the mass was solidly at the back of the *Swaraj* and *Swadeshi* aspect of the Congress campaign and when on July 1st. Mahatma Gandhi announced at a meeting of the Bombay Stock Exchange that the collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund had exceeded 1 Crore Rupees, there were thundering cheers in the city which rang and reverberated throughout the country as the message was caught up over the wires. Since the Bezwada meeting of the Congress Committee in March last all efforts had been concentrated on raising the fund.

*[Sardar Sardul Singh, head of the Akali Sikh movement in the Punjab and a great religious leader of the Sikhs, was charged in June 1921 for sedition. As a non-co-operator he did not defend himself, though, as Pandit Malaviya said later on, a defence if taken would have exposed the false charge. The prosecution having failed to prove the main charge, the Sirdar voluntarily acknowledged it and a long statement said that he was being prosecuted for having led the Shri Ram Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee to accept non-co-operation which offended the Government officials and particularly Sirdar Sunder Singh Majithia, the Indian Member of the Punjab Government well-known for his anti-Indian views, and this led to the raking up of very old and forgotten articles upon the wilful misinterpretation of which he was hauled up. He was sentenced to 5 years' transportation.]

was a phenomenal success, an eye-opener to the true sense of the country, a thing which could hardly be believed. Indeed, Pundit Malaviya, the great Indian Independent Liberal, thought only a few days back that it would be an unqualified success to the credit of M. Gandhi if he could raise even half the amount. And yet, in spite of the Government pouncing upon the workers as seditionists and carrying on an active anti-non-co-operation campaign, backed by the whole Anglo-Indian community and the Moderate party, with oppression on one side and contumely on the other, Mahatma Gandhi raised the 'crore' from the mass of the people. It was almost a miracle in Indian public life, and a great warning of things that were to come. The bulk of the crore came from the poor middle-class people, who, under the trying economic conditions of the time, were living a barely hand to mouth existence. The merchants and traders also contributed liberally, and the wealthy and shrewd businessmen broke altogether a new ground. They knew the nature of economic conditions, and having a more clear perception of coming events than the easy-going conservative Zamindars, hastened to contribute to a movement which promised to usher in *Swaraj*. It was significant that the Parsis and Marwaris, the merchant princes of India, who rarely identify themselves with politics, now came forward and contributed large sums to the fund. From the Viceroy and Provincial Governors down to the petty Government officers in the mofussil station, there was constant reiteration accompanied by the usual official frown that the Gandhi movement was calculated to bring anarchy in the land; the fears of the wealthy were roused by the suggestion that they would be the first sufferers under Gandhi *Swaraj* and lurid stories were spread of the terror of Bolshevism towards which the country was alleged to be drifting, and at the back of all this was the more effective and drastic measures—bureaucratic coercion, police intimidation and bullying.

Another work to which Gandhi directed his hand was the complete boycott of foreign cloth. On June 30th he addressed eleven crowded public meetings at Bombay for making collection to the Tilak Swaraj fund and exhorted the audience to complete the boycott campaign as effectively by August next. All his great followers, Messrs Das, Nehru, Lajpat Rai, did the same in the provinces. A flush of success animated Congress-workers and a vigorous campaign for the boycott went on apace culminating in a huge bonfire of foreign cloth all over India on August 1st. 1922.

The All-India Congress Committee.

On July 28th the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay to consider their next programme of work. It was a very important meeting. Two hundred and twenty-nine members of the Committee attended from all over India. The Committee sat for three days during which there was an animated discussion and finally the resolutions given below were passed.

Prominent among those who stood in opposition to some of the items were Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. V. J. Patel and a few Maharashtra delegates, including Mr. Kelkar. All the important resolutions were moved by Mr. Gandhi who easily secured an overwhelming majority in spite of many amendments moved. About this time it was officially announced that the Prince of Wales was coming to India next winter and the Congress on behalf of the Indian people decided to boycott him.

In discussing the resolution concerning the boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit, Pundit Malaviya opposing urged that the visit of the Prince was merely a conventional one, and that he was not coming to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy as was alleged. Mr. Mahomed Ali replying said that India was in no mood to receive the Prince, being in mourning. Even if the Prince came on a mere conventional visit India did not want any boons even at the hands of the Prince of Wales.

The resolution on the boycott of foreign cloth evoked a heated discussion and several amendments were moved. Mr. Patel supported by Mr. Kelkar opposed the destruction of foreign cloth which he thought was valued roughly at hundred crores and which he described as national wealth, especially at a time when millions were either ill-clad or naked.

Mr. Gandhi assured that the clause referring to the destruction of cloth did not apply to the cloth-dealers but to the consumers only and alteration were made in the text of the resolution to that effect. Mr. Gandhi also modified the resolution adding words "as far as possible" to the charka schools. Pundit Malaviya moved a number of amendments suggesting the introduction of power-looms in

negotiation to hand-loom and use of Swadeshi cloth in addition to Khaddar to help the production of Swadeshi cloth and elimination of mill monopoly. To this Pundit Motilal Nehru replied saying that the boycott of cloth was resorted to because the use of cloth was universal and therefore would entail sacrifice on everyone which was a cardinal point in their creed of national purification. It was through the ruin of her textile industry that India has been brought to her present degraded position. He laid stress on the necessity of developing the spirit of self-reliance.

On the second day of the meeting, on 29th July, Mr. Patel at the start raised a point of order which was hotly discussed for hours together demanding a ruling from the President whether the All-India Congress Committee could inaugurate civil disobedience not sanctioned by the last session of the Congress. The President declared that the constitution provided that the All India Congress Committee could initiate any policy as it had all the powers of the Indian National Congress when not in session. Members from Aligarh and U. P. who wanted to start civil disobedience at once opposed the first part of this resolution, and suggested that reference to Aligarh be deleted as it would prejudice the case of the accused then undergoing trial.

Another amendment keenly discussed related to that part of the resolution which emphasised that the way to freedom lay through voluntary suffering and through imprisonment without defence. The opposition had the support of Pt. Malaviya. Members from Maharastra led by Mr. Kelkar, and from Nagpur (C. P.) led by Mr. Abhyankar, were for a modifying clause to include those who went to jail after defending themselves. The case of Lokamanya Tilak who defended himself when prosecuted was cited in support of the amendment.

Next day, July 30th, was taken up with delegating powers to the Working Committee. Mr. Gandhi moved that all powers of the All-India Congress Committee be delegated to the Working Committee. There was a very keen and bitter opposition to this resolution from a few members who expressed their opinion that the All-India Cong. Com. would be taking a suicidal step in surrendering all powers to a small body. Three amendments were moved to the proposition. Mr. Patel moved that if the decisions arrived at by the Working Committee were not unanimous no action should be taken on the resolution passed and the matter should be referred to the All-India Congress Committee. Another amendment was moved by Mr. Joswani from Sind asking for provision that a resolution failing to be passed by a four-fifths majority be held in abeyance and referred back to the All-India Congress Committee. A third amendment was



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needed giving specific powers only to the Working Committee and used by it.

Mr. Gandhi modified his proposition and put in the words "that the Working Committee would use powers of the All-India Congress Committee in urgent matters only." The first and third amendments were withdrawn and the second was lost. A resolution was then moved to the effect that the remaining matters on the agenda be disposed of by the Working Committee. Pundit Rambhuj Dutt strongly opposed this, saying that some resolutions were either against the Working Committee or made personal charges against important members of the Committee. The President assured them that in such matters no final decision was likely to be arrived at and that the Working Committee would in such cases send its recommendation for decision to the All India Congress Committee, and the resolution on this assurance was then carried by a majority.

The Resolutions as finally passed are :—

Resolution No. 1—On Boycott of the Prince.

In the event of the British Government persisting in bringing to India His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in spite of the growing unrest and discontent by reason of the failure of Government to respond to popular will, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that it is the duty of everyone, in terms and in virtue of the Non-co-operation resolution passed at the Special Session of the Congress in September 1920 at Calcutta and reaffirmed at the ordinary Session in December 1920 at Nagpur, to refrain from participating in or assisting any welcome to His Royal Highness or any functions organized officially or otherwise in connection with his visit.

While the All-India Congress Committee considers it its painful duty to tender the above advice to the people, it desires to place on record its opinion that India bears no sort of ill-feeling against the person of His Royal Highness, and that this advice is tendered because the Committee regards the proposed visit as a political move and calculated to give strength and support to a system of Government that has resulted in a breach of faith with the Mussalmans of India and atrocious injustice to the people of India, as during the Martial Law days in 1919 in the Punjab, and a system that is designed to keep India as long as possible from her birth-right of Swaraj.

Resolution No. 2—On Charka & Swadeshi.

(a) The All-India Congress Committee desires to tender its congratulations to the nation upon the fulfilment of the resolution arrived at Bezwada to collect one crore of rupees for the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund, and in this connection specially tenders its warm congratulations to the generous citizens of Bombay without whose response the resolution seemed to be impossible of fulfilment.

(b) In order to be able to attain Swaraj and to secure the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the current year, the All-India Congress Committee desires that all Congress organisations and those who sympathise with the national aspirations should concentrate their attention upon attaining complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September next and manufacture of Khaddar by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and to this end the All-India Congress Committee advises that all persons belonging to the



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Congress shall discard the use of foreign cloth as from the 1st day of August next and advises all Congress organisations :—

(1) to use all national institutions as far as possible for hand-spinning and hand-weaving ;

(2) to introduce spinning-wheels into the homes which do not yet possess them ;

(3) in every district to take a census of weavers and to induce them by offering facilities to discard the use of foreign yarn and to use as far as possible hand-spun yarn and otherwise to use Indian mill-spun yarn ;

(4) to induce by special encouragement weavers who have given up their calling to return to it ;

(5) to take a census of cotton carders and to induce them to prepare cards for spinning ;

(6) to open depots for the supply of Khadder, spinning-wheels, hand-loom and all accessories required for spinning and weaving ;

(7) to collect foreign cloth from consumers for destruction or use outside India at their option ;

(c) The All-India Congress Committee invites the mill-agents and shareholders of the great spinning and weaving companies in Bombay, Ahmedabad and elsewhere to support the national effort by regulating the price of mill-hands and other expenditure and so as to be within the reach of the poorest, and trusts that in no case will they raise the price beyond the prevailing rates.

(d) The All-India Congress Committee invites the importers of foreign cloth and yarn to co-operate with the nation by immediately stopping all foreign orders and by endeavouring to dispose of their stock as far as possible outside India.

Resolution No. 3—On Temperance Work

The All-India Congress Committee notes with deep satisfaction the growth of public opinion and the campaign against the use and sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs by means of peacefully picketing shops licensed for the purpose of selling such liquors or drugs, and notes with concern the undue and improper interference commenced by the Government in various parts of the country with the recognised right of the public to wean weak members from temptations to visit such shops, and desires it to be understood that, in the event of such interference with the peaceful exercise of the said right being persisted in, the Committee will be prepared to recommend the continuance of picketing in disregard of such interference and advises the Working Committee to investigate cases of interference and authorised disregard thereof, whenever and wherever it may be considered desirable and in the interests of the movement.

The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Thana District Board for its resolution on picketing and the determination to continue it and calls upon other Local Boards and Municipalities in India immediately to follow the splendid lead of that Board.

The All-India Congress Committee appeals to the keepers of shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs to recognize the growing force of aente public opinion against the continuance of such trade and to respond to the wish of the nation by immediately discontinuing it.

Resolution No. 4—On Repression & Civil Disobedience

The All-India Congress Committee deploras the excesses committed by crowds at Malagaon and recently by some people in parts of the city of Aligarh even though under grave provocation, and advises Congress organisations to

indicate among the people the importance of observing the spirit of complete non-violence as an indispensable part of Non-co-operation, and whilst condemning those isolated instances of popular violence the Committee desires to congratulate the people of India upon their having exercised complete self-restraint notwithstanding grave provocation given by the local authorities as in Dharwar, Matiyari, Guntur, Chirala, Parala, Kerala, North-West Frontier Province, Keonjhar and elsewhere.

The All-India Congress Committee tenders its sympathy and congratulations to the families of those who have lost their lives by the unprovoked fire opened upon them by the local authorities at several places and congratulates all those brave and innocent citizens who have been wounded or are suffering imprisonment, and records its deep appreciation of the fact that in the majority of cases the patriots went to jail without offering any defence whatsoever.

The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the way to freedom lies only through voluntary suffering and therefore through imprisonment of innocent men and women without defence or bail.

The All-India Congress Committee regards repression going on in several parts of the country and the serious and wide-spread repression going on in the United Provinces as a sign of the near approach of freedom, and therefore hopes that the people in the provinces concerned will not be frightened or demoralized, and that willing workers will come forward to take the place of those who without any moral breach on their part might lose their lives or might be imprisoned.

The All-India Congress Committee has taken note of the reasonable desire of workers in the United Provinces and other parts to take up civil disobedience in answer to the repressive measures of Local Governments, and has also taken note of the fact that the Administration in the North-West Frontier Province has prohibited the entry into that Province of the members of the Frontier Inquiry Committee appointed by the Central Kailash Committee to enquire into the outrages alleged to have been committed by the local officials in Banoo, but with a view to ensure greater stability of non-violent atmosphere throughout India and, in order to test the measure of influence attained by the Congress over the people, and further, in order to retain on the part of the nation an atmosphere free from ferment necessary for the proper and swift prosecution of Swadeshi, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that civil disobedience should be postponed till after the completion of the programme referred to in the resolution on Swadeshi, after which the Committee will not hesitate, if necessary, to recommend a course of civil disobedience even though it might have to be adopted by a Special Session of the Congress; provided, however, that it is in any Province or place to adopt civil disobedience subject to the previous approval of the Working Committee obtained within the constitution through the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

Other Resolutions

5. The All-India Congress Committee hereby authorises the Working Committee to take all such action as may be necessary to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress and of the All-India Congress Committee and to deal with all matters with which the All-India Congress Committee is empowered to deal and which may arise whilst this Committee is not sitting and which may require urgent attention.

6. The All-India Congress Committee calls upon the people of the provinces and districts which have not yet carried out their full quota of all the items in the Swadeshi programme to complete the same as early as possible irrespective of the Nation having completed the programme as a whole.

7. That the following resolution passed at a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held on the 26th April 1921 under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India be recorded. —

"In view of the fact that the destiny of the people of India is inevitably linked with that of the neighbouring Asiatic Nations and Powers, this public meeting of the Mussalmans of Bombay requests the All-India Congress Committee to promote feelings of amity and concord with neighbouring States, and with a view to establish mutual good-will and sympathy to promulgate a clear and definite foreign policy for India."

Resolved further that the grateful acknowledgments of the All-India Congress Committee be communicated to Mr. Pickthall, the chairman of the said meeting, and to the Central Khilafat Committee of India for inviting the attention of the All-India Congress Committee to a matter of such importance and that the Working Committee be asked to frame a statement of policy for presenting the same at the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration.

8. This Committee appoints Mr. Umar Sobani of Bombay to act as Joint Treasurer in the absence of Seth Chotani.

9. The following members constitute the Working Committee :—

PRESIDENT—(1) Sj. C. Vijayaraghavachariar.

EX-OFFICIO GENERAL SECRETARIES—(2) P. Motilal Nehru. (3) Dr. M. A. Ansari. (4) Sj. C. Rajagopalachariar.

TREASURERS—(5) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, (6) Mr Umar Sobani.

ELECTED—(7) Mahatma Gandhi. (8) Lala Lajpat Rai. (9) Sj. C. R. Das. (10) Mr. Mahomed Ali. (11) Sj. N. C. Kelkar. (12) H. Ajmal Khan. (13) Sj. K. Venkatappah. (14) Sj. Rajendra Prasad. (15) Sj. V. J. Patel.

10. In the event of a vacancy occurring in the Working Committee, the Secretaries shall take steps with all possible despatch to fill in the vacancy by asking for nomination and votes by correspondence, provided that the work of the Committee shall not in any way be stopped or be affected by reason of such vacancy.

11. That the Working Committee be authorised to deal with the accounts and funds of the Punjab Sub-Committee appointed on the 8th June 1919 and take such other steps as may be necessary to wind up the affairs of that Sub-Committee.

The Holocaust of British Cloth

Immediately the work of the Congress Committee was over a great move was made by the non-co-operators to collect as much discarded Manchester and foreign cloth as possible and to burn a huge bon-fire of them. Burn, burn, burn ! ran the cry. It was Gandhi who was the sole inspirer of this fiery move. He led the way, he applied the torch ; others followed. Not one amongst the other stalwarts of N-C-O had the courage to apply the lighted match to the piled millions of treasured linen—gilt-edged fabric of the Nation's sin and shame. The enthusiasm in the city ran very high for the whole week and meeting after meeting was held, attended by tens of thousands, in which the cloth boycott was strongly inculcated. As a fitting close to the labours of the Congress Committee, it was decided to celebrate the event by such a grand spectacular demonstration as will catch

the imagination of the people and burn into them the sinfulness of foreign cloth.

On July 31st there was a tremendous gathering of some 2 to 3 hundred thousand people to witness the great holocaust. The pile of foreign cloth collected was ranged in an enormous circle about a mile in diameter and some 3 feet high. All sorts of foreign clothing, from rich brocades and silk *saris* to torn hats, coats, neck-ties and collars, were thrown into the pile. All the prominent provincial leaders who had gone to Bombay for the Congress meeting were present. M. Gandhi came in the evening and at once applied a lighted match, and the fire leaped up and went round the circle in a few minutes, and in about a couple of hours the huge pile worth *crores* of rupees was burnt to ashes! As the flame leaped up and enveloped the whole pyramid, shouts of joy resounded from every corner of Bombay, and a glow of freedom was lit up in the face of the vast concourse. Similar, though much smaller, bon-fires blazed at many large towns all over India.

Writing in his paper "Young India" on this insensate waste when millions of the poor people were going half-naked M. Gandhi said :—

Why Burn?

"Critics have overwhelmed me with their rebuke regarding the burning of foreign cloth. After having considered every argument advanced against it, I cannot help saying that destruction is the best method of dealing with foreign cloth. The Provincial Congress Committee has left it optional to the givers to choose between destruction and despatch to Smyrna or elsewhere. The discussion of the question therefore lacks the importance it would have had, if destruction had been the only method prescribed for dealing with foreign clothes. The propriety of destruction depends upon the intensity of one's belief in the necessity of discarding foreign cloth. Just as a converted tee-totaler will not hand the contents of his wine-cellar to a needy neighbour, so would a votary of Swadeshi. If he feels as keenly as the tee-totaler he will refuse to give to the poor the contents of his wardrobe. I hold that the wearing of foreign cloth in India is almost as bad as drinking. I am not sure that it is not even worse than drinking in some respects. For the last hundred and fifty years India has been importing foreign cloth at the expense of her great cottage industry, its spinning. As Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt has pointed out in his study of the history of the deliberately planned destruction of the spinning and weaving industries of India, Bihar which was once one of the richest provinces of India was reduced to poverty by the systematic and cruel destruction of her flourishing industry of spinning and weaving. If we only realised the magnitude of the injury done by the East India Company and of the sin committed by us in yielding to the prosecution of the Company's 'Gumastas' or the temptations put in our way, we would hang our heads in shame. Our great National Industry would not have perished, our women would not have been forced to labour on public roads. Millions of our people would not have been obliged to remain a part of the year in enforced idleness if we could have retained Swadeshi. In my humble opinion cloth which revives such black memories and is a mark of our shame and degradation is fit only to be destroyed. It certainly cannot be given to the poor. V

should have much greater regard for their feelings and their national culture than to think that we serve them by giving them what to us is a mark of our slavery. Should not India's poor have a sense of patriotism? Should they not have feelings about dignity and self-respect in the same manner as we have? I would not have the meanest of us remain without a spirit of true patriotism. Just as we would or at least ought to recoil with horror from giving them rotten food or food we will not eat, so should we feel about giving them foreign cloth. A moment's thought would also show that much of the fineries we are throwing away are perfectly useless for the poor. Of what use can the dirty hats and caps stinking with our perspiration be to them, or the rich silk saris and the finest muslins that are being given up? They had no value except for the wearers who loved these things. They cannot clothe the famine-stricken. The things that are really useful to them are very few indeed. But I do not base my argument for destruction upon the uselessness of the clothing discarded. My argument goes much deeper, if only because it is based upon a sentiment on which alone the noblest in us is and can be reared. Why should an Englishman resent an insult to a tattered flag? But he does, and rightly thinks that he must. What harm is there in gaining a million by concealing my faith for a moment? But I may not for the kingdom of the world. For exactly similar reasons we may not use foreign cloth for the poor in India. And it is after all making a convenience of an act of renunciation to send cloth thus discarded even to Smyrna or elsewhere abroad. But the moral objection to the despatch abroad is certainly not so strong as to its use at home."

Of all the great and giant blows that the Mahatma dealt out in the course of his hurricane campaign at the fundamental moral evils of the Indian Nation, untouchability, drink-habit, supineness, fearfulness and the foreign-cloth habit, this holocaust was the most daring. It flamed the hatred of his enemies as much as it gave light to his friends. The former saw in the act of the holocaust an exhibition of racial violence typified by the angry roar of the tongues of fire. To say and preach against British yarn was one thing, but actually to do as preached and make a spectacular demonstration of it by piling up Lancashire in one place and setting fire to it was a sort of provocation scarcely less intense than the throwing up of tea-chests in Boston by the Americans on the eve of their war of independence. It was no doubt that having once had the start, the burning process will continue and spread from one end of the country to the other and not stop till, as Gandhi hoped, every article of foreign clothing had been reduced to ashes or sent out of India. Replying to the charge that this burning tends to increase racial bitterness, Gandhi further said :—

If the emphasis were on all foreign things, it would be racial, parochial and wicked. The emphasis is on all foreign cloth. The restriction makes all the difference in the world. I do not want to shut out English lever watches or the beautiful Japanese lacquer work. But I must destroy all the choicest wines of Europe, even though they might have been prepared and preserved with all the most exquisite care and attention. Satan's snares are most subtly laid and they are the most tempting, when the dividing line between right and wrong is so



TILAK ANNIVERSARY DAY

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things as to be imperceptible. But the line is there all the same, rigid and inflexible. Any crossing of it may mean certain death.

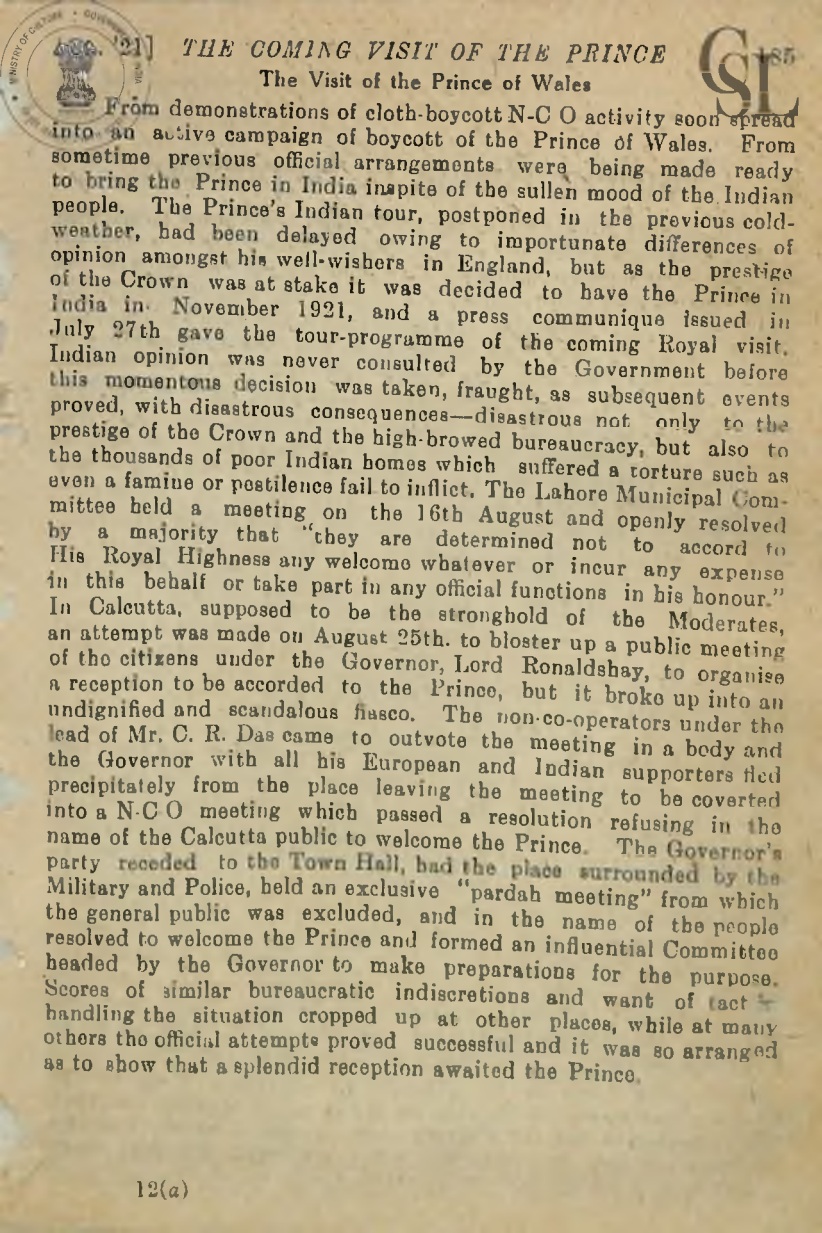
India is racial to-day. It is with the utmost effort that I find it possible to keep under check the evil passions of the people. The general body of the people are filled with ill-will, because they are weak and hopelessly ignorant of the way to shed their weakness. I am transferring the ill-will from men to things.

Love of foreign cloth has brought foreign domination, pauperism and what is worst, shame to many a home. The reader may not know that not long ago hundreds of 'untouchable' weavers of Kathiawar having found their calling gone, became sweepers for the Bombay municipality. And the life of these men has become so difficult that many lose their children and become physical and moral wrecks; some are helpless witnesses of the shame of their daughters and even their wives. The reader may not know that many women of this class in Gujrat for want of domestic occupation have taken to work on public roads, where, under pressure of one sort or another, they are obliged to sell their honour. The reader may not know that the proud weavers of the Punjab, for want of occupation, not many years ago, took to the sword, and were instrumental in killing the proud and innocent Arabs at the bidding of their officers, and not for the sake of their country but for the sake of their livelihood. It is difficult to make a successful appeal to these deluded hirelings and wean them from their murderous profession. What was once an honourable and artistic calling is now held by them to be disreputable. The weavers of Dacca, when they wove the world famous SUBNUM, could not have been considered disreputable.

Is it now any wonder, if I consider it a sin to touch foreign cloth? Will it not be a sin for a man with a very delicate digestive apparatus to eat rich food? Must he not destroy them or give them away? I know what I would do with rich foods, if I had a son laying in bed who must not eat them but would still gladly have them. In order to wean him from the hankering, I would, though able to digest them myself, refrain from eating them and destroy them in his presence, so that the sin of eating may by borne home to him.

The Tilak Anniversary Day

August 1st. was celebrated everywhere in India as the anniversary of the great Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak's death. The biggest demonstration was that at Bombay, where several lakhs of people gathered on the sea-beach to hear M. Gandhi speak on the occasion. So great, however, was the rush that the meeting had to be abandoned after M. Gandhi had spoken only a few words. The thoughtless crowd in its zeal to see and hear the Mahatma pressed forward so heavily that there was danger on the dais and its occupants being thrown bodily into the sea. The address which Gandhi wanted to deliver was to the effect that foreign cloth was a pollution which had to be removed, preferably by burning. The sea beach on which they were assembled was the same one on which the great Tilak was cremated. 'We must acquire this site,' said he, 'where we cremated the remains of Lokmanya. Here, out of his ashes arose the fire of non-co-operation. It was on the 1st. of August last that non-co-operation was inaugurated, and it was in Parel where the fire blazed the day before that the nation had begun the final stage in its march to Swaraj by purging its sin.'



21] THE COMING VISIT OF THE PRINCE

The Visit of the Prince of Wales

From demonstrations of cloth-boycott N-C O activity soon spread into an active campaign of boycott of the Prince of Wales. From sometime previous official arrangements were being made ready to bring the Prince in India in spite of the sullen mood of the Indian people. The Prince's Indian tour, postponed in the previous cold-weather, had been delayed owing to importunate differences of opinion amongst his well-wishers in England, but as the prestige of the Crown was at stake it was decided to have the Prince in India in November 1921, and a press communique issued in July 27th gave the tour-programme of the coming Royal visit. Indian opinion was never consulted by the Government before this momentous decision was taken, fraught, as subsequent events proved, with disastrous consequences—disastrous not only to the prestige of the Crown and the high-browed bureaucracy, but also to the thousands of poor Indian homes which suffered a torture such as even a famine or pestilence fail to inflict. The Lahore Municipal Committee held a meeting on the 16th August and openly resolved by a majority that "they are determined not to accord to His Royal Highness any welcome whatever or incur any expense in this behalf or take part in any official functions in his honour." In Calcutta, supposed to be the stronghold of the Moderates, an attempt was made on August 25th. to bolster up a public meeting of the citizens under the Governor, Lord Ronaldshay, to organise a reception to be accorded to the Prince, but it broke up into an undignified and scandalous fiasco. The non-co-operators under the lead of Mr. C. R. Das came to outvote the meeting in a body and the Governor with all his European and Indian supporters fled precipitately from the place leaving the meeting to be converted into a N-C O meeting which passed a resolution refusing in the name of the Calcutta public to welcome the Prince. The Governor's party receded to the Town Hall, had the place surrounded by the Military and Police, held an exclusive "pardah meeting" from which the general public was excluded, and in the name of the people resolved to welcome the Prince and formed an influential Committee headed by the Governor to make preparations for the purpose. Scores of similar bureaucratic indiscretions and want of tact in handling the situation cropped up at other places, while at many others the official attempts proved successful and it was so arranged as to show that a splendid reception awaited the Prince.



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Moslem Rising & Repression

On August 20th occurred the great Moplah outbreak in Malabar. The Moplahs are a race of sturdy, independent-minded, supremely religious Mahomedans who have ever since British rule broken out from time to time into fanatical and open revolt. The outbreak of the 20th August last gradually developed from a riot into an extensive armed rebellion. For this Government laid the responsibility on the non-co-operators, while the latter laid the blame on Government. Assuredly, these inflammable people had heard of Gandhi's propaganda of subverting the 'satanic Government', had their own domestic and economic troubles, and had exaggerated accounts of desecration of the Heduj. Government repressed their activities, prevented their leaders from approaching them, as Government never believed in the gospel of non-violence of the non-co-operators.

An official communiqué issued by the Madras Govt. about this time stated that seditious speeches were made and seditious pamphlets circulated. More than that, bodies of so-called volunteers were formed, given a kind of uniform, and in some cases armed with swords. The Government admitted that it took no steps against the volunteers. It intended to proceed against the agitators, but before anything was done the outbreak took place. They realised the fateful effect of inflammatory and specially religious propaganda amongst the Moplahs. But since they have nothing but force and strength of arms to meet such a situation, repression was started in the early months of 1921. Excitement spread from village to village, and the Karachi resolutions of July and innumerable other Khilafat meetings held throughout July and August—all combined to fire the train. The exclusion by Govt. order of N C O leaders from the Moplah territory prevented the creed of non-violence being preached. So the non-violent and peaceful revolt all over India became a subterranean propaganda of violence and slaughter in Malabar—knives, swords, spears were secretly manufactured; bands of desperadoes were collected, the unlettered priests preached their orthodox doctrines about *Kaffirs* and *Jehad*, and preparations were ready to proclaim the Kingdom of Islam at war with the Kingdom of 'Satan'. The signal for this outbreak was an attempt made by the District Magistrate of Malabar to arrest some Khilafat workers. The result was that the Moplahs broke out into a fanatic rebellion against Govt. and subsequently against the Hindu population as well. There were innumerable cases of looting of Hindu houses, forced

conversions of Hindus and other unmentionable atrocities committed on the Hindu population, men, women and children as a whole. The facts in detail are as follows :—

About the middle of August 1921 serious agrarian trouble arose in Nilambur owing to the Hindu Zamindars making new disposition of their land. The Moplah tenants of Pookootur suffered great hardships. Privileges enjoyed for generations were taken away and this naturally provoked the fanatic tenants. Riot broke out in Nilambur. The district authorities naturally sided with the rich land-lords and the poor tenants had no relief. Their troubled state made them fit subjects for religious fanaticism, further roused by false stories of the success of the Khilafat agitation. On the fateful day, the 20th August 1921, the district Magistrate with a party of the Leinster Regiment arrived at Tiruvangadi, surrounded the mosque, and arrested three Moplah divines on the allegation of their having excited the Moplahs. News of this soon spread. At once a crowd of 3,000 Moplahs came by train from Tanur to Prapanagadi and the mob was at once sent out to meet them. They were dispersed by another crowd had in the meanwhile collected at Tiruvangadi and demanded the priests back. They were met by Lewis gun and set on fire. Here 2 British officers were murdered, and the mob looted the Railway station, cut the line, uprooted the rails, destroyed the railway buildings, levelled the embankment and demolished a railway culverts. In a couple of days Ernad Taluk rose in armed rebellion and cut itself off on all sides from British territory, and the Moplahs declared a Khilafat Kingdom. Within the next few days 10,000 Moplahs raided Tirur, and created havoc in the neighbourhood, setting fire to the Police station and the courts, seizing all arms and ammunition and rooting up the rails. On the 21st the Nilambur palace was sacked; people were slaughtered, records of a century burnt, the premises partly demolished and the furniture broken. Regular looting, especially of treasuries and post offices, commenced in Nilambur, Manjari, Malapuram, Tirur, Palghat and other places. Several Europeans were killed. European planters had to flee before the murderous mob. Hindu houses and temples were desecrated, blackmail levied and there were wild reports of Hindus being forcibly converted into the Moslem faith. On the 25th the Ernad treasury was looted and cash to the extent of Rs. 6,00,000 went into rebel hands. On the 26th, the "battle of Pookootur" was fought for five hours, the moplahs having placed themselves in trenches fully armed with modern weapons. The engagement cost them 400 killed out of a mob of some 1,000 strong, while the British regiment sustained a few losses. Soon, however, British troops began to pour into Malabar, a regular stampede

THE MOPLAH OUTBREAK

MADRAS

followed, and on August 26th Martial Law was declared. On September 1st Ali Musaliyar, the rebel leader of the Moplahs, surrendered with 40 men, and next day Kuntikoya Thangal, another Moplah leader, was arrested. Gradually open fight was put down in all the large stations, but the majority of Moplahs fled to the hills and jungles of Malabar from which they came out for occasional raids and continued to conduct a guerilla warfare.

In the interior of Palghat and Mannarghat trouble continued. A reign of terror prevailed, with pillage and arson committed every where, especially in East Ernad, where Kunhabmad Haji declared himself an independent sovereign. At Allanallur, near Mannarghat, a serious skirmish occurred between the rebel gang and the British troops. Hindus who did not actively help them were forcibly converted. The trouble raged on for months, the rebels raising their head again and again, as soon as marching columns of British troops had gone by. By the end of the year the situation was well in hand. And by the 25th of February 1922 Martial Law and all extra troops were withdrawn from Malabar. Throughout the campaign British troops suffered a casualty of less than a hundred; about 4,000 Moplahs were killed in action and tens of thousands injured and captured.

It is not yet possible to judge affairs of this period at their proper value. As in the Punjab in 1919, things happened during the Martial Law period in Malabar which do no credit to administration. One glaring instance of cruelty of the administration to which history rarely affords a parallel and by the side of which the alleged misdeeds of the Moplahs appear trivial, leaked out on November 1921. This was the notorious Moplah train tragedy in which a hundred prisoners were put in a closed and air-tight goods van and despatched by rail; when the door was opened 66 were found suffocated to death and the rest on the point of dying.

The Arrest of the Ali Brothers.

The affairs of the Moplah territory sent a thrill of horror throughout India. From an outbreak against government it soon became a war on all non-moslems—Hindus suffering the most. Wave after wave of destitute Hindus left their all, even the life and honour of their women and children, and fled to Calicut and other asylums opened for the refugees. It was also a terrible set back on the N-C O movement. Moderate opinion and those who were not committed either for or against the N-C O were awed at the type of "Swaraj" practised at Malabar. At Simla high officials were scanning the political speeches of the leaders to discover passages which could come under the ordinary criminal law of the land. Maulana Mahomed

ARREST OF THE ALI BROTHERS

Along with M. Gandhi and their staff left Calcutta on the 13th September to visit Malabar where they intended to pacify the rioters by preaching their creed of non-violence. This was prevented, and on their way to Madras Mr. Mahomed Ali was arrested in the train at Waltair on September 14th. 1921. At first the arrest was made upon a warrant issued by the District Magistrate of Vizagapatam to show cause why Mr. Ali should not be bound over to keep the peace for one year under S. 107, 108, Cr. P. Code. On the 17th, however, he was released and at once re-arrested by the Bombay Police who had by this time arrived with a warrant of arrest and took him over to Karachi by a special train. For four days the nature of the charge for which the arrest was made was kept a secret, and in the meantime other arrests followed. Mr. Shaukat Ali was arrested at the Bombay Khilafat office ; Dr. S. Kitchlew was arrested at Simla, and Pir Ghulam Majid at Sind. Moulvi Hasan Ahmed and Moulana Nisar Ahmed were also brought over to Karachi. And, as if to show that it was not a rounding up of the Khilafat leaders alone in pursuance of the eternal principle of *divide et impera*, Shri Sankaracharya, a Hindu divine of great eminence, was also arrested. In a press-note issued by the Bombay Govt. on the 15th September it was announced that the arrests were sanctioned, with the concurrence of the Govt. of India, for a resolution passed at the Karachi Khilafat Conference in July last in which Moslem troops were alleged to have been seduced to leave the Army and the celebrated *Ulemas' Fatwa*, since proscribed, were circulated amongst Moslem troops.

Leaving the great Moslem leader at Waltair, M. Gandhi, Mrs. Mahomed Ali and party then proceeded by the same train to Madras where on the 15th a large public meeting was addressed by M. Gandhi who said that the arrest had come as a god-send, and implored every body to show his fitness by taking all repression with perfect calmness. Mrs. Mahomed Ali also addressed the meeting and said that she had asked her husband to go happily to prison promising him to serve the country in his place. When the news of the arrest was flashed all over the country, perfect peace was observed everywhere ; there was not even the much practised *bartal* at any place, and no commotion amongst the people in the mass. Mr. Gandhi was of course not allowed to proceed to Malabar.

Public meetings were held almost all over the country in all large places where the Ali Brothers and the other leaders were congratulated for their arrest, for suffering righteously in the cause of their religion and country, and the self-same *Fatwa* was read and re-read from a hundred platforms and circulated by word of mouth. On September 20th the Punjab Khilafat Committee

THE KARACHI RESOLUTION

met at Lahore, joined by influential Sikh and Hindu citizens, where the Ulemas of the Punjab expressed the opinion that if Govt. could that day proscribe a *Fatwa* subscribed by 500 Ulemas of all India, no wonder that some day means would be found and excuse invented to proscribe the Holy Koran itself! On the 21st September the Central Khilafat Committee of India and the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Hind* met at Delhi under the presidency of Hakim Ajmal Khan, where after a stormy debate resolutions were passed for printing copies of the *Fatwa* anew for distribution broadcast and calling upon every Ulema to announce to the country the religious injunctions of the Koran in regard to that matter from every pulpit and platform, and for repeating the Karachi resolution at every meeting to be held by them thereafter.

The cue was at once taken up all over the country and the prosecution readily proved in the hands of the people a powerful weapon to stir up martyrdom of imprisonment for religious faith. On the 29th September a huge meeting of Delhi citizens was held where the Karachi resolution was reiterated, 'all standing and repeating every word of the resolution,' and extracts from the *Fatwa* regarding the service in the Army were distributed broadcast. As a result, several arrests were made, and men went to prison with religious zeal. Next day, another mass meeting was held at Lucknow convened by the Oudh Khilafat Committee. The Chairman said that the commandment contained in the resolution stigmatised as criminal would only mean that the reading of the Koran was held to be a crime which no Moslem could swallow, whatever the consequences. Then he read the full text of the resolution. At once 10 thousand people sprang to their feet and repeated the whole word per word. So, too, at Cawnpore, Agra, Nagpur, Arrah, and many other places in Northern India, in Bombay, Karachi, Hyderabad (Sind), Madras, Trichinopoly and other places of Moslem activity in South India, the same thing occurred. On October 4th 47 Congressmen, including M. Gandhi and all the N-C-O leaders in the front rank, issued the following manifesto expressing both the Moslem and the non-moslem view of the matter :—

"In view of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and others for the reasons stated in the Government of Bombay communique, dated the 15th September, 1921, we, the undersigned, speaking in our individual capacity, desire to state 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.

"We, the undersigned, state it as our opinion that it is contrary to national dignity for any Indian to serve as a civilian, and more especially as a soldier, under a system of Government which has brought about India's economic, moral and political degradation and which has used the soldiery and the police for repressing national aspirations, as, for instance, at the time of the Rowlatt Act

and which has used the soldiers for crushing the liberty of the Arabs, Egyptians, the Turks, and other nations who have done no harm to India. We are also of opinion that it is the duty of every Indian soldier and civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood.

The Congress Committee Resolution.

On October 5th, an important meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress was held in Bombay and affirmed the last manifesto. The following resolutions were passed :—

"The Working Committee congratulates the Ali Brothers and companions upon their prosecution, and having considered the Karachi Khilafat Conference resolution regarding military service under Government, the Working Committee is of opinion that the resolution virtually re-affirms the principal laid down by the Calcutta Special Congress and the Nagpur Congress last year that it is contrary to national dignity and national interest for any Indian to engage or remain in Government service in any capacity whatsoever. The Working Committee has been only deferred from calling out the soldiers and civilians in the name of the Congress because the Congress is not yet ready to support those Government servants who may leave Govt. service and who may not be able themselves to find means of livelihood. The Committee, however, is of opinion that in pursuance of the spirit of the Congress N-C-O resolution, it is the clear duty of Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who can support himself without Congress assistance, to leave such service. The Committee draws the attention of all Indian soldiers and police to the fact that carding and hand-weaving afford them, by undergoing training for a brief period, honourable means of independent livelihood. The Committee further is of opinion that the reasons given for the prosecution with reference to the Karachi resolution constitute undue interference with religious liberty.

"The Working Committee regrets that the boycott of foreign cloth while it has made considerable progress during the last two months, has not been so complete and appeals to the Congress organisations to put forth special efforts.

"The Working Committee considers it not possible to authorise any plan of general civil disobedience in any Congress district or province where effective boycott of foreign cloth had not been brought about and spinning and weaving had not been developed so as to produce sufficient "Khadi" for the wants of the district. The Committee, however, authorises civil disobedience by individuals who may be prevented in the prosecution of Swadeshi propaganda, provided it is done under the authority of the Provincial Committee and that the Provincial Congress Committee is assured of non-violent atmosphere being retained.

"The Working Committee is of opinion that on the day of landing of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales there should be a general voluntary hartal throughout India and, as to the effective boycott of any public welcome to His Royal Highness during his visit to the different cities of India, the Working Committee leaves the arrangements in the hands of respective Provincial Congress Committees.

Foreign Policy of the Indian People.

"With reference to the resolution on the foreign policy referred specially by the All India Congress Committee held at Bombay in July to the Working Committee, the latter is of opinion that the Congress should let it be known to neighbouring and other states :—

(A) that the Government of India in no way represent Indian opinion

and their policy has been traditionally guided by the consideration more of boldness India under subjection than of protecting her borders.

[H] That India as a self-governing country can have nothing to fear from the neighbouring States or any State, as her people have no designs upon any of them and hence no intention of establishing any trade relations hostile to or not desired by the peoples of such States, and the people of India regard most treaties entered into with the Imperial Government by the neighbouring States as mainly designed by the latter to perpetuate the exploitation of India by Imperial powers, and would therefore urge the States having no ill-will against the people of India and having no desire to injure her interests to refrain from entering into any treaty with the Imperial Powers.

"The Committee wishes to assure Mussalman States also that when India has attained self-Government, her Foreign Policy will naturally be always guided so as to respect religious obligations imposed upon Mussalmans by Islam. Whilst such is the view of the Working Committee on the Foreign Policy, the Committee is unwilling to let it go forth as the opinion of the All India Congress Committee without its being fully discussed by the public and adopted at a meeting of the latter. The Committee, therefore, authorises the Secretary to circulate its opinion to the Press as a draft prepared for public criticism and for submission to the All India Congress Committee's adoption."

The Karachi Trial.

The great State trial of the Ali Brothers and 5 others opened at Karachi on September 26th. It was rumoured that the Law Member of the Govt. of India, Dr. Sapru (now Sir Tej Bahadur), was for charging them for the capital offence of sedition but that the Advocate-General was opposed to it for want of evidence, and the Ministers of the Bombay Government were against any drastic action. After the formal recording of evidence by the Magistrate, charges were drawn up of seducing troops and the accused were committed to the sessions. Certain irregularities vitiated the strictly legal proceedings but in such cases no notice of mere formalities could be taken. The sessions trial began on the 24th October and occupied the next 6 days. A fresh supplementary charge of sedition was here entered against Mr. Mahomed Ali in spite of protest that no evidence had been recorded in the lower court.

All the accused, acting upon their principle of non-co-operation, refused to defend themselves, and to recognise the court to have any jurisdiction to try them, but they simply made long statements explaining their course of public action, and said that they were following their religion in doing as they did. The statement made by Mr. Mahomed Ali was by far the most important and put forth the position of Islam. This is given in the following pages. The jury selected consisted of 3 Christians and 2 Hindus, recruited from the public of Karachi, and it is significant that 2 among them were from the firm of the Ralli Brothers whose proprietor was then a minister of the Greek Govt. and an avowed enemy of Islam.

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THE KARACHI TRIAL

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Mahomed Ali's Statement at the Karachi Trial

In the course of a long statement made at the request of the Magistrate, Maulana Mahomed Ali after accepting full responsibility for the resolution, the subject matter of the charge, said :—

"It seems to me that, unless Government has been made deliberately to misunderstand the drift of that and a similar resolution at Gokak, it is the aim of Government itself to put false stress upon the army part of the resolution as their justification for betraying once more the word given through the mouth of the Viceroy regarding our prosecution. But that is his own concern and I have little to do with it beyond expressing my gratefulness that for once it has come into the open and has challenged Islam in India to do what it can in defence of the faith. It was clear to everybody at the time of the Gokak and Karachi Conferences that it was only a matter of "touch and go" with regard to the re-opening of hostilities by the British against the defenders of Islam and its Khalifa whom the British Government had done everything in its power to destroy and to get destroyed in its characteristic fashion through third parties. Indian Mussalmans who had given a warning to this Government were fast losing patience and we feared that the peace of India might be disturbed in vain attempts by the more ardent if not the more imperious amongst our co-religionists in this country to compel this Government to respect their religious obligations and save the Khilafat.

"We realised our responsibility to God and man and diverted the wandering attention of excited Mussalmans into a fruitful channel. We warned Government of two things, firstly, of the commencement of civil disobedience in concert with the Congress and secondly, in December next at a forthcoming session of the Congress, of the Declaration of Indian freedom and the establishment of Republic in India. These two were to be contingent on the re-opening of hostilities by the British—whether secretly or openly, whether directly or through the Greeks—against the remnant of the temporal power of Islam. Every newspaper in the country, co-operator or non-co-operator, discussed the question of the Indian Republic looming in the distance, and I do not know if anyone discussed in the public the question of the Indian Army which, as is clear from wordings of both the resolutions, is only incidentally involved. 500 of the most distinguished Ulemas of the Muslims of India had several months previously issued a most clear and unambiguous religious pronouncement with regard to non-cooperation including the questions of membership of the Legislative

Council, practice at the bar, education in Government-aided schools, titles and honorary offices and of course services under Government whether as soldier or as civilian. If it was said that the Karachi and Gokak Conferences were held mainly to ask these poor title-holders, who had purchased their title by the sale of much honour and hugged them to their bosoms, it would have been hardly more ridiculous than this belated attempt to discover a conspiracy to tamper with the loyalty of our loyal troops. I say "hardly more ridiculous than this", for, whereas I despair of these title-holders, I have every hope from our loyal soldiers. Government have not spared the humiliation of giving them a compliment even in its last communique regarding our intended prosecution and the extent to which that compliment is well deserved is also the extent of the demoralisation brought in a religious people by an irreligious Government, and if that compliment has been truly paid, I make the abject confession that it is the *Karma* (our misdeeds) and our gross negligence of our poor brothers in the Army which is coming home to chastise us in the hour of our need ; but we cannot neglect our hunger-stricken unsophisticated brothers any longer, and although I was absolutely ignorant of the existence of the leaflet sent to the Mussalmans in the army, called 'officers' only by way of euphemism, I am glad that the Association of the Ulemas is at long last carrying the message of God to the Indian Army. I may correct myself as I am informed that the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* denies having issued these leaflets to the Indian Army but I trust they will soon convert the forgery into a fact.

"Now, Sir, I should like to say that in 1858 when there had been a mutiny in this country involving the Indian Army, the main issue was a religious one. Queen Victoria who assumed the reins of administration for the first time issued a Proclamation in order to pacify and reassure the people. A curious incident is worth mentioning about this Proclamation. Along with titles of the Ruling Sovereigns of England is the significant title "Defender of the faith." The Prime Minister of those days, perhaps as adroit as the Prime Minister of these days, was in hope that in the Indian translation, this significant translation would appear as protector of religion generally, but he was told by experts in vernacular that it was justifiable to convey to the Indian mind the idea of this special head and champion of a creed antagonistic to the creed of the country. So long Lord Derby was inclined to omit it but he sought the opinion of the Queen herself. She resolutely refused. Lord Derby himself redrafted the Proclamation and here is the very first paragraph therein relating to the obligations of the Queen towards the people of India in which she says:—"By the blessings of

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Almighty God shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." This ~~relates~~ to our religion and runs as follows.—"Firmly relying on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging the solace of religion, we disclaim the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects." And yet for two days and a half, my friend, the Counsel on behalf the Crown, has been trying to impose convictions, I do not know whose but certainly not ours, on six very good Mussalmans and one very good Hindu. The proclamation adds: "We declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances. But that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law," which I hope you are going to do.

"It goes on to say—" And We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure." The first authority mentioned in the Proclamation is the Governor General himself, and I understand that it is with his concurrence that we have been molested and disquieted by reason of our religious faith.

"All men have enjoyed the protection of the law. The law itself had been administered without disrespect to any creed or caste, or to the usages and ideas rooted in your civilization. When the present Sovereign of India ascended the throne, he issued a letter to the Princes and people of India, on the 24th May 1910, in the course of which he said referring to the two Proclamations from which I have cited:—"All these are the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of the Impartial Rule," and by that spirit this is the protection of the law that we are enjoying. No Sovereign can survey the labours of his Government any longer with a clear gaze or with good conscience, and these poor charters will only serve to mock the noble and benignant spirit of the Imperial Rule which seeks to-day to impose heathen convictions on a believing people and would lead them to look upon God as a figure-head and not as the one real fact of our daily existence. For, after all, what is the meaning of this precious prosecution? By whose convictions we, the Hindus and Mussalmans of India, are to be guided? Speaking as a Mussalman, if I am supposed to have erred from the right path, the only way to convince me of my error is to refer me to the Holy Quoran, or the authentic traditions of the last of the Prophets, (on whom be peace and God's benedictions), or to the religious pronouncements of recognised Mussalman divines, past and present, which purport to be based on these two original sources of Islamic authority, and I contend that I have not erred, only because all

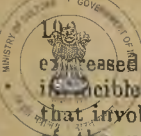
M. MAHOMED ALI'S STATEMENT [KARACHI

religious authority demands from me in the present circumstances the precise action for which a Government that does not like to be called "Satanic" is prosecuting me to-day. That which I neglect becomes a deadly sin, and is yet a crime when I do not neglect it—how am I to consider my action in this country? I must either be a sinner or a criminal, and like one British Prime Minister of Eastern origin, and like the Secretary of State and Viceroy of to-day, I like to be on the side of the angels. Islam recognises One Sovereignty of God, which is supreme, unconditioned, indivisible and inalienable. This can be seen from the following discourse of the Prophet Yusuf (on whom be peace) with his fellow prisoners, in the twelfth chapter of the Holy Quoran,—“Oh my fellow-prisoners, are sundry lords better or the One All controlling God? Ye serve not besides Him other than the names which ye have named and your fathers.” God hath sent down therefore no warrant. There is no Government but God's. He hath commanded that ye serve none but His Own-Self. This is the right religion, but the great part of men know it not. I am afraid that is even more true to-day, when the poor Subedar-Major is called upon by the Officer Commanding to ignore the very first duty he owes to his Maker. The Sovereignty of God was carried on in His name, from time to time, among various tribes and peoples by the Prophets sent down to them, and when Mahomet departed from this world as the last of the Prophets, after having brought the final message of God's peace to all mankind, he was followed by his *Khulra* or successors, who were entitled “Commanders of the Faithful” (Amir Ul-Kashim). They continued the succession to this day. The present Commander of the Faithful, according to one creed, being His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey. The only allegiance that the Mussalman, whether civilian or soldier, whether living under a Moslem or non-Moslem administration owes, as commanded by the word of the Quoran, is his allegiance to God and to those in authority from among the Mussal-mans, the chief amongst the last mentioned being, of course, the prophet, successor or the “Commander of the faithful.” But to those latter his allegiance, unless his allegiance to his God and his Prophet is subordinate and conditional allegiance, is the following according to the fourth chapter of the Quoran entitled ‘Nisar or women,’—“Oh ye faithful, obey God, the Prophet and those who are in authority from among you, and if ye dispute regarding aught, refer it unto God and his prophet if ye believed in God till the last day.” This is the better and the fairest determination. If the “Commander of the Faithful,” the successor of Prophet himself, commands a Mussalman to do anything that he is unwilling to do, he is not only entitled but is required to refer the matter in dispute

between himself and the highest human authority that he recognises to-day, to the arbitrament of the "Holy Quoran" and the authentic traditions of the Prophet. This is the central doctrine of Islam which is summed up in the well known "Kalema" or creed "*la ilaha illa Alla Mahomed Resulilla*".—"There is no God but God and Mahomed is His Prophet." This Doctrine of Unity is not a mathematical formula elaborated by abstruse thinkers, but a work-a-day, belief of every Mussalman, learned or unlettered. It was to test the clearness and purity of his belief that Khalifa Umar one day turned to the congregation assembled in the mosque for the service he was conducting, and asked them what they would do if he, who was by far the greatest conqueror amongst the successors of the Prophet, commanded them to do anything that was against the Commandments of God and the traditions of the Prophet; and the only proper answer for a Muslim to give to such a question was given by Hazrat Ali, who himself subsequently became the Khalifa,—that if Hazrat Omar did command such an infraction of the law of God, he, Ali, who had sworn an allegiance to him as his Khalifa, would unhesitatingly cut off his head. I believe a similar contingency arose in the course of British rule, not in India but in England, when the Puritans knocked off the head of a King who very much believed in the divine right of Kings.

"Mussalmans have before this also, and elsewhere too, lived in peaceful subjection under the non-Moslem administration but the unalterable rule is and has always been that as Mussalmans they can obey only such laws and orders issued by their secular rulers as do not involve disobedience to the commandments of God who, in the expressive language of the Holy Quoran, is The All-Ruling Ruler. These very clear and rigidly definite limits of obedience are not laid down with regard to the authority of non-Muslim administration only. On the contrary they are of universal application, and can neither be enlarged nor reduced in any case. Neither His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, my own Sovereign, nor His Exalted Highness the Nizam, nor even His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey dare demand from His Muslim subjects obedience to such commands of his as transgress the laws of Islam. A further exposition of the principle is provided by the following among other authentic traditions of the Prophet.

"For a Mussalman to hear is to obey whether he likes what is ordained or he does not like it, provided it does not ordain aught that constitute divine disobedience. And if he is ordained aught that constitutes divine disobedience, there is neither hearing nor obedience is due in aught that constitute divine disobedience: obedience is due only to that which is righteous. The same idea is



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expressed in another tradition of the Prophet the logic of which is inescapable. "No obedience is due to a creature of God in aught that involves disobedience to the Creator Himself." A due warning of the ultimate consequence to which the anti-Khilafat and anti-Islamic policy of Mr. Lloyd George's Government was driving was given by the Muslims of India, by the Indian Khilafat Delegation, of which I had the honour to be the head. The last mentioned tradition was cited more than once, and also in the course of the interview which the Delegation had with him at 10, Downing Street on the 19th March 1920. There is, therefore, nothing in the action of Indian Mussalmans generally, or ourselves particularly, that should have come as a surprise to the Government. We owed a duty to God and we owed a duty to the Empire in the last resort. When the demands of the Imperial Government came into direct conflict with the demands of the universal Government of God, as Mussalmans we could only obey God and are endeavouring to do so to the best of our humble capacity. A Mussalman's affection and disaffection are alike regulated by Divine pleasure. As the prophet said "Love is in God. Hate is in God." So long as the Mussalmans of India had not been forcibly driven to believe that the British Government was the enemy of God and the enemy of Islam they remained loyal to it through thick and thin. My grandfather served it in the Mutiny. Their loyalty was carried to such a length that it was often made, and not always without reason, a reproach on them by the sister communities in India. But they have now been convinced of the hostility of the Government to their faith, as well as to their country, by the policy pursued for more than a decade by the Government with regard to Islamic States, and particularly the Khilafat, to which every Mussalman owes allegiance as a part of his creed. During the last war, which so far as the Khilafat is concerned has not yet ceased, pledges solemnly given by the Government regarding the freedom of the Holy Places of Islam, which are territories and not buildings, from attack and molestation, and the retention by the Khalifa of his capital in Constantinople and of Thrace and Smyrna, have been broken with the same light hearted ease with which the religious obligations of the Mussalmans, on the full respect for which Muslim loyalty has always been based, when they were compelled to fight against the Muslim armies of the Khalifa. This was done even after the declaration of *Jehad*, and our terror-stricken warriors were packed off to fight in what responsible ministers themselves, including the Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill, then Minister of Marine, characterised as a Crusade. That Crusade still continues, and now Christian recruits have been enlisted by the Government to carry the Crusade into the

hospitals of the Turks in the persons of the Greeks who became responsible for the Greek invasion of Turkey in contravention of the terms of the armistice, and it has in many ways, both open and secret, assisted the Greeks who are also responsible for the shameless and nameless atrocities which they have indubitably perpetrated on the showing of the Allied Commission of Inquiry. If Indian Mussalmans had a more effective force at their command to try conclusions with the Government, they would have been obliged to-day by the Islamic law, if they chose to remain Moslems, to declare a Holy War against it, and this dispute of ours would then have been in the course of settlement at a very different place from *Khalikdana*. But in the regrettable absence of such force, such of them as can arrange to leave the country are requested by the same law to migrate to a safer land where no Crown Prosecutor would molest or disquiet their religious faith, though, of course, only with a view to return to it after they had freed their country and made it safe for the undisturbed worship of God.

Crown Counsel—Section 342 Cr. P. Code lays down that the accused shall get the chance to make a statement explaining the evidence in the case.

Mr. Mahomed Ali—After all I am explaining my case and making the evidence clear. I demand of every Mussalman that he would do his duty towards God first, and his Sovereign next. That is the charge laid against me and I am explaining away that charge. I am making no speech. I am making a statement of religious law by which I have been bound to go. The punishment has to be given to me. Mr. Smart would not be hanged for the charge; it is I who will go to the gallows. Am I to follow God or your laws? Are the Proclamations of Queen Victoria, King Edward, King George mere scraps of paper? With the resolution pertaining to the army and troops I am now dealing. I am sure there is nothing irrelevant in my statement.

[He then continued with his statement—]

"But in June 1920, the Central Khilafat Committee in accordance with the Laws of Islam and in consultation with some leading compatriots of ours of other faiths decided upon a course of action which gave the Mussalmans hope of early emancipation without having to wage war against Government or to migrate to another country. They resolved that they would, to begin with, cease to co-operate with Government, and this way, while incidentally helping to paralyse the administration, they would no longer be a party to such hostile action as Government still continued to take against the Khilafat and Islam. This plan of Non-co-operation was based

online well-known Islamic doctrine of "Tark Mawalat" for which there is ample authority in the Holy Quoran itself, not to mention the numerous authentic traditions of the Prophet on the subject. Only a few passages from the Holy Quoran are here cited :—

[Here follows a long question from the Quoran]

"These verses, it may be here mentioned, were revealed when, on the eve of the conquest of Mecca, a companion of the Prophet Hatabibu i abi-Baltaa, had by a letter which was intercepted sought to advise the Mecca infidels to be on their guard merely because he wished thereby to induce them to treat his family, who was still at Mecca, with kindness. The verses laying down a very different course of conduct with regard to the relation of Mussalmans with a different class of non-Muslims to those warring against Islam are said to have been revealed with reference to the action of Hazrat Asma, the daughter of Hazrat Abubakar and sister of the Prophet's wife Hazrat Ayesha, who had gone so far in her renunciation of her own mother who was still an Unbeliever that she had not only refused to accept the presents which her mother had brought to her but had even denied her admittance. Both these incidents indicate the rigidly fixed limits of a Muslim's relations with non-Muslims, distinguishing clearly between such non-Muslims as war against them on account of their religion and dispossess them of their homelands, and such others as do not. Since the British Government so obviously falls in the first category, co operation or friendly relations with it is not possible for a Mussalman.

[A few more passages from the Holy Quoran were cited here on the subject just to indicate that there is no lack of them.]

"There are, besides these, many more verses in the Holy Quoran itself, not to mention the Traditions of the Prophet, every one of which forbids a Mussalman, on pain of the wrath of God and the most grievous Hell, to maintain relations of amity and friendship, much less rendering assistance to or co operating, with such Non-Moslems as are at war with Moslems, and oppose God and his Apostle, which is precisely the case here. Indeed, so rigid is the Law of Islam in this behalf that Mussalmans are forbidden even to assist each other in aught that is unrighteous. Says the Holy Quoran: 'Assist each other in righteousness and God-fearing, but assist not each other in sin and transgression.'

"These being the limits of co operation even among Mussalmans themselves, how is it to be supposed that co-operation will be permissible with Infidels waging war against Islam and the defenders of Islam as Government is doing to this day, and co-operation too in waging that very war itself? Five hundred of the most disting-



Ulemas of Islam in India issued a juridical pronouncement it months before the Karachi Khilafat Conference was even thought of by anybody in India. But all of a sudden, when the shameless effort of the Government to twist our statement regarding non-violence into a recantation and abject surrender for fear of prosecution failed so ignominiously through the persistence of Mahatma Gandhi, the incidental mention of the Army in the resolution of the Karachi Conference was pounced upon by Government as subsequent to the Gandhi-Reading interviews, and lo and behold the *Fatwa* of the Ulemas was declared forfeited of His Majesty, after perhaps half a million copies thereof had been distributed all over India by various provincial and local bodies in addition to the central organisations themselves. Not by such tricks, I submit, can three hundred and twenty millions be ruled in the twentieth century.

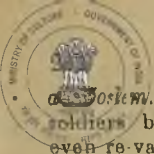
"And on what is the *Fatwa* of these five hundred divines based? On the clearest and most emphatic commands contained in the Holy Quoran which prescribes the severest sanctions, and on the repeated testimony of the Prophet's most authentic Traditions, I do not think I can do better than cite both without argument or comment of my own, for none is really necessary.

(Here followed another citation, re. infidels.)

"And this Infidel Government prosecutes six Mussalmans and a Hindu of recognised sanctity for calling upon Mussalmans to respect the sanctity of Moslem life and Moslem property that is greater than the sanctity of the Holy of Holies, after having outraged the sanctity of both!

"It is to this infidelity that Government still continues to invite Moslem soldiers, and when we remind them of this solemn warning of the Prophet on so solemn an occasion, a Government which desire us to disregard even the Prophet's dying injunction regarding the elimination of all non Moslem control from the Jazirat-ul-Arah, prosecutes us inspite of all the Proclamation of all British Sovereigns who have solemnly disclaimed alike the right and the desire of imposing their own convictions on us.

"I will only mention one fact which should bring the law of Islam home to all. The Sepoy Mutiny after which the Queen's Proclamation was issued had originated with greased cartridges in which cow's and swine's grease was believed to be mixed. But Islamic law, according to the best authorities which I can cite, not only permits a Moslem to take swine's flesh if he is in case of *refusal* threatened with death, but lays it down he would die a sinner if he refused it, but if he is threatened with death unless he slays another Moslem *he must refuse*—He may, in like circumstances, even resent Islam, if he continues to be a believer at heart : but *he must not slay*



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at Moscow. And yet a Government which is so tender as to ask soldiers before enlistment whether they object to vaccination or even re-vaccination, would compel a Moslem to do something worse than apostasise or eat pork. If there is any value in the boast of toleration and in the Proclamations of three Sovereigns, then we have performed religious and legal duty in calling upon Muslim soldiers in these circumstances to withdraw from the Army, and are neither sinners nor criminals."

The End of the Trial

The trial ended on November 1st. 1921. The prosecution relied mainly on the second paragraph of the 6th resolution passed at the Khilafat Conference in Karachi on July 9th 1921. The charges against the accused were (1) the major charge under section 120B read with section 131 i. e., being parties to a criminal conspiracy to seduce Mussalman officers and soldiers in His Majesty's Army from their duty ; and (2) the minor charge under section 505 read with sections 109 and 107 i. e. with making a statement or abetting in the same with intent or likely to cause Mussalman officers and soldiers in the Army to disregard or fail in their duty. The minimum punishment provided by the sections are transportation for life under the first set, if it was held that there was a conspiracy to attempt to seduce troops ; and if it was held that the leaflets were not sent by any member of the conspiracy in pursuance of that conspiracy, the maximum punishment would then be seven years' rigorous imprisonment. Under the second set of charges the punishment provided are 2 and 3 years respectively.

Addressing the jury, the Judge said that the jury must dismiss from their minds anything which might have appeared in the papers about the Khilafat agitation. Some of the accused seemed learned and pious men and all seemed esteemed citizens to whom the country would owe much if they followed the right path, and Islam and the Empire and this country might have been profited by them had they not taken up the attitude they had done. Yet they could not but deeply regret that some of the accused were at the bar in this court instead of being high in the service or the councils of His Majesty. They must not, however, let that make them swerve from the path of the duty according to the law of the land and the evidence before the court.

The Verdict of the Jury

The Jury then retired to consider their verdict and returned after an absence of two hours and a half. A large expectant crowd had now gathered in the court anxious to hear the end of the case. The verdict of the jury was unanimous in holding all the accused

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not guilty under the two conspiracy charges, that is, the first and second charges under section 120 3 read with section 131, while four of the jurors held that accused number one was guilty under section 505 and accused numbers two to five and number seven guilty under section 505 with section 109. They also found accused number one guilty under section 117 I. P. C. and accused numbers two to five and number seven guilty under section 117 read with section 109. The fifth juror returned a verdict of "not guilty" against all the accused.

With regard to accused number 6, Bharaty Krishna Tirthaji, the jury unanimously held him not guilty, giving him the benefit of doubt.

The sentence pronounced by the Judge was that he was not inclined to disagree with the verdict of the majority of the assessors. He acquitted accused number six, Bharati Krishna Trithaji, on all the charges and convicted all the remaining six accused on the charges in accordance with the verdict of the assessors and sentenced them each to two years' rigorous imprisonment on each of the charges, the sentences to run concurrently in all cases.

No sooner was the sentence delivered than a tumult broke out and the court at once ceased to be a court any longer, though the judge still continued seated on the bench. Uproarious cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai* and *Moulana Mahomed Ali ki Jai* were raised and the whole crowd made a rush around the accused. Mr. Mahomed Ali got up and raising his voice above the din shouted that they would be free men under Swaraj before the expiry of the sentence. After a minute he added, addressing the judge: Let me tell you extra-judicially that the opinion you expressed on the religious questions are wrong.

The scene outside the court premises was one of similar excitement but on a very large scale. Thousands of people who had been waiting for hours to hear the sentence, made a rush forward and began wildly to cheer the prison-van as it disappeared out of sight. The acquitted Swami was next the object of attraction. A party of Hindus and Mahomedans equipped with the paraphernalia requisite for taking the Swami in procession was waiting outside in readiness as they had anticipated his acquittal. This party was admitted into the court premises at once and the Swami was taken in procession through the streets followed by large cheering crowds.

The Moral Effect produced

The Great State trial ended as was expected. The conviction of the accused was a foregone conclusion. What really surprised the public was the verdict of "not guilty" on the more serious of the charges. In view of this verdict the still more serious

THE MORAL EFFECT OF THE TRIAL [KARACHI]

charge of sedition launched against Mahomed Ali was subsequently withdrawn by the Government. The trial was unique in the history of political trials in India. The accused for the first time threw aside the laws of the bureaucracy and took their stand on the eternal laws of religion to vindicate themselves. At the same time they set at naught with contempt the dignity, the authority and the prestige of British Courts. They put point-blank the momentous issue, which no accused ever did before, whether the laws of the British Government were to be held superior to their religious laws: why should the people of India be bound by the laws of a foreign government in the making of which not they but the foreign government had the determining authority? Mr. Mahomed Ali made it clear that the Government of India was not established by law as it claimed for. Indians had no hand in passing laws. It was a Government established by might of arms and which extorted obedience by force or show of force. The proceedings in the court for once smashed the authority and prestige of British Courts of Justice. More than all the agitation set up by the Khilafatists, the defiance and fearlessness of the great leaders in the dock helped to produce an atmosphere of infection making the people think much less of the might of the British Raj than they were wont to do.

"Stand up,"—"we won't"; "sit down,"—"we won't"; "don't talk,"—"we would"; "I shall hand you over to the Police"—"do so"; "I shall punish you for contempt of court"—"do punish";—these and similar dialogues between the court and the accused, and in every one of which it was the court who had to yield, revealed to the people with a clearness hitherto unattempted what they are capable of doing if they can once get rid of that attitude of mind on which rests the power of the bureaucracy, namely, fear of punishment. Not once or twice but several times at the instance of the court, the Superintendent of Police had approached the defying and truculent accused to enforce obedience to the court's order, but as many times his hands stayed behind and as many times the court was forced to eat his own order and threats. In spite of the whole physical force of the State behind the Judge, he was powerless. He had several times attempted to strike in the paroxysm of his anger, but each time he failed. He saw the dignity of the court crumbling down before him, but he felt that he was helpless to prevent it. He fully knew that any violence on his part would be met by dignified non-violence, that some indefinable force of the accused was paralysing his arms every time that he raised them to deal the knock out blow. The object of the accused was not to show any disrespect to the Judge as a gentleman. But they were determined not to recognise the jurisdiction of any court established by the Government by

showing respect to it or otherwise. They regulated their conduct from the start of the proceedings in that spirit. Thus they did not stand up when the Judge made his appearance in court, and when the latter, naturally ignorant of the motive of the accused, called upon them to show the respect due to him as a representative of His Majesty's Government, they refused and declared their readiness to accept any punishment. When the court, who still did not realise that here was wholly a new situation to deal with but thought that the accused meant to be discourteous to him, threatened that the chairs which were given to them would be removed, a strange scene was witnessed. The accused shoved away their chairs and seated themselves on the floor; and more than three-fourths of the audience present in court did the same. The court persisted that the accused must stand up to show respect and was met with point-blank refusal which at last he had to accept with as much grace as he could command. Throughout the proceedings the tug of war had continued between the desire of the court to enforce obedience and respect and determination of the accused, as non-co operators, not to submit to his desire. And it was the Judge who had to yield.

Prosecution of Mr. Yakub Hassan

The policy of crushing the Khilafat agitation by striking at the heads of the movement all over India was necessitated by the turn of events in the Greeco-Turkish War and the great solicitude and commitments of the British Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, for the Greeks. Simultaneously with the Karachi trial was going on another important trial of a great Moslem leader in South India. Mr. Yakub Hassan was arrested at Madras on 21st October and brought over to Tanjore charged with sedition in his speech delivered as the president of the Madras Provincial Conference held on the 27th, and 28th August last. The trial was held at the Court of Mr. H. G. Gharpurey, I. C. S., the Indian District Magistrate of Tanjore, and not very far away from the scene of the trial a huge pile of foreign cloth was burning. Regarding the charge of bringing the Govt. into hatred and contempt, Mr. Hassan said in the course of his long statement :—

Greater personages than myself have done that work only too well and have left no field for Indians to work upon in that direction. When Mr. Lloyd George generously gave away Thrace and Smyrna, the homelands of the Turks, to Greece as a reward for the latter's services in the war against the protest of the most important member of the British Empire itself, it was his acts that lowered the British Government in the estimation of the Indian people and brought it into hatred and contempt. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer supplemented on Indian soil the Imperial work of Mr. Lloyd George and they have eminently succeeded in bringing down the British Raj from the high pedestal of honour, justice and truth, as it existed in the imagination of the people. I therefore

believe that no religion-loving Muslim and self-respecting Hindu any longer have good-will towards the Government, and the loyalty of India has shrunk to the narrow policy of expediency in the breast of the people who do not care to risk their own peace, contentment, comforts and other personal advantages for the greater good of Islam and the motherland. Even the loyalists and co-operators cannot be said to entertain a feeling contrary to disaffection, i. e. affection, for the present Government. At best they are merely tolerating the present system as a necessary evil till it is replaced by complete responsible Government. The offence Government has committed against Islam is so grave that it becomes the duty of all Mussalmans, if called upon to do so, to do 'Jehad' with Government that has become, by its own conduct according to Muslim law, the enemy of Islam.

If this consummation is brought about through its own efforts and not as a gift of England, India will be in a position to dictate terms on which it can remain within the British Commonwealth and the self-interest of both England and India may not let the contingency of severance of all connections to arise.

People who purchased members' and visitors' tickets assembled at Tanjore at the 27th annual sessions of the Madras Provincial Conference on August 27th and 28th last, had already identified themselves with the programme of non-violent non-co-operation and members had signed the creed of the National Congress. It was my duty as President to survey the present situation and to narrate in the Presidential address the circumstances that led to the adoption of the programme of non-violent non-co-operation and, in concluding the speech, to comment on the resolution adopted at the sitting of the Conference. The truth of the narration of the occurrences, incidents and facts cannot be gainsaid.

If it was a good and just Government it would have felt ashamed of and repented for these facts and tried to make amends, but as the Government is the reverse of good and just it takes advantage of a Section of the Code of law that makes even the speaking of truth an offence and shuts up men in prisons. Freedom and liberty of speech has proved to be disastrous to the continuation of the present system of Government. The Viceroy at the first interview between him and Gandhi, in his speech at the Chelmsford Club, and again in the Government communique regarding the statement of Shaikat Ali and Mahomed Ali, made it clear that the prosecution of the Ali Brothers was contemplated only because certain passages in their speeches were alleged to be an incitement to violence. The Viceroy said that the object of the Government would be attained if making of speeches of violent character was in future prevented. So far as Government was concerned we achieved our immediate object which was to prevent incitement to violence. The Viceroy has here laid down a principle for the guidance of Local Governments and that is that proceedings should only be taken against accused when so-called attempts to excite disaffection amounted to an incitement to violence. I wonder if it is intended to break even this pledge. I am clear in my own conscience that I have not broken the Congress creed by inciting or attempting to incite the audience to violence. On the other hand my speeches are full of appeal to the people to adhere strictly to non-violence. I impressed upon them that non-violence was absolutely essential for the success of our movement. I told them if they failed to acquire that power by peaceful and non-violent means their movement would be doomed forever and there will be no salvation for India or Islam, and I said in my closing speech I am fully convinced of our ability to establish Swaraj through non-co-operation. That non-violence has become an article of faith with me. Since my arrest I have studied the Penal Code and some literature on its sections 124 (A) and 153 (A). I also had the advantage of discussing the law of sedition with some learned



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PERSECUTIONS OF MOSLEMS

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I have satisfied myself and I have the opinion of eminent Vakils to let me know that speeches in respect of which I am now prosecuted cannot legally bring me within the clutches of the law if I were to put in a proper defence and engage able lawyers. My position can be vindicated as much in the eye of the law as I am sure it will be vindicated in the eye of the public through this statement. If I had succeeded through legal defence and been acquitted I would have assisted the Court to do justice for once in respect of the so-called political offenders, but the more injustice the present Government does the more condemned it gets in the eyes of the public. The All-India Congress Committee has instructed the upholders of the movement not to defend themselves in a British court of law. And I have accordingly offered no defence."

Eventually on November 7th the Magistrate convicted and passed a sentence of 2 years' simple imprisonment on Mr. Hassan, and curiously enough practically pronounced judgment on the Malabar disturbances with which he connected the accused although Mr. Hassan was not charged and tried on this particular count.

Of the endless Moslem persecutions going on all over the country it is not possible here to give details. Everywhere the story was the same : charge of sedition, or order to be bound over for good behaviour by giving security, refusal of same and no defence, and straight to gaol for one or two years. Moulana Ahmad Said, Secretary of the *Jamiat ul-Ulema-Hind*, of Delhi was given 1 year's rigorous imprisonment for refusing to give a bond of good behaviour. The Pir Sahib of Faridpur, a venerable Moslem divine with a million of moslem disciples in Bengal, was arrested, and taken publicly from Faridpur to Calcutta handcuffed and bound by a rope round the waist like a common felon. He was required to furnish a security for good behaviour, and on his refusal was given one year's hard labour. Maulana Abdul Majid Sheriar, president of the Madras Provincial Khilafat Conference held at Tanjore, was likewise arrested and convicted for sedition. Maulvi Nazir Ahmed of the "*Mahammadi*", Chittagong, was sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment on refusing to give security. And so on ; the "roll of honour", as the non co-operators call it, fill up scores of pages of the newspapers of the period.



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The All-India Congress Committee

DELHI, NOVEMBER 4TH, 1921.

On November 4th the great Delhi meeting of the All-India Congress Committee came in. It had two important tasks before it : one, to compose the threatening split inside the Congress camp over the Nehru-Achariyar controversy, and second, to allay the surging tide of feeling of the more extreme non-co-operators, especially the 'Young Moslems', to launch into civil disobedience at once.

The Threatened Split

The first involved some constitutional question upon which Mr. Achariar, the President, had ruled that the calling of the meeting was not in order and Mr. Nehru, the Secretary, regarded that ruling as ultra-vires.

The following press-note was issued by Pundit Motilal Nehru on October 18th :—

"In view of the Associated Press message dated Madras, Oct. 17th, announcing that Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar, President of the Congress has postponed the meeting of the All India Committee fixed for 4th November, at Delhi, the following statement is issued for the information of all the members of the Committee. The President's action in circularising provincial Committee's and issuing Press note is ultra-vires. The Working Committee at a meeting held at Bombay on the 5th October presided by Mahatma Gandhi passed a formal resolution calling a meeting of the All India Committee at Delhi on the 4th November. Under the constitution article 24 the Working Committee shall perform functions delegated from time to time by the All India Committee. The latter Committee at a meeting held at Bombay on 28th, 29th and 30th July passed the following resolution :—

"The All India Committee hereby authorises the Working Committee to take all actions necessary to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress and the All India Committee and to deal with all matters the All-India Committee is empowered to deal with, which may arise whilst this Committee is not sitting and which require urgent attention. The powers of the All-India Committee are laid down in the constitution as follows :—

"The All India Committee shall be a Committee of the Congress to carry out programme of work laid down by the Congress from

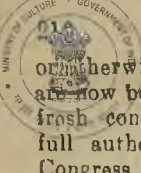


year to year to deal with any new matter that may arise during the year and may not be provided by Congress itself (article 21).

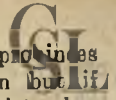
It is clear that the members of the All-India Committee in a meeting assembled have undoubted right to say when and where they shall meet again. Under general delegation of powers made by the All India Committee by the resolution quoted above, that right among other things now vested in the Working Committee and the latter have in lawful exercise of that right formally resolved that the All-India Committee shall meet at Delhi on the 4th. November. This resolution is as binding on the President as on the members. Apart from the position thus covered by definite rule and resolution the President's claim that he alone can call a meeting of the All-India Committee is wholly without foundation. It is the business of the executive of an organisation among other things to call meetings of members. The President is no doubt the principal executive officer but does not in his own person constitute the whole executive which undoubtedly is the working committee. The President, however important his position, is not entitled to brush aside resolution of the full executive of which he is only one of the members.

"Out of the total strength of 15 members 11 were present at the meeting unanimously agreed to call the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi on the 4th November. It will be noticed that the constitution gives right to any 15 members of the All-India Congress Committee to requisition a committee meeting and lays down that such requisition shall be carried out (Article 19). It would, to say the least, be anomalous to hold that the chosen executive of the Committee which also consists of 15 members has no such right.

"Therefore the President acted entirely without jurisdiction in over-riding the resolution of the Working Committee. The President's view that the present structure of the All-India Congress Committee is unconstitutional has not been accepted by the majority of the members of the Working Committee to whom the question was specifically referred to by the All-India Congress Committee. That view, assuming it right, is merely the personal view of the President and cannot be enforced in the face of Resolution 17, the Working Committee passed at Bombay on the 2nd August which declared it undesirable in the interest of the country such disturbance as in the Bengal and Madras elections and advised such persons from those provinces as felt aggrieved to co operate with the Provincial organizations with a view to the prosecution of the C. programme to a successful issue. That advice has been adopted and there is no longer any question outstanding as to the validity



ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE



otherwise of the said elections. All parties of both the provinces are now peacefully working together without any objection but if fresh controversy be raised the All-India Congress Committee has full authority to dispose of it. The elections of the All-India Congress Committee are to be held under the constitution in November (Article 19.) Most of the provinces have not yet even begun election and it is not expected that all elections will be completed and reported to the General Secretary before the beginning of December. The President's suggestion means that the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee cannot take place before the third week of December, that is, within a week or ten days of the Annual Congress Session by which time we shall either be in full view of Swaraj or all the prominent workers including Mahatma Gandhi will be in Jail. The President recognises the existence of grave problems demanding entire attention of the Committee and yet proposes dilatory procedure which will make a meeting of the Committee entirely unnecessary and infructuous. In view of the seriousness and urgency of political situation which will be apparent to everybody it will be highly detrimental to public interests to delay the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in deference to the wishes of the President. When vital interests are at stake it is impossible to sacrifice them to the view of any single member of the Congress, however exalted his position may be. It is evident that sharp difference of opinion amongst responsible members of the Congress having arisen there must be some authority within the Congress organisation to settle it finally. That authority can only be the All India Congress Committee, and instead of perpetuating this difference of opinion the only reasonable course to follow is to have the meeting of the Committee as early as possible to give an authoritative decision once for all if the question is properly raised before it for the above reasons. It is hereby announced that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee as fixed by the Working Committee for the 4th November at Dr. Ansari's Bungalow, Daryaganja, Delhi will take place at the appointed time and place. All members are earnestly requested to attend."

On the Committee meeting on November 4th., discussion commenced on Mahatma Gandhi's motion endorsing the action of Pt. Motilal Nehru as against that of the president in carrying out the resolution of the Working Committee convening that meeting and also endorsing the resolutions of the Working Committee regarding complaints of irregularity about the last elections to the All-India Congress Committee in Bengal and Madras. The resolutions referred to advised the aggrieved parties in Bengal and Madras to co-operate with their Provincial organisations and



CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE TO START

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and that the adoption of the method of single transferable vote in the matter of election of delegates to the Congress be left to the option of the Provincial Congress Committees. Mr. Gandhi appealed to the members to set aside all differences and recognise the position that stared them in the face in the country. He said the committee had to give its verdict as to whether after having armed the Working Committee with all the powers, it was not the elementary right of the Working Committee to call together a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. After hearing Mr. Gandhi the members agreed with his view and then the following resolution was passed —

"The All-India Congress Committee endorses the resolution of the Working Committee convening this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and also endorses the resolution of the Working Committee regarding complaints about last elections to the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held in Bombay on the 2nd August and in Calcutta on the 7th September."

Civil Disobedience

Next the question of civil disobedience was taken up and before adjournment the Committee took one step forward on the non-co-operation programme by sanctioning a limited form of civil disobedience including the non-payment of taxes, which, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, declared an open but peaceful revolution, and was in fact the key resolution of this sitting. The debate was very lively and some stern fight was set up by several speakers to liberate the resolution from the many restrictions which Mahatma Gandhi had placed in their way. The proceedings revealed a decided and advanced opinion in favour of full-fledged civil disobedience but in almost every case the opposition slowly died down.

Mr. Gandhi in moving the resolution outlined the course all provincial organisations should follow and said that India had during the last ten months made a tremendous head-way. If they were simply to gauge the quantity of progress, there was every reason to feel proud of it, but if he was asked to say whether it was sufficient for the removal of the triple disease that they were suffering from, then he had to confess that it fell far short of the requirements. Hence the necessity of repetition and emphasis of all vital items of the programme of non-co operation so far sanctioned, particularly those mentioned in the resolution on civil disobedience. They were prepared to give no quarter to the Government and should accept none. The bigger the injustice and hardships they were put to, the greater the patience and unflinching determination they observed, the sooner would Swaraj come. Mr. Gandhi defined civil disobedience as a civil resolution which, wherever practised, would mean an end of Government authority and open defiance of the Government and its laws. It was a gigantic step and although provincial autonomy was being granted to provincial organisations in this matter, he advised all to



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what before launching on it and see what he did, if it was at all feasible; in his own district of Gujrat, and after seeing the result they should follow his example, which should open the eyes of the whole world to their wonderful achievement. He knew that at that time mass civil disobedience was impossible, and he would be quite satisfied if in such a big continent only one tahsil or district fully prepared should practise it rather than the whole unprepared masses should partake in it. He advised caution, and reiterated his warning that in view of the gigantic step which the resolution allowed, nothing should be done without a full recognition of the realities, so that once a step was taken there should be no tracing back.

When Mahatma Gandhi concluded his opening speech amendments were rushed forth from all sides, and the chairman was obliged to take the resolution part by part and dispose of all the amendments. The main purpose underlying all these amendments was to secure relaxation in the conditions which would in fact mean the postponement of civil disobedience for some months, and in certain cases make its declaration impracticable. The main bone of contention was that the conditions that individuals practising civil disobedience should know the art of hand spinning and that the district or tahsil launching on it should be self-contained in the matter of clothing its own population, the majority of which should be wearing hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, were impossible for universal practice. The amendments were brought forward by Maulana Haarat Mohani, and Chowdhuri Rambhuj Dutt characterised the limitations as impracticable. Those who supported these amendments contended that supposing any individual tract were ready in every other respect except the full-fledged Swadeshi as defined in the resolution, it would mean that all their sacrifices would be nil when compared with the Swadeshi requirements which unfortunately, due to circumstances over which they had no control, it was difficult for them to fulfil. Unless these restrictions were removed the motion would virtually mean indefinite postponement of civil disobedience, while they had only 6 weeks left to win the Swaraj, or die, or go to jail in the attempt. Moreover economically the condition was ill contrived, for all the districts could never be self-contained.

Mahatma Gandhi, and the supporters of his view, emphasised that having pledged, and believing, that it was only through complete fulfilment of the Swadeshi programme that they could attain Swaraj, it would now be laying the axe at the very root of the edifice so far built if they were to omit the strict compliance with the Swadeshi programme. It was much better to have only one tahsil or one district in the whole of India practice civil disobedience, rather than the entire country, while unprepared for it.



RESOLUTIONS

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Mr. Manjuna Hasrat Mohani pointed out the danger of starting civil disobedience in one particular place, for Government could concentrate its repression on that place. Unless the disobedience was simultaneous, no end would be gained.

After a very heated discussion, in course of which it was not certain on which side the scale might turn, all the amendments except one, which wanted to substitute Indian cloth in place of hand-spun and hand-woven were defeated by a large majority. This amendment was also defeated but by a narrow majority. Upon this Mahatma Gandhi emphasised that they should arrive at a conclusion which they should feel as right and which they should earnestly and sincerely try to put into practice. A casual suggestion, emanating probably from a member, offered as a compromise that at the end of the resolution a proviso be added authorising the Working Committee to relax conditions in any case, when it was amply satisfied that such relaxation was justified in the exceptional circumstances of the case. This suggestion was heartily welcomed by all and reduced the opposition almost to nil, only a couple of voices still persisting in their claim. The debate revealed that there was an ever-growing opinion among the Committee who could not tolerate any postponement of civil disobedience and were anxious that it should be launched immediately. Of the three other minor resolutions that were passed, the second reiterated the famous Karachi resolution on the withdrawal of soldiers from Govt. service.

The following are the resolutions as passed :—

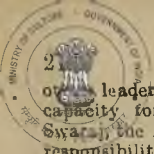
The All-India Congress Committee while regarding progress so far made in swadeshi as encouraging, is of opinion that enough progress has not been made all round and calls upon workers throughout India to devote their exclusive attention to the completion of boycott of foreign yarn and cloth and to the manufacture of hand-spun yarn and hand-woven cloth, so as to enable the country to offer universal civil disobedience, if necessary.

The All-India Congress Committee endorses the resolution passed by the Working Committee regarding the duty of all Government employees, whether civilians or soldiers, and is of opinion that it is the inherent right of a citizen to pronounce his opinion upon the advisability or otherwise of the Government servants leaving civil or military service, and it is the inherent right of every citizen to appeal in an open manner to a soldier or civilian to sever his connection with a Government which has forfeited the confidence and support of the vast majority of the population of India.

The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Non-Co-operators who have been arrested or imprisoned in the country, and is of opinion that their sufferings will hasten the attainment of the country's purpose.

The Civil Disobedience Resolution

Whereas there is not much over one month for the fulfilment of the National determination to establish Swaraj before the end of the year, and whereas the Nation has demonstrated its capacity for exemplary self-restraint by observing perfect non-violence over the arrest and imprisonment of the Ali Brothers and



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over leaders, and whereas it is desirable for the Nation to demonstrate its capacity for further suffering and discipline sufficient for the attainment of Swaraj, the All-India Congress Committee authorises every Province on its own responsibility to undertake civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes in the manner that may be considered the most suitable by respectable Congress Committees, subject to the following conditions :

(1) In the event of individual civil disobedience, the individual must know hand-spinning and must have completely fulfilled that part of the programme which is applicable to him or her, e. g.,—

he or she must have entirely discarded the use of foreign cloth and adopted only hand-spun and hand-woven garments ;

must be a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and in unity between all communities professing different religions in India as an article of faith ;

must believe in non-violence as absolutely essential for the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj and, if a Hindu, must, by his personal conduct, show that he regards untouchability as a blow upon Nationalism.

(2) In the event of mass civil disobedience, a District or Tahsil should be treated as a unity, and therein a vast majority of the population must have adopted full Swadeshi, and must be clothed out of cloths hand-spun and hand-woven in that District or Tahsil, and must believe in and practise all other items of Non-Co-operation.

Provided that no civil resisters should expect to be supported out of public funds, and the members of the family of civil resisters undergoing sentence will be expected to support themselves by carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving or any other means. Provided further that upon application by any Provincial Congress Committee, it is open to the Working Committee to relax the conditions for civil disobedience after it is satisfied that any condition should be waived.



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Arrival of the Prince of Wales

BOMBAY—17TH NOVEMBER 1921

November 1921 is memorable in India's history. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was coming to India as a Royal guest invited by the Viceroy and the Government. What for? There was a conflict of opinion. The Viceroy and the Government declared that there was no political significance in the Royal visit. Mr. Lloyd George, the then Premier, said that the Prince was coming as the "ambassador of the British Nation", in other words as the ambassador of the Lloyd Georgian Govt. to issue a certificate of merit perhaps to that Government and his policy which had made India so miserable. Opinion in India was almost solid against the Royal visit. With India seething in infructuous rage for the Khilafat wrongs, the Punjab still bleeding from the dishonourable wounds of 1919, and the reforms deeply disturbing the "pathetic contentment of the masses", India was in no mood to receive Royalty with cheerful gusto. Writing on the proposed visit of the Prince, Mr. Gandhi wrote on July 10th. 1921:—

I repeat once more that Non-co-operators have nothing against the Prince as a man. But he cannot be divested of the office he holds. Whilst it is true that the King and his heirs do not actively meddle in the affairs of state (which is a convenience for the state), he is as effective a representative of the existing system of Government as the most meddlesome Prime Minister or Viceroy. I am disposed to think that, as supporter of the institution, he is more effective by reason of his isolation. If the Prince comes, he will not come to bless the Non-co-operators or the cause, but to sing the song of praise for a Government which is responsible for the dishonour of the Punjab, for breach of faith with the Mussalmans, for forcing the drink traffic on India, for impoverishing her and for so emasculating her that she almost thinks she must remain in slavery for an unthinkable time. In my humble opinion, the projected visit will be an insult added to injury. And it will be the duty of every Non-co-operator, respectfully but firmly and in no unmistakable manner, to express his strong disapproval of all such efforts to bolster up a system which is tottering to its fall.

Writing again on the subject on 27th. October 1921, Mr. Gandhi said :—

Honour the Prince.

I have no manner of doubt that the Prince's visit is being exploited for advertising the 'benign' British rule in India. It is a crime against us if His Royal Highness is being brought for personal pleasure and sport when India is seething with discontent, when the masses are saturated with disaffection towards the system under which they are governed, when famine is raging in Khelna and the Ceded Districts, and when an armed conflict is raging in

THE PRINCE'S ARRIVAL

It is a crime against India to spend millions of rupees on a mere show when millions of men are living in a state of chronic starvation. Millions of rupees have been voted away by the Bombay Council alone for the payment.

The visit is being heralded by repression in the land. In Sindh, over fifty six Non-co-operators are in gaol. Some of the bravest of Mussalmans are being tried for holding certain opinions. Nineteen Bengal workers have been just imprisoned, including Mr. Sen Gupta, the leading Barrister of the place. A Mussalman Pir and three other selfless workers are already in gaol for a similar 'crime'. Several leaders of Karnatak are also imprisoned, and now its chief man is on trial for saying what I have said repeatedly in these columns and what Congressmen have been saying all over during the past twelve months. Several leaders of the Central Provinces have been similarly deprived of their liberty. A most popular doctor, Dr. Paranjape, a man universally respected for his selflessness, is suffering rigorous imprisonment like a common felon. I have by no means exhausted the list of imprisonments of Non-co-operators. Whether they are a test of real crime or an answer to growing disaffection, the Prince's visit is, to say the least, most inopportune. There is no doubt that the people do not want His Royal Highness to visit India at the present juncture. They have expressed their opinion in no uncertain terms. They have declared that Bombay should observe HARTAL on the day of his landing at Bombay. It is a clear imposition upon the people to bring the Prince in the teeth of their opposition.

What are we to do in the circumstances? We must organise a complete boycott of all functions held in the Prince's honour. We must religiously refrain from attending charities, fetes or fireworks organised for the purpose. We must refuse to illuminate or to send our children to see the organised illuminations. To this end we must publish leaflets by the million and distribute them amongst the people telling them what their duty in the matter is, and it would be true honour done to the Prince if Bombay on the day of his landing were the appearance of a deserted city.

But we must isolate the Prince from the person. We have no ill-will against the Prince as a man. He probably knows nothing of the feeling in India. He probably knows nothing about repression. Equally probably he is ignorant of the fact that the Punjab wound is still bleeding, that the treachery towards India in the matter of the Khilafat is still ranking in every Indian breast, and that on the Government's own admission the reformed councils contain members who, though nominally elected, do not in any sense represent even the few lakhs who are on the electoral rolls. To do or to attempt to do any harm to the person of the Prince would be not only cruel and inhuman, but it would be on our part a piece of treachery towards ourselves and him, for we have voluntarily pledged ourselves to be and remain non-violent. Any injury or insult to the Prince by us will be a greater wrong done by us to Islam and India than any the English have done. They know no better. We can lay no such claim to ignorance, we have with our eyes open and before God and man promised not to hurt a single individual in any way connected with the system we are straining every nerve to destroy. It must therefore be our duty to take every precaution to protect his person as our own from all harm. In spite of all our effort, we know that there will be some who would want to take part in the various functions from fear or hope or choice. They have as much right to do what they like as we have to do what we like. That is the test of the freedom we wish to have and enjoy. Let us whilst we are being subjected by an insolent bureaucracy to a severe irritation, exercise the greatest restraint. And if we can exhibit our firm resolve to have nothing to do with it by dissociating ourselves

from its pageant and at the same time we show forbearance towards those who differ from us, we would advance our cause in a most effective manner.

Regarding the use of Royal Visits and the way they are exploited by Governments, the following account of the Prince's visit to Fiji in 1920 is furnished by the Rev. C. F. Andrews.—

The Prince of Wales in Fiji

It is of the greatest importance for the people of India clearly to understand how these Royal Visits are often unscrupulously used by Government for political purposes. The idea is, first of all, sedulously propagated that the Royal Visit has nothing to do with politics; that the Royal Family are above politics—that they are strictly neutral in their political attitude. Then, afterwards, the news is placarded on all sides that a great political success has been obtained. The late King Edward VII was rightly called the greatest diplomatist in the British Empire. The present Prince of Wales has now earned the title of 'Our Greatest Ambassador.'

If it were merely the spreading of message of good-will and peace to all nations that could be accomplished by such diplomatic and ambassadorial tours, the world might be all the better for them. But the danger always lurks at the back, that some distinctly political objects may be aimed at behind the scenes; that evil systems, which have power and authority behind them, may receive from them an added power and an added authority for oppression of the poor and subjection of the weak. Even to-day, the greater proportion of Europeans on the continent of Europe believe that the visits of King Edward were used by English politicians for the encirclement of Germany by a ring of hostile powers. Whether that opinion is right or wrong, need not be discussed here. I only wish to point out, how from a bitter past experience, these Royal Visits are surely feared in Europe. Europe has had her hard lesson to learn; and the proverb is true,—“Once bit, twice shy.”

I wish now to tell the story of what happened, behind the scenes, in the Prince of Wales' recent visit to Fiji. The facts have just come to light, and they are most instructive.

The Indian community were suffering, at the time, from a most painful injustice. They had been charged with the offence of stirring up racial hatred against the Europeans and breaking out into open rebellion; yet the truth was simply this, that the Indian labourers were nearly starving and had struck work in order to obtain from the plutocratic Colonial Sugar Refining Company a more just and equitable share of the enormous profits from sugar. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company had reaped these successive profits out of Indian labour, year after year, during the War. After the war also these had gone on still further increasing. Yet the Company continually refused to share what they had gained with the Indian labourers.

When I was in Fiji in 1917, there was an attempted suicide of an Indian. In open Court the Indian declared that he could not bear to see his young children crying for bread and to have nothing to give them to eat. The Judge dismissed him with a warning. That was cold comfort indeed! And what can be said strong enough about the oppression of the poor by this wealthy Sugar Company with its many crores of capital? Yet it held out to the last, against a mere rise in wages of 3d. per day when I tried to negotiate this for the Indian labourers in the Colony in 1917.

The Indian community, when freed at last from indenture, demanded a decent living wages—the wages of a free man and a free woman. I know for

certainly that the C. S. R. Company could easily have afforded to give this out of surplus profits. But it would not budge from its hard and fast position; and when at last the strike began, the news was everywhere spread abroad that the Indians were in 'open rebellion' and were proposing to massacre the Europeans. Troops with machine guns were hurried in a warship of the New Zealand Navy from Auckland, and the Indian labourers were terrorised back into their work, without getting their rise in wages.

Soon after these troubles, the Indian community wished to present an address to the Prince of Wales who came to Fiji. They asked permission from the Governor to state their position in the following terms: "We do not think it proper to pain your Royal Highness by describing our secular difficulties and grievances, which will not remain hidden to your Royal Highness. One thing, however, we are compelled to bring to your notice. It is the fact that we have been misrepresented to the effect that our recent agitation for better rights and economical improvement was based on racial feelings. This has wounded our hearts. This surmise, on the part of the authorities, is not only without any foundation, but is a great slur and an irreparable stain on our character, which should be removed at once."

These were the proposed words. But the Governor cut them out of the address altogether, and substituted others, which, while seemingly a mere abbreviation, were actually a perversion of the meaning. The Indians wished to say that the accusation of racial hatred, levelled against THEMSELVES, were unjust and unbearable. What they were made to say was that there was no racial feeling on the part of any one at all,—either European or Indian. Now this was the opposite of the truth; because the European racial feeling had been excessive. I wish my readers to notice how subtly and cleverly this was done. The Governor of Fiji struck out the words of the address of welcome, which I have stated above and substituted the following:—

"We do not think it proper to refer to political matters. It is inevitable, however, that your Royal Highness should have heard of the recent Indian troubles in Fiji; and we desire to assure you that they were due solely to economic causes and not to any racial feeling."

The Indian Community protested against this perversion of their own meaning. But the Governor of Fiji insisted, and the Indians meekly gave way. The result was that the Prince of Wales was prompted to pick out those very words declaring that there was no racial feeling, which would camouflage the whole matter. They were telegraphed all over the world by 'Reuter'. We received them here in India, London, and New York, and Cape-town, and Tokio, and Melbourne received them also. The Prince stated that "HE WAS GLAD TO HEAR THAT THE RECENT INDIAN TROUBLES HAD NOT BEEN DUE TO ANY RACIAL FEELINGS." Thus the impression was spread abroad, that the Europeans were very good friends of the Indians and were living in social friendliness with them. The truth all the while was this, that the Europeans, as I have said, had brought troops from New Zealand and, by sheer military power, crushed Indians back into accepting the harshest terms of settlement. They had even passed racial laws against the Indians, marking them out from all other races in Fiji.

The Arrival of the Prince of Wales

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on November 17th. The Prince, England's beloved Prince, the

common object of pride and joy to the Englishman wherever he is, was received with the ceremony and attention which his rank demands from high officers of the Government. And the gorgeous proceedings were in harmony with the occasion. From the day previous the ships of the East India squadron lay collected in array, badecked with flags and festoons, at the harbour. The *H. M. S. Renown* carrying the Prince slowly steamed in about 8 in the morning and the Prince landed shortly after 10 A. M.

His Royal Highness was received by the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay and was then taken in procession to a pavilion close by where were assembled all the great Ruling Chiefs and Princes of India who had come all the way to Bombay to pay obsequious homage to the Heir to the British Throne. After the ceremony of presentations H. R. H. was then conducted to the dais in the Amphitheatre where he took his seat, and immediately after, taking a paper from the hand of Lord Cromer, said: 'I have a message from my father and it is this.' The Prince then read the King's Message.

The King's Message to India

"On this day, when my son lands for the first time upon your shores, I send through him my greetings to you, the Princes and People of India. His coming is a token and a renewal of the pledges of affection which it has been the heritage of our House to re-affirm to you. My father when Prince of Wales counted it his privilege to see, and seeing to understand, the Great Empire in the East over which it was his destiny to rule; and I recall with thankfulness and pride that when he was called to the Throne, it fell to me to follow his illustrious example. But I have the same hope and in this same spirit my son is with you to-day. The thought of his arrival brings with a welcome vividness to my mind the happy memories I have stored of what I myself have learned in India: its charm and beauty, its immemorial history, its noble monuments and, above all, the devotion of India and its faithful people, since proved as if by fire, in their response to the Empire's call in the hour of its greatest need. These memories will ever be with me as I trace his steps. My heart is with him as he moves among you and with mine the heart of the Queen-Empress whose love for India is no less than my own.

"To friends, whose loyalty we and our fathers have treasured, he brings this message of trust and hope—my sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabating. During recent years my thoughts have been yet more constantly with you. Throughout the civilised world the foundations of social order have been tested by war and change. Wherever citizenship exists, it has had to meet the test, and India, like other countries, has been called to face new and special problems of her own. For this task her armoury is in the new powers of her own powers and new responsibilities with which she has been equipped. That with the help of those, aided by Lord Reading's guidance of my Government and its officers, you will bring those problems to an issue worthy of your historic past and of happiness for your future, that all disquietings will vanish in well-ordered progress, is my earnest wish and my confident belief. Your anxieties

and your rejoicings are my own. In all that may touch your happiness in all the lives you hope and promotes your welfare, I feel with you in the spirit of sympathy.

My son has followed from afar your fortunes. It is now his ambition by coming among you to ripen good-will into a yet fuller understanding. I trust and believe that when he leaves your shores your hearts will follow him and by his stay with you one link more will be added to the golden chain of sympathy which for these many years has held my Throne to India. And it is my warmest prayer that wisdom and contentment growing hand in hand will lead India into ever-increasing national greatness within a free Empire—the Empire for which I labour and for which, it be the divine will, my son shall labour after me."

The Municipal Address

This over, the address presented by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay was then read out by Sir Sassoon David. In the course of the address the Corporation said that the political advancement of India was accelerated by the war which had shattered old ideas and ideals. The inevitable result was that there was a great diversity of opinion in the body politic and many believed that the country was already ripe for a more democratic form of government. The Corporation therefore trusted that the Prince's voice would still the voice of discord and leave an atmosphere of mutual understanding and good-will. In the reply, however, which His Royal Highness made to the address there was no mention of his being the "harbinger of peace". The passage in his speech which touched the audience home was this: "Coming from the West to the East, as a young man, to this ancient vast country, I feel some awe at the difficulty which I may experience in getting to know India. But I am fortified by the thought that sympathy begets knowledge and my sympathy with India has been aroused since my childhood."

After this function the Prince drove in State to Govt. House, and the Royal Procession was lustily cheered by the thousands of sight-seers who crowded the streets which were lavishly decorated and lined by troops.

The Counter-Demonstration

In marked contrast to the large crowds mainly composed of Europeans, Eurasians, Parsis and the wealthy resident of Bombay which assembled to cheer the Prince along the route of the Royal Procession, there was a huge public meeting at the opposite end of the town where Mr. Gandhi addressed the audience to boycott all official functions in connection with the Prince's reception, and a huge bon-fire was made of a pile of foreign cloth. From the previous day thousands of placards were displayed at every nook and corner of the city appealing in the name of Gandhi for a boycott of the Prince's visit. During the morning the tram cars were running and the mills were working. Within a few hours, however, all this stopp

and swelling crowds rushed into the streets, declared hartal and joined the boycott meeting at the beach. What followed next is given in the Mahatma's own language. Writing next day, the 18th November, in his paper, *Young India*, he says.—

"The reputation of Bombay, the hope of my dreams, was being stained yesterday even whilst in my simplicity I was congratulating her citizens upon their non-violence in the face of grave provocation. For, the volunteers with their captain were arrested during the previous night for pasting posters under authority on private property. The posters advised the people to boycott the welcome to the Prince. They were destroyed. The Swaraj Sabha's office was mysteriously entered into and the unused posters, so far as I am aware, not declared unlawful, were also removed. The Prince's visit itself and the circumstances attending the ceremonials arranged and the public money wasted for the manufacture of a welcome to His Royal Highness constituted an unbearable provocation. And yet Bombay had remained self-restrained. This, I thought, was a matter for congratulation. The burning of the pile of foreign cloth was an eloquent counter-demonstration to the interested official demonstration. Little did I know that at the very time that the Prince was passing through the decorated route and the pile of foreign cloth was burning, in another part of the city the mill-hands were in criminal disobedience of the wishes of their masters emptying them, first one and then the others, by force; that a swelling mob was molesting the peaceful passengers in the tram-cars and holding up the tram traffic; and that it was forcibly depriving those that were wearing foreign caps or their head dresses and pelting inoffensive Europeans. As the day went up, the fury of the mob, now intoxicated with its success, rose also. They burnt tram-cars and a motor, smashed liquor shops, and burnt them too.

"I heard of the outbreak at about one o'clock. I motored with some friends to the area of disturbance and heard the most painful and the most humiliating story of molestation of Parsi sisters. Some few were assaulted and even had their saris torn from them. No one among a crowd of over fifteen hundred who had surrounded my car denied the charge as a Parsi with hot rage and quivering lips was with the greatest deliberation relating the story. An elderly Parsi gentleman said: "Please save us from the mob rule."

"This news of the rough handling of Parsi sisters pierced me like a dart. I felt that my sisters and daughters had been hurt by violent mob. Yes, some Parsis had joined the welcome. They had a right to hold their own view, free of molestation. There can be



THE PRINCE IN INDIA

CHAPTER

coercion in Swaraj. The Moplah fanatic who forcibly converts a Hindu believes that he is acquiring religious merit. A Non-co-operator or his associate who uses coercion has no apology whatsoever for his criminality.

"As I reached the two Tanks I found, too, a liquor-shop smashed and 2 policemen badly wounded and lying unconscious on cots without anybody caring for them, and alighted. Immediately the crowd surrounded me and yelled "Mahatma Gandhi-ki jai". That sound usually grates on my ears, but it has grated never so more as it did yesterday, when the crowd, unmindful of the two sick brethren, choked me with the shout at the top of their voices. I rebuked them and they were silent. Water was brought for the two wounded men. I requested two of my companions and some from the crowd to take the dying policemen to the Hospital.

"I proceeded then to the scene, a little further up, where I saw a fire rising. There were two tram-cars which were burnt by the crowd. On returning I witnessed a burning motor-car. I appealed to the crowd to disperse, told them that they had damaged the cause of the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj. I returned sick at heart and in a chastened mood.

"At about 5 a few brave Hindu young men came to report that in Bhindi Bazar the crowd was molesting every passer-by who had a foreign cap on and even seriously beating him if he refused to give up his cap. A brave old Parsi who defied the crowd and would not give up his *pugri* was badly handled. Moulana Azad Sobhani and I went to Bhindi Bazar and reasoned with the crowd. We told them that they were denying their religion by hurting innocent men. The crowd made a show of dispersing. The police were there, but they were exceedingly restrained. We went further on and retracing our steps, found to our horror a liquor shop on fire. Even the fire brigade was obstructed in its work. Thanks to the efforts of Pandit Nekiram Kharan and others, all inmates of the shop were able to come out.

Nature of the Crowd

"The crowd did not consist of hooligans or only of boys. It was not an unintelligent crowd. They were not all mill-banda. It was essentially a mixed crowd, unprepared and unwilling to listen to anybody. For the moment it had lost its head, and it was not a crowd but several crowds numbering in all less than twenty thousand. It was bent upon mischief and destruction.

"I heard that there was firing resulting in deaths, and that in the Anglo-Indian quarters every one who passed with Khaddar on came in for hard beating if he did not put off his Khaddar cap or



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THE BOMBAY RIOT

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SIL

I heard that many were seriously injured. I am walking in the midst of six Hindu and Mussalman workers who have just come in with broken heads and bleeding and one with a broken nasal bone and another lacerated wounds and in danger of losing his life. They went to Parel led by Maulana Azad Sobhani and Moazzam Ali to pacify the mill-hands, who, it was reported, were holding up the tram-cars there. The workers, however, were enabled to proceed to their destination. They returned with their bleedings to speak for themselves.

"Thus the hope of reviving mass civil disobedience has once more been dashed, in my opinion, to pieces. The atmosphere for mass civil disobedience is absent. It is not enough that such an atmosphere is to be found in Bardoli and therefore it may go on side by side with the violence in Bombay. This is impossible. Neither Bardoli nor Bombay can be treated as separate unconnected units. They are parts of one great indivisible whole. It was possible to isolate Malabar, it was also possible to disregard Malagaon. But it is not possible to ignore Bombay. Non-Co-operators cannot escape the liability. It is true that No Co-operators were ceaselessly remonstrating everywhere with the people at considerable risk to themselves to arrest or stop the mischief and that they are responsible for saving many precious lives. But that is not enough for launching on civil disobedience or to discharge them from liability for the violence that has taken place. We claim to have established a peaceful atmosphere *i. e.* to have attained by our non-violence sufficient control over the people to keep their violence under check. We have failed when we ought to have succeeded, for yesterday was a day of our trial. We were under our pledge bound to protect the person of the Prince from any harm or insult and we broke that pledge in as much as any one of us insulted or injured a single European or any other who took part in the welcome to the Prince. They were as much entitled to take part in the welcome as we were to refrain.

"Nor can I shirk my own personal responsibility. I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being the spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit. I must do penance for it. For me the struggle is essentially religious. I believe in fasting and prayer, and I purpose henceforth to observe every Monday a 24 hours' fast till Swaraj is obtained.

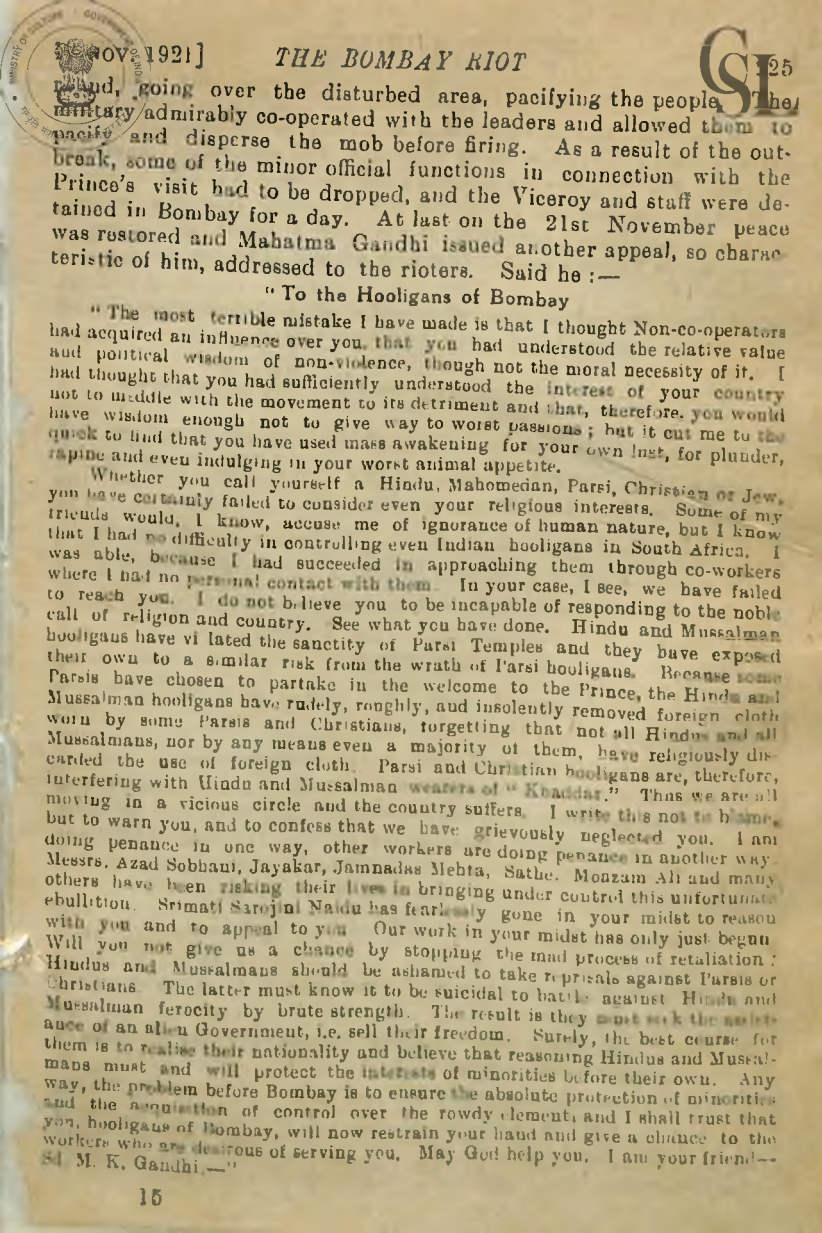
"The Working Committee will have to devote its attention to the situation and consider, in the light thereof, whether mass civil disobedience can be at all encouraged, until we have obtained

complete control over the masses. I have personally come deliberately to the conclusion that mass civil disobedience cannot be started for the present. I confess my inability to conduct a campaign of civil disobedience to a successful issue unless a completely non-violent spirit is generated among the people.

"I am sorry for the conclusion. It is a humiliating confession of my incapacity, but I know that I shall appear more pleasing to my Maker by being what I am instead of appearing to be what I am not. If I can have nothing to do with the organised violence of the Government, I can have less to do with the unorganised violence of the people. I would prefer to be crushed between the two."

The Bombay Riot

For full five days the riot went on. There were Parsi mob in the Parsi quarter, Moslem mob in the Moslem quarter, Christian and Anglo-Indian mob in their own quarter, and to crown all the monster mob of mill-hands in the mill quarter of the town. The surging mob-fury now rushed this way and that, uncontrollable, mad, reckless of what they did, and fair Bombay was given up to an orgy of communal warfare. The first day the mill-hands had the upper hand. Next day it was the Parsis, Jews, Christians and Anglo-Indians that became aggressors. The Parsis, infuriated at the treatment of their women and children, came out in the streets armed with guns, lathis and bamboos and belaboured whoever came in their way—not excepting their own kinsmen who happened to have khaddar and Gandhi cap on. Europeans and Jews also took the law unto themselves—it was widely rumoured that they were supplied with arms and ammunition—and by way of retaliation mercilessly injured Hindu and Moslem passersby. As a result there was another mob rising which was quickly quelled by military and police fire. Many men were killed, including one European, and a couple of hundreds were badly injured. Several grog-shops were burnt, a Parsi temple was set fire to, and immense damage was done to shops. Moslem and Hindu leaders who were out to pacify the fighting mobs, including Messrs Jayakar, Sahe, Mehta, Banker, Desai, Azad Sobhani, and many Khilafat workers, and even Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, were badly molested by the Parsis and Anglo-Indians. At Mahatma Gandhi's place scores of Congress volunteers who had gone in the thick of the fighting to stop it by persuasion lay with mangled bodies and limbs. Gradually, however, the city sobered down. Mahatma Gandhi, who had vowed to abstain from any food till the violence stopped, fell ill, while influential Hindus, Parsis, Moslems and Christians were on daily



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land, going over the disturbed area, pacifying the people. The military admirably co-operated with the leaders and allowed them to pacify and disperse the mob before firing. As a result of the outbreak, some of the minor official functions in connection with the Prince's visit had to be dropped, and the Viceroy and staff were detained in Bombay for a day. At last on the 21st November peace was restored and Mahatma Gandhi issued another appeal, so characteristic of him, addressed to the rioters. Said he:—

"To the Hooligans of Bombay

"The most terrible mistake I have made is that I thought Non-co-operators had acquired an influence over you, that you had understood the relative value and political wisdom of non-violence, though not the moral necessity of it. I had thought that you had sufficiently understood the interest of your country not to meddle with the movement to its detriment and that, therefore, you would have wisdom enough not to give way to worst passions; but it cut me to the quick to find that you have used mass awakening for your own lust, for plunder, rapine and even indulging in your worst animal appetite.

Whether you call yourself a Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, Christian or Jew, you have certainly failed to consider even your religious interests. Some of my friends would, I know, accuse me of ignorance of human nature, but I know that I had no difficulty in controlling even Indian hooligans in South Africa. I was able, because I had succeeded in approaching them through co-workers where I had no personal contact with them. In your case, I see, we have failed to reach you. I do not believe you to be incapable of responding to the noble call of religion and country. See what you have done. Hindu and Mussalman hooligans have violated the sanctity of Parsi Temples and they have exposed their own to a similar risk from the wrath of Parsi hooligans. Because some Parsis have chosen to partake in the welcome to the Prince, the Hindu and Mussalman hooligans have rudely, roughly, and insolently removed foreign cloth worn by some Parsis and Christians, forgetting that not all Hindus and all Mussalmans, nor by any means even a majority of them, have religiously discarded the use of foreign cloth. Parsi and Christian hooligans are, therefore, interfering with Hindu and Mussalman wearers of "Khaddar." Thus we are all moving in a vicious circle and the country suffers. I write this not to blame, but to warn you, and to confess that we have grievously neglected you. I am doing penance in one way, other workers are doing penance in another way. Messrs. Azad Sobhani, Jayakar, Jamnadas Mehta, Sathe, Monzani and many others have been risking their lives in bringing under control this unfortunate ebullition. Srimati Sarojini Naidu has fearlessly gone in your midst to reason with you and to appeal to you. Our work in your midst has only just begun. Will you not give us a chance by stopping the mad process of retaliation: Hindus and Mussalmans should be ashamed to take reprisals against Parsis or Christians. The latter must know it to be suicidal to battle against Hindu and Mussalman ferocity by brute strength. The result is they must risk the assistance of an alien Government, i.e. sell their freedom. Surely, the best course for them is to realise their nationality and believe that reasoning Hindus and Mussalmans must and will protect the interests of minorities before their own. Any way, the problem before Bombay is to ensure the absolute protection of minorities and the acquisition of control over the rowdy element and I shall trust that you, hooligans of Bombay, will now restrain your hand and give a chance to the workers who are desirous of serving you. May God help you. I am your friend—
M. K. Gandhi.—"



THE PRINCE IN INDIA

[CALCUTTA

Calcutta on 17th. November and After

In striking contrast to the mad mob-outrage of Bombay was the perfectly peaceful, though more extensive and significant, hartal of Calcutta. On the previous day the Congress and Khilafat organisations issued manifestoes conveying to the people Gandhi's request to observe a national cessation of work as a silent and peaceful protest of the Prince's visit. One such placard is shown below :—

REMEMBER THE LEADERS IN JAIL

Boycott Bureaucratic Welcome

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales lands in Bombay on the 17th instant to see, so we have been told, the country and to learn things for himself.

The loyal duty of every patriot is to help the Prince to learn the true state of things and this duty he will best discharge by thoroughly boycotting the bureaucratic welcome that is being arranged for the Prince.

WELL THEN,

Are you a loyal patriot? Do not then mislead the Prince and thus do him as well as the country a grievous wrong.

Do you want to get the Khilafat wrong to be redressed? Let the Prince learn it by your action that there can be no gala days for you now, nor any guests whom you can pleasantly and duly honour.

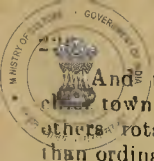
Is Swaraj your goal? Then do not slavishly hide your desire by showing any readiness to acquiesce in a welcome solely organised by a foreign bureaucracy. Listen to what Mahatma Gandhi says,—

1. Organise complete boycott of all functions held in the Prince's honour.
2. Refuse to illuminate or to send your children to see organised illuminations.
3. Religiously refrain from attending charities, fetes or fire-works organised for the purpose.
4. Publish leaflets by the million and distribute.
5. See that your city wears the appearance of a deserted city on the day the Prince visits it.



Accordingly on the 17th November Calcutta looked like a deserted city. All Indian shops, bazars, markets, including the great business quarters, were closed. There was no tram, nor any sort of vehicular traffic in the streets. All drivers without exception, including the drivers of private carriages, struck work for the day. All mills were closed and the mill-hands occupied themselves with singing *bhajans* (religious songs) and taking ablutions in the river. The European business offices had to stop work owing to the absence of the Indian staff. The Courts and Government offices had similarly to close down. The High Court had to close down as lawyers could not come, and some of the judges even had to come walking all the way from their residence as their drivers would not work. It was "Gandhiji's hukum," in every case. It was remarkable how the Goliath of Western civilisation, the London of the far East, Calcutta the second city of the Empire, could come to a sudden stand led by the finger of one man thousands of miles away.

The Railway stations and their goods-sheds were deserted—no coolies, no porters, no carriages or carts. To meet very needy cases there were a few national volunteers with cars labelled "on national service" serving invalids, women and children who came by the trains. Doctors took permits from the Congress office to run their cars to attend to emergent cases. In the streets policemen and volunteers worked independently to regulate the traffic of which there was little. The guardians of the law had practically no work to do while the volunteers managed to disperse the small crowds of street urchins that gathered here and there by requesting them with folded hands not to make any *golmal*. In the night the greater part of the town was in darkness as no lights were lighted. The municipal hands, the sweepers, scavengers, gas lighters all struck work. In the European quarter European residents themselves lighted some of the lamps in the important thoroughfares. Some armoured cars were found patrolling the streets. But so great was the success of this non-violent hartal *coup* that not a single case of riot, street brawl, or even ordinary crime was reported. The hartal worked with clock wise precision. Everywhere there was the same absence of excitement of any sort; the whole Indian population to a man simply refrained from doing any work. The sight gladdened the heart of every Indian, that at least for one single day they could do just as they liked—that they could regulate their own house to their own order. It was remarkable how the riff raffs and the hooligans of Calcutta, who in normal times are beyond the control of the police, were kept perfectly quiet by the presence of the Khilafat volunteers using not force but moral persuasion only.



ANGLO-INDIAN OUTBRUST

[CALCUTTA

And not alone in Calcutta—all over Bengal, and in all the chief towns of India, there was hartal, at some places partial, at others total, and everywhere peace reigned, perhaps more hearty than ordinary.

But the non co-operator's success was the foreigner's gall. To Europeans generally, and to their Indian protege, the hartal was symbolic of a down-right insult to the Prince and to the mighty prestige of the British Raj. Refusal to work was unpardonable breach of peace. Moral persuasion was gross intimidation and criminal interference with people's loyalty. At once a howl of protest was raised by the Anglo-Indian and European Communities, the great European Merchant Houses, the European officials, traders, planters and their Indian henchmen. An alarm was raised of Calcutta being given up to *goonda raj* (rule of the ruffians), of life and property being left to the mercy of the Indian mob. Instead a mob rising, as at Bombay, was apprehended, and panic reigned in European circles. The combined wrath of these people fell upon the Congress, though, as a matter of fact, it was the people in the mass who voluntarily went into hartal and the Congress volunteers only functioned to see that there was no trouble out of the affair. The Anglo-Indian newspapers poured forth their venom of abuse against the non-co operators in flaring head lines. Their columns were filled with arrogant outbursts from panicky Europeans and Eurasians, and an exhibition of racial hatred was made such as India has not seen since the days of Genl. Dyer. The European Association of Calcutta demanded of the Governor "immediate action against people who were bringing Government into disrepute"—meaning thereby, of course, the hartalists and non co-operators, alleging that the inactivity of the Government had resulted in "not only the educated classes but also the masses gaining a contempt for authority" and, in short, urging a vigorous policy of repression. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce—the most powerful European financial interest in India—similarly wrote to the Government alleging:—

"That it (the hartal) was brought about by the wholesale intimidation of the working classes of the community. There exists no general wish on the part of these classes to cease from work. In fact, many urged their employers to allow them to sleep on the premises during the previous night, so that they could attend to their duties without having to pass through the streets, and to risk being molested. But the organisation which is now in control of the city terrified them by way-laying them, and threatening them with violence, or assuring them that their homes would be wrecked in their absence. They were assailed by the emissaries of this organisation that the British Government had ceased to rule India, and that the Khilafat authority is now supreme. These assurances carry conviction with them, for it is a fact, as is patent to the humblest worker, that the policeman who is paid to protect him stands help

while he is being molested by the so-called volunteer. If extra help of the system of terrorism are wanted they can easily be supplied. It extended not only to industrial workers, domestic servants and other manual labourers, but to clerks, thousands of whom were accosted and threatened. And in parts of the city even traffic regulation was undertaken, while the police looked on, by "volunteers" clad in Khilafat uniform.

"The success of their exertions must of necessity encourage the leaders of the movement to redouble their efforts. What is possible for one day is possible for more than one. Indeed there seems no reason to doubt that this is merely a trial of strength, preparatory to the proclamation and organisation of a complete HARTAL to be observed for the week during which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will be in Calcutta.

"The organisation which has taken upon itself to exercise control over the city should be broken up, and the wearing of its uniform and badges should be prohibited. The police should be given fuller powers to deal with provocative exhibitions of insolence, such as the display of Khilafat banners, and the placarding of motor cars with the words 'On National service.' Notoriously bad characters and agitators from up-country, should be deported from Calcutta, and all public meetings at which resolutions urging hartals or a boycott of the Prince's visit are passed should be proclaimed and prohibited."

And the Government response came quickly too. At Govt. House anxious consultations were held, and a high official demanded full discretion and freedom of action and this was given. Immediately armoured cars rolled out of the fort and patrolled the streets. On November 19th. the Government of Bengal issued the following communique declaring the Congress and Khilafat volunteer organisations unlawful :—

The Govt. Proclamation

"For some time past the enrolment of so-called volunteers has been a feature in the programme of various bodies prominent in political matters. Such men appear at first to have been honorary workers, often of the student class, who helped on specific occasions, such as, receptions, meetings etc. More recently the movement has taken on a different aspect, and under the auspices of the Khilafat and Congress Committees numerous persons have been regularly enrolled in definite organisations under specific leaders ready to emerge and perform the tasks allotted to them by those in authority in these associations. These men are drawn often from the lower classes and are believed to be paid for their day's work.

"Through the agency of these "volunteers", Calcutta and its environs have been subject for some time past to a persistent campaign of intimidation and molestation. Whether it be the observance of a "hartal," the picketing of cloth-shops, the discouragement of the sale of liquor, a trial which has excited political interest, or interference with attendance at schools and colleges, these volunteers, in obedience to the orders of those in command of them, have been in evidence threatening and interfering with the citizens of the town in the pursuit of their lawful avocations. A determined attempt is being further made to undermine the loyalty of the police and to terrorise them in the discharge of their duty. Outside Calcutta and its neighbourhood the same activities have been manifest in various districts of the Presidency.

"The Governor in Council is of opinion that the movement has now gone beyond all limits of permissible agitation, and in the interests of the administra-

tion of the law and the maintenance of law and order, he has accordingly issued the following notification :—

"Whereas the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that the associations at present known by the names of the Bengal Non-co-operation Volunteer Corps, the Central Muhammadan Volunteer Corps, the Congress Committee Corps and other associations existing in the Presidency of Bengal and having similar objects interfere with the administration of the law and with the maintenance of law and order,

"It is hereby declared by the Governor in Council under Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, as amended by the Devolution Act, 1920, that all the said associations are unlawful associations within the meaning of Part II of the said Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act."

The Criminal law Amendment Act of 1908 under which the Government declared the volunteer organisations unlawful was passed to meet anarchist operations which Lord Curzon's iron rule had given birth to, and at this period there was a talk of repealing this. To the people now the application of this act to operations which were perfectly non-violent appeared to be wantonly repressive. For, except in Bombay not a single case of violence was reported from Calcutta or elsewhere, while, on the other hand, the nationalist papers were daily reporting cases of oppression on non-resisting Khaddar-clad or Gandhi-capped non-co-operators. No doubt non-co-operation attended by violence, as at Bombay, was welcome to those who opposed it; non-co operation without violence, peaceful, hearty, just as the Mahatma wished to have, was an awful contingency. As said the "Capital" of Calcutta: 'Of the two (Calcutta and Bombay hartals) the (Calcutta) was the more humiliating to the decent citizen'—for the 'decent citizen' had nothing at all to do, and could not by any means kick up a row. And the "Catholic Herald of India" said :—

"Though the incidents that have turned Bombay into a bear garden and an eastern Belfast are regrettable in view of the visit of our amiable Prince, they are, from the Government's point of view, a perfect God-send. When the crowds addressed by Mr. Gandhi broke loose and waxed mad, burnt tram cars, clubbed Europeans, Parsis and policemen, the pandemonium broke the subtle and intellectual spell of non-co-operation and reduced it to the vulgar level of a ramshackle revolution. Brains were required to circumvent the elusive soul-force of a spiritual revolution which no law could reach; now any man with a gun in his hand can settle it. It may still be a difficult task and a tough conflict, but with this difference that whereas an Englishman respects and fears brains, he is not afraid of physical force and of blood. Every Englishman now breathes freely.

"It is a pity from a bookish point of view, and students of politics, who had watched the movement as a novelty in the history of nations, may perhaps be disappointed. But it is a relief for the man in the street. Now he can close his books and tucking up his sleeves, say, 'Come on!'"

The Police Raids

And Government could not stop at that alone. At midnight on the 18th the police surrounded the Khilafat and the Congress

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offices and carried on a systematic raid. The reason of this midnight attack is not quite clear but the way in which it was carried out showed that the object was to break down the respective organisations. As one nationalist paper of Calcutta in writing on this matter said :—

"There was only one Congress officer in the office. He was surrounded by four police officers. They demanded the keys of almirahs and boxes, but when they were told that the keys were with the Secretary, they broke open the almirah and boxes. The police officers were asked to wait for some minutes so that the keys might be brought to the office from the Secretary. But they did not listen but jumped upon the boxes and beddings. They broke open all the boxes and almirahs and took the contents with them. They threw away khadder shirts and coats and danced upon beds with their boots on to tear the khadi bed-sheet into pieces. They tore into pieces all national flags and some placards."

On the whole of the next 24 hours police raids went on vigorously on all the Khilafat and Congress offices, in all some ten. Harrowing accounts of the raids were published in the nationalist papers. No arrests were then made but all papers, documents, account books, etc. were taken away obviously with the intention of paralysing the movement. On the 20th the Commissioner of Police by proclamation suppressed all public assemblies and processions for three months within the limits of the town and the suburbs of Calcutta and similar prohibitions were made in some of the mofussil towns.

Commenting on these matters a prominent Indian paper wrote : "Here is grand preparation to regale the Prince with a sight he has never seen anywhere in the British Empire and will not find anywhere else in the whole world. By the time he will reach Calcutta, he will see India, already soundly thrashed, bound hand and foot, and gagged. The thrashing had begun as soon as the announcement of the Prince's visit was made. In Bengal it was begun at Chandpur, Chittagong comes next. The reader knows how the Gurkhas there were let loose upon innocent people. In quick succession came Howrah where there was indiscriminate firing, the responsibility of which has been denied by every officer. Thus Bengal has been made perfectly fit to be seen in her true condition by the Prince. His Royal Highness will be able to tell his father that he saw Bengal gagged, securely bound hand and foot and hearing on her person marks of caresses. The first process in the operation, namely, beating has been done all over India. But can anybody tell us why of all provinces Bengal has got the subsequent processes—binding and gagging—gone through so much in ahead of the Prince's visit to Calcutta? Is it because Calcutta and rural Bengal have observed the most complete and at the same time

peaceful party? Volunteers are not suppressed and public meetings are not even now prohibited in Bombay. The Anglo-Indian papers see the anomaly and are from day to day writing in blazing lines: "It is now time for the Viceroy to Act." "Save the face of the Government of Bengal, oh my Lord Reading, by instructing all other provincial Governments to follow its lead"—goes the prayer from Anglo-India. We say 'amen'. The Prince should not see the true condition of India in one province only." This was typical of Indian sentiment.

Lord Ronaldshay on the Situation

Next day, 21st Nov. 1921, the Governor, Lord Ronaldshay attended the Bengal Council and made a lengthy speech calling upon the members to join the authorities in suppressing 'lawlessness.' "There are limits" he said, "beyond which no Government that has regard to the interests of the law-abiding citizens over whom it holds sway, can permit license to go. We are of opinion that those limits have been reached and that the instigations to the people to overthrow the existing order have become a menace to the maintenance of peace. It has, therefore, become necessary to impose some restrictions upon the freedom of holding meetings and processions in this city.

"With a full knowledge of the danger with which society is faced and with a full sense of my responsibility as head of the administration in Bengal, I make this appeal to the members of this Council and through them to all who desire to see Bengal marching in orderly progress to that goal which is already in sight, to range themselves whole heartedly on the side of liberty for the individual and law and order for all, and to join hands cordially with Government in fighting lawlessness and sedition.

"The time has come when men have got to come down on one side of the fence or the other. Those who are not on the side of law and order are on the side of revolution: and revolution means anarchy. The Government of Bengal will not hesitate to make use of all the powers which it possesses to quell disorder and to secure to the people liberty to proceed peacefully about their lawful avocations. And if it finds that powers over and above those which it possesses are necessary to enable it to achieve this purpose, it will not hesitate to ask for them." And the Council meekly acquiesced.

Non-co-operation Counterblast

As a counterblast to the order declaring the Khilafat and Congress Volunteer Corps illegal a manifesto was issued, signed by thousands of Calcutta nationalists, taking up the gauntlet thrown down by the Government of Bengal, and announcing the formation of a Congress Volunteer organisation. It runs as follows:—

In view of the proclamation issued by the Government of Bengal with reference to volunteer organisations, it has become our duty to make our position perfectly plain in the matter.

In point of fact there are no such associations as the Bengal Non-co-operation Volunteers Corps, the Central Mahomedan Volunteer Corps or the Congress Committee Corps referred to in the Governor's proclamation. But undoubtedly there are Congress and Khilafat Volunteers all over the province working in a peaceful, non-violent and perfectly honourable manner; and it is untrue to say that they have interfered with the maintenance of law and order. Accordingly, we are clearly, definitely, of opinion that these volunteer organisations should continue to exist and work in spite of the arbitrary and unjustifiable ukase of the Governor; and to show our practical adherence to this plan of action, we, the undersigned, in our individual capacity, hereby enrol ourselves as members of the Bengal National Volunteer Corps, and we request all members of Provincial and District Congress Committees to enrol themselves as members of this or similar organisations. We pledge ourselves, according to the very principle of Non-co-operation, to see that all our Volunteers refrain from every form of intimidation or violence."

To this a long list of names was appended. And after the gagging order of the 20th suppressing all public meetings in Calcutta, Congress and Khilafat workers, on recovering from the shock of surprise, rose in revolt and circulated notices announcing meetings at College Square, Halliday Park and other places in the city, in defiance of the order of the Commissioner of Police. In another public manifesto subsequently issued by the N.C.O. leaders, they said:—

"So far as the challenge to the Congress was concerned (viz, by the order declaring volunteer organizations unlawful) we have met and accepted that challenge: we have enlisted ourselves as volunteers and asked all Congress members to do so. To have done this much as it involved only the preparedness of individual Congress members for suffering and imprisonment; and believing in the fact of such preparedness, we were ready to take and have taken the risk.

"But the challenge to the right of holding public meetings involved in the latest order of the Police Commissioner is a different matter and raises larger issues. The proper way of meeting the challenge would be to hold a public meeting in open defiance of the Police Commissioner's order. But the holding of a public meeting in spite of the best of good intentions on the part of the people and organizers would, at the present time, inevitably lead to conflict and collision specially in view of the poisonous atmosphere of race-hatred that has been created by the rapid outpourings of the Anglo-Indian Press. Therefore, in spite of the clearly unjustifiable character of the Police Commissioner's notification, of the untrue assumptions upon which it is based, and its clear challenge to the public to meet and disregard it, we postpone action for the immediate present, pending next Sunday's meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee. Meanwhile, we urge the public to bide in patience for a while, to go on with the steady pursuit of the Congress programme, and to prepare with calm and silent fortitude for the Second full HARTAL on the 24th of December."

December 24th, was the Day of the Prince's Visit to Calcutta. Meanwhile the action of the Bengal Government heartened officialdom all over India.



ALL INDIA REPRESSION

Repression in Excelsis

CSL

The other provincial Governments were not slow to act. November 23rd Delhi province was proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act for six months and the Volunteers' Association is declared unlawful, and similar proclamations were issued, as Punjab and U. P. Governments. In the Punjab the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura were declared to be prohibited areas under the Seditious Meetings Act. Gradually the whole of the Punjab was gagged by the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act. All meetings were prohibited and declared unlawful in towns such as Allahabad, Chittagong, etc. On the 26th, all the towns were similarly treated and the Cr. Law Amend. Act, Part II applied. From house-searches, police raids, and other methods of a strong police rule, were indulged in. At Lahore there was a special occasion for rousing the bureaucratic ire. On 26th November a special meeting of the Municipal Committee was held to propose a welcome to the Prince. Such a proposal had on the 16th August last been discussed and by a majority the municipality refused to receive the Prince. On the question being again raised a heated debate followed, and on the motion being put to the vote, there was a tie of 15 votes for and against it. On this the Deputy Commissioner who is the official chairman of the Lahore municipality gave his casting vote, and the resolution was thus passed. This fact was brought to the notice of the Private Secretary to the Prince, Lord Cromer, by Mr. K. Sanatanam, a municipal commissioner and the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, "so that His Royal Highness might be under no delusion as to the real sentiments of the people of Lahore!"

On November 26th the shrewd Viceroy at last opened his mouth. Lord Reading's position was indeed delicate. His Govt. had invited the Prince and it was up to the Govt. of India to see that the Prince was well received by the people at large. Coercion at such a time was out of the question. But the affairs of Bombay were 'thaumaturgic'. The authorities never thought that they could be landed in such difficulties before the Prince. Sir George Lloyd, however, kept a cool head, and so too the Viceroy, watching the game from Delhi. It was the juncker outburst of the Calcutta Anglo-Indians and their favourite Governor, Lord Ronaldsday, that precipitated matters. The first spark of repression was let off from the Govt. House, Calcutta, and at once there was a furious outburst demanding the Viceroy to Act. In rapid succession came the thoughtless repressive orders from the Govt. of U. P., Punjab and Assam. And then the Viceroy could keep silence no longer. In reply to a deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce His Excellency took opportunity to refer to the political condition of India and said :—

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THE ULEMA CONFERENCE

I wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon you that the Government of India will spare no effort to protect the peaceful and law-abiding citizens against violence or coercion or intimidation or other breaches of the law. I shall not dilate upon this subject but there is to-day a natural and legitimate desire on the part of the vast majority of the people that the law should be respected and observed. I cannot but think that in some quarters there is a misconception of the position. The Government of India are very conscious of their power and their strength and they have, I verily believe, the support of all law-abiding citizens of India. It cannot fairly be said that we have abused this power. Indeed, we are sometimes criticised for not having sufficiently exerted it, and I readily admit that we have sought to avoid action which might either misconceived or misrepresented as too severe or as provocative. But recent events have made it imperative that the full strength of the Government should, if necessary, be exerted for the purpose of vindicating the law and preserving it.

In some quarters, I shall not designate them—they are too well-known—intimidation, and consequently coercion, which is only another form of violence of course, unlawful, were practised, and it must be said, with consideration. This conduct cannot be permitted and must be stopped. Proper measures will be adopted and all necessary steps taken to protect the peaceful citizen and give him that security to which he is entitled and to bring the wrong-doer to justice. The peaceful citizen wishes to carry on his own business, his own pursuits, his own avocations without improper interference or molestation from persons with whom he may not be in agreement. We have no desire to interfere with the lawful activities of political parties, however opposed to us, but we hold that is our view and although we are most anxious, as I have repeatedly said, to redress all legitimate grievances and to remove the grounds of popular discontent, yet we cannot allow any political activity to impose its will upon the country by violence, intimidation, coercion or other unlawful means. I have therefore taken this opportunity of telling you what is in this respect in the minds of the Government of India, and of assuring you that the Government, of which I have no doubt you are keen critics, will use its efforts to ensure that every man may carry on his lawful pursuits in his own way and at his own will and you may rest satisfied that all necessary steps for this purpose will be taken.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference.

Meanwhile the activities of the Congress and related bodies were not confined to the volunteer organisations alone. On Nov. 19th an important meeting of the *Jamiat-ul Ulema* (Conference of Moslem Divines) was held at Lahore, presided over by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, at which the position of Moslems under the political conditions of the country was discussed.

Resolutions were passed, confirming the resolutions passed by the Executive Committee of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* at its meeting held at Delhi on the 21st September last, declaring that the resolution passed at the Karachi Conference held on the 8th, 9th, 10th July, which had been the cause of the arrest and incarceration of Maulana Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali and others, was part of the decided and open commandments of Islam, which were in force since the last 1,300 years and so often declared in India, and Mussalmans could never cease to declare it. The *Jamiat-ul Ulema* invited Mussalmans



THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE [Bombay]

to perform their duties at this critical juncture and make their best efforts to declare and announce this Commandment of God.

Resolutions were also passed, protesting against the proscription of the *Fatwa* of the Ulemas by the Government of Delhi and other Governments and declaring it sinful and *haram* for Mussalmans to serve in Police and Army under the present Government and asking every Mussalman to boldly requests oldiers and Muslim policemen to immediately leave service under the Government. The Ulemas asked the assembled Mussalmans to serve their 'Allah' and the Prophet and to protect the Holy *Quran* and help the Turks in their strugg' against non-Muslims. They were asked to boldly repeat the Ulem *Fatwa* from every platform and to request every policemen : soldier they met to leave Government service even at the risk being imprisoned.

The All-India Congress Committee

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Mahatma Gandhi's residence at Bombay on 22nd and 23rd Nov. and prominent provincial leaders were consequently drawn away from their provinces to Bombay. Messrs. C. R. Das, Motilal Ne Moulana A. Kalam Azad, Lajpat Rai, Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansar Umar Sobhani. N. C. Kelkar and many others were collected round the Mahatma. Resolutions were passed deploring the riots at Bombay and enjoining upon all Congress workers the strictest observance of non-violence. The most important resolution was on the volunteer organisation as follows :—

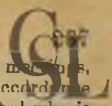
"This Committee considers it of national importance that all N-C-O Volunteer Corps, Khilafat Volunteer Corps and other non-official volunteer bodies should be brought under control and named the 'National Volunteer Corps' and, therefore, advises Provincial Congress Committees to appoint Central Boards in their Provinces for controlling and bringing under an uniform discipline all the existing volunteer corps, and commends to their attention the following draft general instructions, and further requests the Central Khilafat Committee and the Khalsa Committee to pass the necessary resolution to give effect to them.

"The draft general instructions are :—

"Every volunteer should sign the following pledge in triplicate, one copy shall be given to the volunteer, one sent to the Central Office in every Province, and one kept in the District in which the volunteer is enlisted. The pledge shall be written in the language of the Province in which the volunteer is resident, as also in Hindustani, in Urdu and Devanagri scripts. So far as possible for the uniform of volunteers, an imitation of military uniform shall be avoided. Volunteers shall not carry any sword with them, but may carry an ordinary walking stick, not longer than four feet. The lowest unit shall consist of not more than nor less than 20 people, of which one shall be a leader elected by the members of a particular unit. Twenty such leaders shall elect from among themselves an officer. All other officers shall be appointed by the Central Provincial Office, which shall consist of a board of five who will elect their own Chairman. All subordinate officers shall implicitly obey the instructions issued from time to time by the Board.



TAGORE ON REPRESSION



The duties of volunteers shall be to preserve order, regulate meetings, processions, and to render social service in emergencies in accordance with the instructions given to them. No volunteer shall be enlisted who is known to be a bad character. The Central Board shall be under the control of, and appointed by, Provincial Congress Committees. The Khilafat volunteers should also form part of the national volunteers and be subject to the control of the Central Provincial Board. No one under eighteen shall be enlisted as a volunteer.

"PLEDGE:—So long as I remain in any voluntary organisation, I shall faithfully and diligently carry out all instructions received from my superiors. I shall observe the pledge of non-violence in word and in deed and shall inculcate the spirit of non-violence amongst others. I shall regard the pledge as binding upon me so long as the policy of non-violence is continued by the Nation. I shall run all risks attendant upon the performance of my duty."

From Bombay the Congress leaders then came back to their respective provinces. Meanwhile, after the Viceroy had spoken, the whole machinery of government, from Governors to the last petty village-officers, was at once set in motion to crush the new national spirit. Anglo-Indians, Europeans and the denationalised Moderates of Calcutta were drafted into a "Civil Guard," like the famous "Prussian Guard," of history, to act as an auxilliary to the military police. The way the "Civil Guards," were trained and recruited brought back to people's mind the exploits of the "Red and Tans" in Ireland, but it was infinitely better to have the rowdies of these communities under the able command of Sir Frank Carter, commander of the Civil Guards, than to keep them loose as at Bombay on the days following the 17th November. It is impossible here to narrate in detail the harrowing tale of repression that raged for the next month or so; enough has been given in the chronology (see pp. 37-48) to give the reader some idea. Arrests and gagging orders, not to say of the thousand and one devious methods of torture and tyranny exercised by the underlings of government, went on apace, and people saw everywhere the red-eye of the angry and armed government on one side and, on the other, the cool determination of the disarmed khaddar clad volunteers ready unto death to preach "*khadder* and hartal on the 24th." As wrote the poet Tagore about this time:—

"Power has to be made secure not only against power, but also against weakness; for there lies the peril of its losing balance. The weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksands for an elephant. They do not assist progress, because they do not resist, they only drag down. The people who grow accustomed to wild absolute power over others are not to forget that by doing so they generate an unseen force which some day rends that power into pieces. The dumb fury of the down-trodden finds its lawful support from the universal law of moral balance. The air which is so thin and unsubstantial gives birth to storms that nothing can resist. This has been proved in history over and over again and stormy forces arising from the revolt of insulted humanity are openly gathering in the air at the present time. Yet the psychology of the

strongly stubbornly refuses the lesson and despises to take count of the tens of thousands of weak. This is latent ignorance that like an unsuspected worm burrows under the bulk of the proserous. Have we never read of the castle of power, securely buttressed on all sides, in a moment dissolving in air at the explosion caused by the weak and outraged besiegers? Politicians calculate upon the number of mailed hands that are kept on the sword-hilt; they do not possess that third eye to see the great invisible hand that clasps in silence the hand of the helpless and awaits its time. The strong form their league by a combination of powers, driving the weak to form their own league along with their God."

On December 2nd Mr. Das, on coming back to Calcutta from the Bombay meeting, issued the following message:—

My message to the Congress Workers

"The recent communique of the Government of Bengal, the order of the Commissioner of Police, and the various orders under Section 144 issued by Magistrates 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 has therefore resolved to persevere with all their strength in their 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 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."

My message to my countrymen

"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 sometimes 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 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 countrymen. Let us not forget that we, the non-co-operators, claim to hold the



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country. Let us realise that to the extent to which we do not succeed in controlling the masses, be they hooligans or not, to that extent Non-co-operation has failed. The responsibilities are ours. It does not lie in our mouth to say that wicked people have instigated the masses to break 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 blood-shed? 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 and never forsaking the ideal of non-violent Non-co-operation in all its bearing."

The retribution, however, had soon to come. It came earlier at Lahore. On December 1st Mr. Sanatanam wrote to Earl Cromer, the Prince's Secretary, that the people of Lahore had resolved not to receive the Prince, forwarding the resolution of the Municipality, and exposing the way in which a public reception was being manufactured in the name of the people. On this a private Committee meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee was declared illegal, broken up by the Police, and all the leaders including Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr Gopi Chand, Malik Lal Khan, Mr. Sanatanam and others were arrested and kept in jail. And even religious meetings were not excluded, for on November 26th, and previous to that, several members of the Gurdwara Committee of the Punjab were arrested for holding a religious meeting!

On the 2nd December Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh of the Sikh Gurdwara Committee along with 9 others were tried and sentenced to 6 months' hard labour and Rs. 1,000 fine under the Seditious Meetings Act.

The next day Mr. S. E. Stokes, the American disciple of Gandhi, was arrested at Lahore and on 5th sentenced to imprisonment on a charge of sedition.

The following account of the arrest of Mr. Lajpat Rai and others is taken from the *Tribune* of Lahore :—

"Lalaji and other members of the Committee were fully prepared. The meeting was a Committee meeting, attendance being confined only to members of whom less than 40 were present. Col. Gregson and armed police surrounded the house and standing at the door, read out the Magistrate's order declaring the meeting unlawful. Thereupon Lala Lajpat Rai asked those who wanted to leave and go away. None stirred from his seat. Even before the commencement of the meeting Lala Lajpat Rai had tried to dissuade certain people from attending the meeting in view of the fact that probably all would be arrested and no responsible man left to carry on the work. Those asked to desist included Lala Hans Raj and Syed Ata-Ulla Shah (both of Jullunder) and Mr. Abdur Rashid. Lala Hans Raj and Syed Ata-Ulla Shah requested to be allowed to

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and for the sake of the honour of their town. Immediately after Major Ferrar, the District Magistrate, and Col. Gregson the Senior Supdt. of Police, entered the room, while the committee was sitting. The District Magistrate said that he declared the meeting an unlawful assembly and ordered it to disperse. Lala Lajpat Rai, who was in the chair, thereupon replied that he considered the meeting lawful and as president refused to disperse it. Major Ferrar addressing Pt. Rambhuj Dutt asked who the speaker was. He was informed by Punditji that it was Lala Lajpat Rai who spoke. Lala Lajpat Rai himself said, "I am Lajpat Rai." Thereupon Major Ferrar said "I arrest you." Lalaji gladly surrendered himself. The District Magistrate then called out for Mr. Sanatanam and arrested him. He then asked for Dr. Gopi Chand and arrested him also. The three were taken to a motor car waiting below. Col. Gregson again went up to the room. Meanwhile the proceedings of the meeting were going on under the presidentship of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhuri. A resolution congratulating the arrested leaders was passed.

"The Senior Superintendent of Police said that the meeting was an unlawful assembly and asked it to disperse. Chaudhuri Rambhuj Dutt protested and said that they would not move unless forcibly dispersed. Punditji wanted to explain his position but the police official impatiently said that he did not want to argue and ordered the Police to forcibly disperse the meeting. Pt. Rambhuj Dutt told the members that it should be clearly understood that force had been used in dispersing them. A police officer touched each on the back with the hand. When the members came downstairs, Malik Lal Khan was arrested. Malik Sahib at the time of his arrest said "I was waiting for this very opportunity."

"The motor car containing Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Sanatanam and Dr. Gopi Chand had already left amid shouts of "Bande Mataram and Gandhi Maharaj Ki Jai." Lalaji, when his motor car departed, said "Good-by friends!" Malik Lal Khan was at once taken in a "tonga." Several hundreds of people were assembled on both sides of the road. The police in large numbers was present and military had been posted at several places but the crowds maintained a perfectly calm behaviour. Permission was no doubt sought by certain people to observe "hartal" in the city but the Congress officials dissuaded the people from taking that step.

"It will be remembered that immediately after their arrest during martial law in 1919 Lala Harkishan Lal and others were taken in the first instance to the Telegraph Office. The same story was repeated on the present occasion. Lala Lajpat Rai and his comrades were taken to the Telegraph Office and kept waiting there. Meanwhile the office of the Provincial Congress Committee

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was locked and sealed for search. Large crowds had assembled on the Mall outside the Telegraph Office. Nobody was allowed to go in. The representative of the "Tribune" sought the permission of the police official on duty. The official sent in a chit asking if a newspaper man could be allowed to go in.

"Mr. Keough the Additional District Magistrate of Lahore who was present inside refused permission. The leaders were kept inside for about two hours. Lala Lajpat Rai on noticing the crowds outside sent a message asking people to disperse and remain perfectly peaceful. All the four leaders were produced before Mr. Keough. The charge against them is under Section 145 Cr. P. Code. Bail was offered but refused. Dr. Gopi Chand and Malik Lal Khan were first taken in a car to the Central Jail. Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Sanatanam followed in another. The Police demanded a remand up to the 10th, but the Magistrate fixed the 7th. Dec. for hearing.

"While in the Telegraph Office Lala Lajpat Rai sent a message through Lala Ragbunath Sahi, Wakil, asking people to maintain peace under even the most provoking circumstance, since non-violence is the very essence of the Non-co-operation movement. He hoped the people would carry out his wishes.

"Apart from the Police, ordinary and armed, there was military posted at King Edward Statue, and at Telegraph Office two machine guns were also seen inside the Telegraph Office compound along with the military. It is stated that all the four leaders and Mr. Stokes had been put in the same cell.

"When the Senior Superintendent of Police went up after seating Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Sanatanam and Dr. Gopi Chand in the motor car, Raizada Hans Raj of Jullundur said to him, "we are old friends, we have met again." Colonel Gregson replied "it is a sad business".

"Similarly, Lala Gridhari Lal of Amritsar asked Colonel Gregson to arrest him. The Colonel said that he could not oblige him just then. On coming downstairs the Colonel saw Lala Gridhari Lal seated with garlands of flowers in his hand. Asked for whom they were meant, Lala Gridhari Lal said, 'I am willing to garland you provided you arrest all of us.'

"The office of the Provincial Congress Committee was searched on Sunday. After a search of several hours the police went away with a number of papers and registers."

The Punjab arrests made a tremendous sensation. But this was nothing compared to what happened in Calcutta a few days after. On Dec. 6th Master Chiraranjan Das, son of Mr. Das, went out with a few friends with *Khadder* on and cried in the streets

"Hartal on the 24th." He was at once arrested by an European sergeant and was inhumanly beaten. Before the court he said:

"While we (myself and seven other volunteers) were sitting in the right side of the prison van, the sergeants without asking us anything pushed us to the left side of the van. Then we got down at Lalbazar. The sergeant caught the volunteers by the neck and threw them mercilessly and caught hold of my arm and twisted it so much that it fairly came to the point of breaking. We were then taken into the lock up by sergeants (soldiers were engaged as sergeants) who seemed to be tipsy and at once began beating of volunteers with their batons. I protested when three soldiers began kicking me from three sides, and while they were going away they beat me on the head. Volunteer Tewary has got his knees hurt. Volunteer Sudhir has got a blow and nearly fainted. All the volunteers were more or less hurt by the sergeants. The Indian Police did not take part in the assaults."

The news stunned Calcutta. But more had to come. Next day Mrs. Das and 2 other ladies of the family came out. The fond mother praying for her child could restrain herself no longer. Chiraranjan in prison for selling Khaddar and saying "hartal on 24th"; this was enough for many mothers in Calcutta. Master Chiraranjan was no less dear to Bengalis than the Prince to his people. So, taking her leave of the family gods, the fond mother sallied forth to join her child in gaol! "It was torture for us", she said, "to stay when our young boys were going to jail". Mrs. Das, Mrs. Urmila Debi and Miss Suniti Debi went along the same road that Chiraranjan had gone by, selling Khadder and saying: "Brothers and sisters, remember, hartal on the 24th". It was an impressive spectacle, reminiscent of the days of yore when Rajput ladies of princely families went about the streets bare-footed for the cause of the nation. Eventually, as before, a European sergeant approached the party and arrested them.

"The Ladies Arrested"! It was like wild fire. Calcutta on this day was in tumult that beggars description. Thousands rushed forth, offering to be arrested. A scene was witnessed in Barabazar, where the arrest took place, such as comes but once in the life time of a nation. Marwaris joined, Moslems joined, Bhattias joined, Sikhs poured in, Coolies, mill hands, school boys, all rushed to the scene. Some wept, some cried, some ran aimlessly—the wild multitude watched and watched and then long after melted away with brewing thoughts such as brew only on the eve of a revolution.

The same night the ladies were released by the Governor's order.

And the same night the Moderates under Sir B. C. Mitter were eating a dinner with the Viceroy.

And Calcutta stood stunned.

The Viceroy was then in Calcutta. It was rumoured that Mr. Das was soon to meet the Viceroy and that a compromise was being hatched. In this setting was Mrs. Das, the wife of the President-

one of the Congress arrested by the Police for selling khadder. At her arrest, Calcutta felt as if her women-folk had been all arrested. The tension of feeling was undescrivable. The Indian papers stopped writing editorials. Public life was on the guillotine. As one prominent Congress organ, "the Servant," wrote :—

"We feel that our only reply to the hourly growing encroachment on our commonest rights and liberties ought to be a dignified silence. The bureaucracy has rightly decided that we must cease to have any self-expression as a nation. Perhaps our very existence is unlawful, and we are merely cumbering the earth with our futile weight. If selling KHADDAR is unlawful, preaching boycott or non-co-operation is unlawful, if every association is unlawful, if our Congress Committee meetings are unlawful, if religious assemblies are unlawful, if peaceful persuasion is unlawful, then logically and consistently all our activities should come under such a ban. Hence we do not want further to deceive ourselves that we have still any right of expression. We seem to be living on sufferance. As non-violence is our creed, we think that our loyalty to it can be facilitated only by entering the silence of the grave. We have all along been writing with a halter round our neck. The unholy inquisition which is sitting on our thoughts and sentiments has become simply intolerable. We have therefore decided to suspend all Editorial writings till we again feel that the interests of our class demand it."

The Moderates' Dinner to Viceroy

At this dinner Sir Benode Mitter, who presided, proposed the Viceroy's health, and in so doing condemned the non-co-operation movement, and assured the Viceroy of the support of the Moderates in combating lawlessness, but hoped that any measures that might be thought necessary would not be allowed to prejudice the steady pace towards the goal which has been set for the country.

The Viceroy, in reply, said that he did not wish to say a word to exasperate the feelings, but putting himself into the place of those who desired to spoil the Prince's reception he could not see what purpose it would serve. He would have thought there could have been no grander opportunity for showing that the people were fit for that Swaraj which could only come either from the British Parliament or by the sword. The non-co operators could have shown to the British people and the Dominions that, while they opposed the Government, they were loyal to the Crown and were better fitted for complete Self-Government than might have been thought.

The Viceroy said that he would not repeat the observations he had already made about the enforcement of law and order. It gave no pleasure to any Government to have to arrest citizens. The Government's object was the opposite. But they must protect law abiding citizens.

Lord Reading then referred, amid applause, to the settlement of the Sinn Féin question, and said that the people might ask what lesson was to be learnt. Ireland had attained the present result



ARREST OF MR. C. R. DAS

[CALCUTTA]

after long years. India without any of the acts which characterised the history of the movement in Ireland, had attained a tremendous moon in the grant of the Reforms, which had taken her a long way on the road to complete Swaraj which all wanted, and India had, by ordinary constitutional means, the opportunity of proving that Indians were the people who would soon be ready for the full grant of Self-Government. He thought that India held a wonderful position at the moment. It had already taken a very great place in the Councils of the British Empire, in the War Cabinet and at the League of Nations, and 20 years ago it would not have been thought possible to achieve so much as in the years from 1918 to 1921, and he would ask whether any steps that could be taken could possibly procure for India a greater or higher destiny than that of a partner in the Commonwealth of Nations designated the "British Empire" forming one with the great Dominions, all honouring the King Emperor, the link binding them together, symbolising what he believed was at the heart of all Indians, the noble ideal of liberty and justice.

Arrest of Mr. Das and Other Leaders

Next day, Dec. 8th, Mrs. Das and party, and a large number of Punjabi ladies who had in the meantime joined the volunteer corps, came out in the streets and went along picketing. Large crowds followed them and the whole city was throbbing with agitation as to what would happen next. Fortunately the police carefully avoided them and a very perilous situation was saved from a sudden explosion. The same day the Governor, Lord Ronaldshay, saw Mr. C. R. Das, and the points of view of both the Government and the non-co operators were set forth and discussed. No means of adjustment between their diametrically antagonistic views about public rights was discovered, and the substance of the conversation was communicated by Lord Ronaldshay to the Viceroy. The Viceroy and the Governor wanted the boycott of the Prince to be called off, but this Mr. Das could not vouchsafe, as the Congress had passed that resolution and only the Congress could withdraw it. As to picketing and the volunteer activities which were then blowing in blazes everywhere, Mr. Das assured the Governor that they will automatically cease if Govt. withdrew its repressive order declaring the volunteer organisations unlawful. So long as they went along perfectly peaceful lines, it was against the law to declare them unlawful; and if individuals were found to break the law, it was open to Govt. to haul them up before a court and punish them with the aid of the ordinary law of the land. But it was useless to argue with Lord Ronaldshay, for next to sending a popular welcome for the Prince the Government was bent on breaking the N.C.O.



GOVT. COMMUNIQUE

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Negotiations failing, Mr. Das was arrested on Dec. 10th. He left the following message.—

Mr. Das's Message on Arrest

"This is my last message to you, men and women in 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. 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 for the bureaucracy. Swaraj is our goal. Swaraj not in compartments, not in 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 not stand on the side of India in her conflict 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 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 all. There is work to be done for the Mother : Who amongst you is prepared to answer the Call ?"

Bengal Government's Communique

The following communique was issued by the Government of Bengal explaining why they arrested Mr. Das :—

"In a communique which appeared in the Press on November 19, it was explained how the persistent campaign of intimidation and molestation on the part of "volunteers" associated with the Congress and Khilafat movements had forced Government to issue a notification under section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908, declaring certain associations to be "unlawful associations." The immediate effect of this action was good, and open picketing and intimidation ceased for a time. On November 22 the Extremist Press published a declaration, to which a large number of names was appended, (and which was republished with



fr names in several subsequent issues) constituting a definite challenge to the action of Government, as the following extract abundantly shows :—

(Here follows the manifesto given on p. 232)

"In order to bring home to the signatories that their action was a defiance of law, a separate notification was issued on Nov. 24 specifically declaring the Bengal National Volunteer Corps to be an unlawful association.

"This original challenge was, however, soon followed by other developments. On the very same day, November 22, a letter appeared in the "Servant", signed by six of the leaders, which begins :—*(Here follows the 3rd para given on p. 233)*

"On Nov. 27 a meeting was held of the Provincial Congress Committee at which the following resolutions were passed—

"Whereas, in the opinion of this Committee, the recent orders of the Governor-in-Council and the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, are unjust, arbitrary and intended to paralyse the activities of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and thus the movement of non-co operation, this Committee appeals to the public to enrol themselves as Congress volunteers."

"Resolution IV resolved that in view of the present extremely grave political situation in this province Srijut C. R. Das, President of this Committee, be vested with full power to carry on the work of the Congress on behalf of the Committee in consultation with the Bengal Prov. Khilafat Committee."

"Subsequently the Khilafat Committee passed similar resolutions, but associated a Committee of four with Mr. C. R. Das in exercise of his full powers. Both these sets of resolutions were published in the Press on December 1.

"On December 2 Mr. Das published a statement entitled "My message to my countrymen" in which he called for a million volunteers for the work of the province.

"On December 5 an advertisement appeared in the extremist press, signed by C. R. Das calling on volunteers.

"On Dec. 6 there appeared an appeal to Calcutta students by Mr. C. R. Das, which has since been distributed widely in leaflet form. Its inflammatory nature may be gauged from the following sentence which contains the gist of the appeal :—

"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? Oh, the shame of it, when the Mother calls and these have not the heart to hear."



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"On the same day, to quote the *Servant*, 'according to the order of Deshbandhu C. R. Das that the work of the Congress and the *Khilafat* must be carried on, "volunteers" were sent out on *swadeshi* work towards the direction of Barabazar. The first batch was led by Deshbandhu's son, Srijut Chira Ranjan Das. He was arrested along with his batch near the junction of College Street and Harrison Road. Several batches were sent out one after another. Only two of these were arrested.'

"In accordance with the policy now definitely adopted by the leaders challenging Government by the deliberate defiance of the law, in addition to batches of volunteers, mostly of the student class, three ladies, including the wife and a sister of Mr. Das were sent out on December 7th. with the intention of forcing the police to arrest them. In the message from them published in the *Extremist Press* of December 8, they state: "We came out fully prepared for arrest," and, although every effort was made to induce them to desist, the police were eventually obliged to arrest them. They declined to give bail or allow bail to be given for them, and the police had no alternative but to send them to the Presidency Jail, whence they were released that same night by an order from Govt. On the following morning they issued a message to the students.

"On this day and on December 9 and 10 the leaders pursued their policy of sending out large numbers of youths in batches as volunteers in order to court arrest, and, although the police refrained from arresting any but the most prominent of them, the number of arrests on these three days has totalled 500, and their action has seriously endangered peace and security of the town.

"It is thus clear that the leaders of the movement have deliberately challenged the power of Government to maintain law and preserve order, and to that challenge there can be but one reply. These leaders have so far tried to force Government to take action against ladies or immature youths, who have been swayed by inflammatory appeals to their patriotic sentiments. Although it has been necessary to arrest and prosecute a considerable number of these, Government has no wish or intention to visit on them the offences of those who have led them astray. Government is advised that the leaders have rendered themselves liable to prosecution under the law, and in the condition of things that have been brought about by their action Government has no alternative but to put the law in force against them. It has, therefore, been decided to arrest and prosecute certain of the more prominent amongst those who are responsible for the present state of affairs."

Accordingly along with Mr. Das. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Messrs. B. N. Sasmal, Subhas Ch. Bose, Padamraj Jain, B. N. Barman, M. Akram Khan and Pt. Ambica Prasad Bajpai,—all prominent leaders of the different Congress and Khilafat organisation of Calcutta, were arrested and locked up in jail. The *Patrika* and the *Servant* newspaper offices were searched, and many Khilafat and Congress offices were raided. The military was called in and parties of British soldiers were stationed at all crossings of Barabazar and the neighbourhood of the Congress office. Armed police and European sergeants paraded the streets, and the Indian quarter of the town looked as if under Martial Law. Panic reigned and many people were assaulted. Principal H. C. Moitra, a leading light of the Moderate party, had a sound thrashing from the British soldiers. Schools and Colleges went on strike, more and more volunteers were enrolled, and more and more were arrested. For the next few days there was no other talk or work in the town; the criminal courts were overflowing, the police stations were overflowing, the jails were overflowing, and over them all followed the surging crowd of thousands upon thousands of volunteers, from boys of 10 to old men of 80, from the delicately nurtured spoon-fed boys of princely families down to the rough day-labourers and wage-earners of the mills and factories. Parties arranged to be given to the Viceroy and other pleasant functions were dropped. Lawyers boycotted the courts in protest, but all to no purpose.

Arrest of Pt. Motilal Nehru

All over Bengal, the U. P. and the Punjab, it was the same. At Allahabad Pt. Motilal Nehru was arrested on the 6th with all the prominent male members of his family, and the important N-C-O workers. On the previous day the District Magistrate served him with a notice that he would be personally liable for any disturbance in the town during the Prince's visit on the 12th. The U. P. Govt. wired for his arrest, as the perfect organisation of the volunteer corps in Allahabad was dreaded by the authorities, and there was not a shadow of doubt that the Prince's welcome to the town would be a fiasco. On the 7th a summary trial was held and the great Pandit was convicted and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment. This served but to accentuate the hartal, and on the 12th when the Prince came, he found the whole town closed upon his face! Never was a boycott more complete as on that memorable day at Allahabad.

This insensate policy of repression soon roused even the Moderates from their cosy bed of the Reforms. Some openly, some unobtrusively became non-cooperators. Some, like Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, gave up their seat in the Council; some, like Dewan M. O. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, gave up their titles.

On December 10th the Hon. Mr. Raza Ali, an influential Member of the Council of State, voiced the sentiment of his fellow-councillors in a wire to the Viceroy as follows :—

"As one who has co-operated with the Government, I respectfully but emphatically protest against Your Excellency's Government's new policy. Apparently, panic is setting on the Government's nerves since the Bombay riots, and they see nothing but danger signals all around. Indiscriminate arrests are being made in every Province, and by incarcerating persons like the revered Pandit Matilal Nehru, Messrs. Lajpatrai and Jitendralal Banerji and Mrs. Das, Government are seeking to imprison India's soul. Unconsciously they are helping the Non-co-operators to prove their claim that the only place for an honest Indian is gaol, and each senseless arrest brings new followers within the Non-co-operation fold. Whatever may be the differences of opinion among the Indian political parties, nobody can reconcile himself to a suppression of the Congress and Khilafat movements. Courageous men who have not hesitated to part company with Mr. Gandhi cannot be expected to acquiesce in a reign of terror being established by the Government. People are asking whether a Govt. that cannot tolerate the Congress and the Khilafat Volunteers will be prepared to grant responsible Govt. to India with her own Army and Navy. The irony is that Govt. are helping the formation of a Civil Guard in Calcutta simultaneously with the proscription of the Congress and Khilafat Volunteers. Sir Edward Carson's Volunteer Army of 1913 is a parallel case. May we hope that Non-co-operation will not be goaded into Sinn Feinism? I beg of Your Excellency to consider two things. By arresting all leaders the Government are removing the only guarantee against non-violence, and if disorders ensue it is clear where responsibility should rest. Secondly, by interfering with the right of free speech and free association Government are driving discontent underground. The saddest and most objectionable part is that this policy of frightfulness has been launched when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is in our midst on a mission of peace. The issue is simple. One can understand Government's efforts to put down intimidation and actual or apprehended violence, but recent events indicate the Government's desire to strike at the Congress and the peaceful parts of its propaganda. The new policy, it is my duty to state, will be met with opposition by united India. How can any self-respecting Indian stay at home when our ladies are being put under lock and key in the name of law and order? Repression and coercion will fail as they have failed in the past. The situation is graver than it was in February, 1919. The eyes of all who stand for British connection are turned towards Your Excellency. Repression is untenable, because it will totally alienate the sympathies of those who have hitherto supported the Government. Among the first victims of Government fury were those valiant sons of Islam, Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. Their bodies are in gaol, but their inner soul is finding expression on thousands of platforms and through millions of mouths. By prosecuting them Government have been instrumental in spreading the very gospel that was desired to be proscribed. The wiser and better course is to win back the people by adopting a bold policy of genuine and whole-hearted conciliation. Surely, British genius, that has just succeeded in solving the Irish problem, should not find the Indian question beyond it."

On the 15th the Lucknow Liberal League wired to the Viceroy the following resolutions :—

"The Lucknow Liberal League views with great alarm the new policy of the Government in pursuance of which Volunteers and similar organisations of the



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Congress and Khilafat have been declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and strongly disapprove of the wholesale and indiscriminate arrests and imprisonment that are taking place in the name of law and order.

"This policy is highly unwise and inexpedient, because it has the effect of aggravating the very evil which it seeks to remedy, because its blind enforcement has been exasperating all parties in the country and because it is based upon a total misconception of the present temper of the people and the realities of the situation, and further because it failed to take sufficient note of certain recent indications of a feeling of reaction against the policy and programme of Non-co-operation in certain quarters.

"While the League is prepared to support all legitimate measures to put down lawlessness and disorder, to punish those who actually intimidate or use violence or incite people to violence, it apprehends that the present attitude and action of the Government, instead of promoting the true purpose of law and order, namely, peace and contentment of the people, is seriously accentuating widespread dissatisfaction which already prevails in the country.

"The League warns the Government of U. P. against the false assurance that it has received that the situation is improving or is likely to improve by the application of this policy or that any section of the people really welcomes the measures that are being enforced. People who give such assurance are either ignorant or interested and any man who runs can see that Non-co-operation will not yield to repression. The situation demands that the root causes of discontent should be looked to and the main grievances of the country should be removed. Unless the Government of India gives the indication of a constructive policy, mere repression will not improve the situation.

"The League is firmly of opinion that immediate and earnest efforts should be made by the Government and the people alike to compose the situation, and it strongly suggests that an early Round Table Conference should be held in which prominent leaders of the party of Non-co-operation, the Liberal Party and the National Home Rule League and some members of the Government should participate with a view to bring about a better understanding and satisfactory settlement.

"That the notification extending the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the Congress and Khilafat Associations should be at once withdrawn and the persons convicted and imprisoned thereunder should be immediately released. This will also enable some of the distinguished leaders who have been thus imprisoned to take part in the deliberations of the proposed Round Table Conference.

"The League strongly protests against the disallowance of the Governor of the motion of adjournment of the Council as undue interference with the legitimate expression of opinion by the representatives of the people of the declaration of policy by the Government which had led to arrests throughout the province and on the general situation so created.

And on the 18th Sir Shivaswamy Aiyar, president of the Madras Liberal League, wired to the Viceroy as follows :—

"The Madras Liberal League, while recognising the difficulties of Government in dealing with the present critical situation, views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of wholesale repression and indiscriminate arrests, and is emphatically of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by increasing the tension, alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general unrest.

"The League is further of opinion that the extension of part (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the Presidency of Madras is uncalled for in the circumstances of the Presidency outside the Martial Law area, and expresses its strong disapproval of the extension as a mere precautionary measure.

"This League further earnestly calls on the Government to reconsider its policy with a view to ease the present situation, and suggests a Conference of representatives of all shades of opinion as one of the steps likely to secure the above object."

The Moderates' Appeal

By this time every class of the Indian community, including the most confirmed Moderate, was getting thoroughly exasperated at the enormity of the outrages committed by the police and military, aided by the much-despised band of civil-guards, while the Viceroy was serenely watching the game from Belvedere. On the 13th the National Liberal League, the Ministerial party, sent a memorial to the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal complaining of the manner in which the Military and the Police behaved in the streets of Calcutta, and said further :—

"There has been deep and widespread discontent in consequence of the attitude and conduct of the Police and the Military. The grievance is keenly felt by the citizens, many of whom have badly suffered at their hands. It is necessary that the Government should clearly declare its policy and dissociate itself from the lawless acts done in its name. It should take steps to prevent a repetition of such conduct and to ensure a more just and human attitude on the part of those that act in its name."

Strong objection was also taken of the way in which the law was administered by the Magistracy and the Police and of the atrocious beating of under-trial prisoners ; and finally the memorial said :—

"The League calls the attention of the Government to the necessity of consulting the Ministers, who are the leading and responsible representatives of the people, before any measure emergent or otherwise, are taken affecting the rights and liberties of subjects."

"The central organisation of the Bengal Moderates, the Indian Association of Calcutta, also addressed the following letter to the Private Secretary of the Viceroy. The Secretary wrote :—

Sir,—I am directed by the Committee of the Indian Association to address the following communication to you and to request you to be so good as to place it before His Excellency.

2. The situation that has arisen in the city during the last few days in consequence of some recent Government measures and of the manner in which effect has been given to them by the military and the police has been causing grave anxiety to all who are interested in the preservation of peace and order. It has created widespread panic among the citizens and has caused considerable tension of feeling, and my Committee, therefore, are constrained to urge upon His Excellency the necessity of taking immediate steps to allay the prevailing alarm and uneasiness.

3. Among the points to which my Committee desire to specially invite the attention of His Excellency are the following :—

The widespread impression, confirmed by newspaper reports of trials, that persons are being arrested and convicted simply for selling or wearing Khaddar, crying Bande Mataram or Gandhi Maharaj-ki-jai, or for asking people to close their shops on the 24th December.

(2) Assaults and rude behaviour by the military, the police and the Anglo-Indian Civil Guards on unoffending persons.

(3) Indiscriminate arrests.

(4) Arrests of ladies.

(5) Maltreatment of arrested persons.

(6) Reported forcible seizure and removal of "Khaddar" from shops and other places.

(7) Trial of prisoners in camera and in jail; information in some cases not being given even to Counsel desirous of appearing for or watching proceedings on behalf of accused persons.

(8) Severity of the sentences passed on persons accused of political offences or offences of a technical or trivial character.

(9) The detention of persons in custody without any charge being formulated against them.

(10) The stationing of military pickets in various parts of the city (in some cases with machine-guns.)

1. The Committee most earnestly and respectfully urge that His Excellency may be pleased to bestow his careful attention on the above-mentioned causes of the deplorable state of unrest which has been created in the city and to remove them with a view to the restoration of public confidence.

My Committee further urge that an official communique may be immediately issued stating the measures that are resolved upon by the Government for the purpose indicated above.

My Committee hold (i) that a high judicial officer possessing public confidence should be deputed to shift the evidence in the cases of persons convicted of political offences and offences against the recent Proclamation; [ii] that persons convicted without sufficient evidence should be released; and [iii] that the power enjoyed by Government under Section 402 Cr. P.C. to commute sentences should be freely exercised so as to remove the feeling of unrest now prevailing.

5. My Committee beg earnestly to repeat what they have urged before that political offenders should be treated as first class misdemeanants as in England and not as ordinary criminals under any circumstances.

6. In conclusion my Committee deem it their duty to invite His Excellency's attention to the fact that great excitement has been caused by the assault on Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra which can only be allayed by the issue of an official communique stating the punishment inflicted on the offender and the steps taken to prevent similar occurrences in future.

A second letter followed immediately after:—

Sir.—In continuation of my previous letter I am directed by the Executive Committee of the Indian Association to address you the following communication on the present repressive policy of Government.

Sir, My Committee have no hesitation in saying that the action of Government during the past few days has brought about a situation which is full of grave peril to the best interests of the country. The Indian Association have always supported and will support Government in all attempts to put down lawlessness and intimidation, but when Government in the name of preserving peace and order allow their own officers to exceed the bounds of law and to

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creed, a general state of terrorism, they feel bound to enter their eloquent protest.

(3) It is to be sincerely deplored that Government should have thought it necessary to use the extraordinary powers under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act to deal with the situation, and that at a time when it was widely known that an early repeal of these obnoxious pieces of legislation had been unanimously recommended by the Repressive Laws Committee. There is a widespread feeling that the provisions of these extraordinary laws are being applied for a purpose very different from that which the Acts were designed to meet. My Committee are convinced that if anything the events of the past few days have only strengthened the case for an instant withdrawal and subsequent repeal of these Acts. The position that has actually arisen, involving as it does wholesale and indiscriminate arrests and the chances of abuse of power on the part of the very guardians of law and order, is one that should have been scrupulously avoided by Government.

(4) My Committee have no desire to pronounce on the legality or otherwise of the notification which has been promulgated by Government but they have no doubt whatsoever as to the utter expediency and futility of the policy which is being pursued. The situation which arose in Calcutta on the 17th November last did not certainly call for such drastic action as has been taken but might have been amply met by a judicious use of the powers possessed by Government under the ordinary criminal law. Judging by results, it is indisputable that the measures adopted by Government have produced a regrettable revulsion of feeling which is bound to react and has reacted most unfavourably on the whole situation. It has given a fresh and unwonted impetus to the very movement which it was designed to check; it has fostered that very spirit of defiance of constituted authority which it was intended to put down. It has further alienated the sympathies of a large and growing section of the peaceful and law-abiding citizens.

5. In the best interests of law and order, therefore, my Committee are emphatically of opinion that a fresh enunciation of policy is urgently called for, announcing the complete abandonment of repression as an instrument of Government. Repression, as has been remarked, only stiffens the gristles of infancy into the bones of manhood, and a persistence in the present methods will only strengthen the band of the Non-co-operators.

6. My Committee would once more earnestly urge on the Government the necessity of a free and generous use of their power under chapter 29th of the Criminal Procedure Code, with a view to remit or mitigate the severity of some of the sentences which have been passed. Nothing could be more unfortunate than even the appearance or trace of vindictiveness on the part of Government or their agents towards political offenders, and my Committee venture to think that it is only by such action as they have suggested that such an impression can be effectually dispelled.

My Committee would also emphasise the necessity of publishing an authoritative statement of the actual happenings from day to day as the most effective way of counteracting misleading and erroneous reports and rumours, which can only have the effect of adding to the difficulties of an already difficult situation.

8. Finally, I am to enquire if the present policy was inaugurated, in particular, if the notification under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was promulgated, with the concurrence of, or in consultation with the Hon'ble the Ministers. If the Reforms have any meaning it is essential that the popular representatives in the Government must have a determining voice in the shaping of a policy for which they must necessarily share the responsibility.



THE MODERATES' MANIFESTO

[CALCUTTA

To these representations however, as elsewhere, no room was left unsafed, and once more it was demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that in vital matters affecting the rights and liberties, the life and death, of the Indian people the Indian bureaucracy was as autocratic as ever, Moderates or no Moderates, and reforms or no reforms. Between the coldness of Government on one side and the dumb reproach of the non-co operators on the other, and the universal disgust with which their supine inactivity was viewed, the Moderates as a party were already showing signs of breakdown, and as a last effort they rallied and issued the following manifesto in the name of Sir A. Chowdhury, Sir P. C. Ray, Messrs Bepin Ch. Pal, J. Chowdhury, and 1,000 other prominent men.

The Moderates' Manifesto

"1. The latest development in the political situation in the country makes it impossible for any section of the community either to look on with equanimity or to stand aside from the struggle which is going on in their midst. It must be recognized that the non-co-operation movement is only a symptom of an almost universal desire for the immediate establishment of Swaraj to which it has been seeking to give an organized expression. Practically the country accepted the general principles of non-co-operation including such eminent leaders as the late Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh. It is recognized as a perfectly constitutional method of political struggle under all civilized Government. It must be further recognized that this desire for Swaraj is most natural and legitimate in view of the fact that under the existing system of Government the nation is incapable of true progress or self-realisation or asserting its rightful place in the Commonwealth of Nations.

"2. Our object has always been and still is to secure the birth-right of our people, namely Swaraj, so far as may be, without destroying the continuity of the State in the country. We have always been, as we still are, opposed to the destruction of the instruments of State upon which the very existence of the State as State depends and without which universal anarchy must inevitably overcome the people.

"3. While admitting that the Government had a difficult situation to face, they cannot refuse reasonably to recognize their own share of the responsibility for it. The Government should have foreseen almost every thing that has happened during the last 12 months, and should have made a timely attempt towards the settlement of the issues before them. The responsible Ministers of the King and His Majesty's Government in this country missed a splendid opportunity to offer a solution of the problem when H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught came out to open the new

Legislative Councils. A declaration that full responsible Government at an early date would be established automatically in India, joined to a recommendation for the extension immediately of full provincial responsibility, and a frank attempt towards finding reasonable redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, would have easily prevented the present anxious developments.

"4. His Excellency Lord Reading has not yet availed himself of his opportunities. He has come with an open mind and with full powers from the King and Cabinet to find a solution of the present difficulties. If His Excellency had accepted the proposal of a Round Table Conference last summer and had helped the formulation of an agreed scheme to secure the early establishment of full Swaraj, the situation might have been saved. Mahatma Gandhi called upon his followers to allow the new Viceroy reasonable time to think out a policy and to redress the grievances of the people. In failing to utilise that comparatively calm atmosphere His Excellency has, we fear, lost a most favourable opportunity.

"5. The latest activities of the Government have, instead of easing, very considerably increased the gravity of the situation. All classes of people have taken the present policy as one of relentless repression of the legitimate wishes and activities of the people to work out their political salvation by their own self-endeavours and self-sacrifices. The feeling in the country is that the action taken by the Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act against Congress volunteers, and the misapplication of the Seditious Meetings Act to business meetings of the Provincial Congress Committees, mean an attack on the constitutional status and rights of the Congress without openly proclaiming it as an unlawful association. In view of this proclamation, the Congress had either to submit to be indirectly suppressed or refuse to obey an order which is without legal or political justification.

"6. It must be clearly recognised that the present struggle can not continue in its present form for very long. It is equally clear that this struggle can only end in one or other of the following ways:—

Firstly—that the present policy of the Government will completely demoralise the non-co operation movement, or alternatively, the non-co operation movement will demoralise the Government. It is our considered opinion that neither of these results is desirable in the interests of all concerned,—the former will drive the movement underground and the latter can only lead to absolute despotism.

"7. After giving our best consideration to the facts and circumstances of the present situation, we are deliberately of opinion that the Government should first cry an immediate truce and offer

an opportunity to the people, both non-co operators and others, to meet in a conference to consider the situation and find a reasonable settlement by their common consent. We ask His Excellency the Viceroy to call such a conference without any loss of time and to direct the release of all persons now detained in consequence of the application of recent measures. We feel absolutely convinced that in the event of the Government refusing or failing to allay this increasing unrest by any withdrawal of the present policy, all sections of the community will be driven into this struggle, putting aside for the time being all differences of political opinion. Wise and timely statesmanship may yet avert a crisis."

The Bengal Legislative Council

All these, however, were of little avail. Repression went on unabated to the huge merriment both of the Anglo-Indian junkers on one side and the swelling volume of volunteers on the other, and to the eternal disgust of all self-respecting persons. The "lap-dogs" of the bureaucracy, as the civil guards were popularly called, afforded an unusual amount of fun. Donkeys, bulls, dogs, were found roaming in the streets with big paste-boards bearing the inscription "Civil guards" and miniature batons hanging from their necks. It was alleged that the pleaders of the Calcutta Police Courts were amused every day to find notorious cocaine smugglers, men under-going trial, and persons who hang about the Courts plying their trade of "professional witnesses", were recruited as civil guards. On December 19th the Bengal Council met to discuss the situation and His Excellency the Governor came down from Govt. House to personally address the Council. In a speech characterised by an unseemly exultant pomposity, unworthy of the occasion, His Lordship recounted with apparently unfeigned horror the so called intimidation and terrorism practised by the hartalists of which he had heard and read so much in the Anglo-Indian Press. But he could mention not a single concrete case of the alleged excesses committed by the non-co-operators, and failed to convince his listeners why, if his allegations were true, the ordinary law could not reach the wrong-doers. On the contrary, they heard from him an amazing justification of the actions of the Military, the Police, and the civil-guards, for preserving law and order in the manner that they did. But, in the genuine spirit of the British *Banya*, His Excellency was willing to compromise, to call a truce, provided the Prince—their Prince—was given a free reception and the hartal of the 24th called off. Said His Excellency:—

"If I was satisfied not only that there was a genuine desire to create an atmosphere favourable for a conference but that the non-co-

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MR. MALICK'S SPEECH

operators on their part were prepared to take definite action to bring about such an atmosphere, then I should be prepared to recommend to my Government that it too should take steps in consonance with the altered situation. The action which it is open to the non-co-operators to take is quite plain to me. Nothing has so exacerbated feeling, nothing has been more responsible for the present tension, than the attitude which they have taken up towards the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. Nothing could be better calculated to relieve the present tension and so to contribute towards the atmosphere which it is desired to create than a change in that attitude. If, for example, the organised attempt to boycott the visit were abandoned; if the proposed "hartal" were called off; if everything was done to re-assure the people by making it known to them that they were at complete liberty to accord His Royal Highness a royal welcome, then we should be faced with a different situation and I should be prepared to recommend to my Government that so far as was compatible with public safety they should stay their hand. We have no desire to make large numbers of arrests under the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, and if the leaders of the non-co-operation movement were to issue orders to their supporters to cease going out into the streets to defy the law, the necessity for our doing so would obviously have disappeared. I would go further and say that if with a view to paving the way for a possible conference there was a determination on the part of the non-co-operation leaders to observe a truce in the fullest sense of the word, in other words to cease all hostile activity, I would be prepared to recommend to my Government that prosecutions which are pending under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 should be suspended and those charged with offences under this Act should be released."

So at last the thin veneer of "Justice" and "law and order" so adroitly thrown over the whole affair by the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, the Viceroy of India, was raised a little, and people had a peep into the inner workings of the bureaucratic mind. It came to this:—call off the hartal, receive the Prince, and all repression will be withdrawn. But the principle on which the non-co-operators took their stand:—whether it was not within their right to abstain from official function peacefully and by peaceful means to address themselves to the people—remained unanswered. The will of the Government was the law—*Sic volo, Sic jubeo*.

Mr. S. N. Mallick who moved the adjournment of the House to consider the grave political situation voiced Indian sentiment in the Council and said in the course of his speech:—



THE BENGAL COUNCIL

[CALCUTTA]

The whole province is in a state of terrorism. Special laws of high potency in repressing people have been promulgated—the ordinary rights of citizens to hold meetings, to discuss public matters, have been suspended and other crude weapons of coercion have been put into use for the purpose of commanding the love and affection of the people to compel their co-operation. The methods of putting into execution these repressive measures have taken away the breath even from the most peaceful and law-abiding of citizens. Any body who knows anything about the administrative machinery and its parts in the country can have little doubt in his mind that the employment of these harsh and cruel measures and methods is the work of our sworn opponents viz. the bureaucracy and the civil service. Repression has taken such a cruel shape that, though I am not in the secrets of the Government, I have every reason to believe that the Indian element in the Government has not been consulted by the bureaucracy in such a vital matter, thus violating the spirit of the new Reforms. Otherwise it is inconceivable that such measures could have been resorted to.

"I must confess that our disapproval here cannot but take the shape of the utmost possible condemnation. Unprovoked assaults, unjustifiable insults, indiscriminate arrests are the outstanding features of this period of oppression which have produced results the opposite of which they are intended to create. Still more objectionable have been the trials in camera and in jail and the harsh sentences, out of all proportion to the gravity of the offences or the age of the offender. It is again deeply to be regretted that persons, even after their arrest, have been subjected to unnecessary harshness and cowardly assault. These things have unhinged the public mind, have aggravated the situation and have laid Government open to the charge of vindictiveness in their doings. Let the Government answer.

"On the top of these, the wantonly mischievous activities of the military and the intolerable aggressiveness of the police have put the severest strain upon the loyalty of the most devoted Moderate and have made him look aghast. Whatever Government communiqués may say, I have the evidence of my own eyes which I cannot disbelieve. I have seen the Military charging, insulting and assaulting innocent passers-by in the streets with an exuberance of animalism—characteristic of their profession, intensified by the hauteur of a supposed racial and a certain physical superiority. Even respectable persons, regarding whom there could be possibly no honest mistake, were not saved from humiliation and assault at the hands of the Police and the Military. And it is a great pity that all this has been done despite the grave warning uttered in this

Council a few weeks back against giving an unbridled license to the police and the protector. And then to crown all, the Government with a regrettable lack of sense of propriety brought out machine-guns and armoured cars in different parts of this city to reduce the people to a state of abject terror.

"The effect of these acts of repression and coercion has been the strengthening of the very movement which the Government was out to crush. They are bound to recoil back upon the administration with terrible force and has reacted on the whole situation most unfavourably. These harsh and arbitrary measures have unfortunately fostered the very spirit of defiance of constituted authority which they were designed to check, and I am almost sure that Government has lost the moral support and the hearty good-will of the vast majority of the people—a loss which no amount of bureaucratic efficiency can balance or compensate. By its precipitate and indiscreet policy of drastic repression, the Government has not only lost the benefit of the reaction which had set in strongly in favour of law and order as a result of the deplorable outrages committed by the mob at Bombay on the 17th of November last, but has alienated a large amount of sympathy of the supporters of Government. It is a pity that the bureaucracy, in spite of all its vaunted ideas of efficiency and statecraft, has failed to utilise this psychological opportunity and has, on the contrary, created a spirit of resentment which would turn the hearts of many away even from His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

"To add insult to injury, the highest authority in this land in addressing the Mahajans, the other day, made certain observations which have gone deep into our hearts and have made our despair complete. There is not a word of sympathy or a ray of hope in them for the people at large. When Government unfurls the banner of oppression, they justify their conduct by stating that they have reliable information which warrant their new course. It is said that the present policy was inaugurated largely owing to an outcry of a certain section of Indians. Well and good ;—there you believe the Indians as it furthers the initiation of your policy of repression. But when the Indian community as a whole raises a wail and a heart-rending outcry against the effects of that policy, in their utter helplessness and despair, the answer is : 'I know the facts. I trust they are inaccurate.' There you do not believe the Indians. It is Justice indeed !—though somewhat different from what we up till now regarded British justice

vi Ekramul Haq, voicing Moslem sentiment in the Council, shall humbly ask the Government, in the name of



THE MALAVIYA DEPUTATION [CALCUTTA]

humanity to desist from the course it has taken, and in order to create an atmosphere of peace and good-will, to release the political prisoners and to assure the heartiest welcome to the great and noble guest we have got amongst ourselves. Let there be no mistake about it, the position in India to day is more critical than at any time since 1857. The reverberations of the Amritsar massacre have shaken British rule to its foundations. In India, in Ireland, and in Egypt it is the same story. The military-minded people have done everything possible to prevent any practical solution of any of these problems. They believe in force, and they have sought to apply force, but one of the vital facts which they have overlooked is that Great Britain does not command enough force to go round. If they had their way they might crush Ireland and Egypt and that being so, their essays in militarism cannot but lead to disaster even from their own point of view."

Of the other speakers who were allowed to speak Sir H. Wheeler and Mr. Kerr on behalf of Government followed in the wake of their chief, the Governor. The Maharajah of Burdwan while pursuing in a similar strain made a remark that the hartalists meant an insult to the Prince to which almost the whole House cried out in protest with a chorus of "No." An "open charge" was made that the Indian Ministers were not consulted by the Government in their policy of repression which elicited no denial. Thus came the great debate to an end.

Meanwhile repression went on with unabated fury. Next day, the 20th December, all the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council came down to Calcutta. Telegraphic messages were exchanged between Gandhi and the Calcutta leaders. Gandhi was not opposed to a conference though he had not much faith in it, and the hartal of the 24th could not be called off. All eyes now turned on the deputation that was going to meet the Viceroy.

The Malaviya Deputation

The Malaviya Deputation was received by the Viceroy on the 21st December. It was composed of many eminent representative leaders including Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and Mr. Bhasant from Madras, Messrs Lalji Narayanji and Jamnadas Dwarkadas from Bombay, Syed Hassan Imam from Behar, Raizul Bhagatram from the U. P. and Sir P. C. Ray, Sir A. Chaudhary, Messrs Fazlul Haq, Abul Kalam, Ghanshyamdas Birla and others from Bengal. Pandit Malaviya, who headed the deputation in opening the representation on the political situation of the country, said in the course of his address—

"It is unnecessary for us to refer here at any length to the root cause of the present unrest. During the period of the war, and at the end of it, in this

of the people of India was one of cordial co-operation with the Government. It is undeniable that that happy state of affairs does not exist at present. The causes which have brought about this change are too well-known to enquire repetition.

"While gratefully acknowledging what the Government have done to redress what are known as the Punjab and "Khilafat" wrongs, we think it our duty to invite Your Excellency's attention to the fact that there is a widespread feeling that all that should have been done has not yet been done.

"As to the question of Reforms, Your Excellency is aware that while a large section of the people regard the measures which have been introduced as inadequate and unsatisfactory, and while another section have co-operated with the Government in working the Reforms, both are agreed in asking that "Swaraj" or full responsible Government, should be established as speedily as possible. Great has been the awakening among the masses during the last few years. They have begun to take an active interest in these public questions. Statesmanship demands, if we may venture to say so, that a large-hearted effort should be made to understand clearly, and as far as possible to meet, the wishes of the people in respect of problems which are deeply agitating the public mind.

"In these circumstances we believe we are voicing the opinion of large sections of the population when we urge that Your Excellency should be pleased to invite the leading representatives of the people to a conference, under your leadership, to take counsel together and make practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted. Should our prayer commend itself to Your Excellency, we doubt not that the Conference will be truly representative of all shades of opinion and in particular of the masses of the population, whose well-being is intimately bound up with a permanent solution of the political, economic and other difficulties and disadvantages to which they are exposed at present. With mutual forbearance and good-will, we firmly believe it is possible to find such a solution, and to replace the present unrest by peace and harmony based on a guarantee of ordered, healthy, national progress.

"In the meanwhile it seems imperative that the various notifications and proclamations issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 and the Seditious Meetings Act, which have stirred up so much feeling and unrest in the country, should be withdrawn and all persons, imprisoned as a result of their operation immediately released.

"Whatever our present difficulties may be, a considerable section of the public are anxious that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should be received with the respect due to his exalted position. We have every hope that the measures we recommend will help largely in allaying public irritation and in restoring confidence and good-will among all sections of the population.

"There is a very wide-spread feeling, among the thinking section of the people, that Government should avail themselves of this great opportunity for bringing about a satisfactory solution—in concert with the representatives of the people—of the principal difficulties which have arisen. A solution of the situation, which may be easy of accomplishment to-day, will become much more difficult should the present tension continue and increase, and as we fear, precipitate matters to a crisis. We earnestly hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to give your most careful consideration to the recommendations we have submitted, and that you will meet the situation in a generous spirit of broad-minded sympathy and conciliation."

H. E. The Viceroy's reply

In reply His Excellency made a lengthy speech in the course of which he continuously reiterated his favourite platitudes on



THE MALAVIYA DEPUTATION

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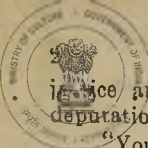
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H. E. The Viceroy's reply

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justice and law and order, and touching on the objects of the deputation, said :—

"You recommend—indeed, your language is that it seems imperative—that the various notifications and proclamations recently issued by the Government should be withdrawn and all persons imprisoned as the result of their operations immediately released. I can scarcely conceive that you have intended to present to me such recommendations without having in your minds, as a necessary corollary, the equally imperative necessity for the discontinuance of those activities which have led Government to adopt the measures now forming the subject of discussion. I do not propose to discuss those measures but I will assume that they form the subject, as I know, of acute controversy. They were adopted by Government with an object of giving protection to law-abiding citizens particularly here in Calcutta and any other parts of India. I have already said it was not a new policy ; it was the application of the policy which lies at the very root of all civilised Government, *i.e.*, the maintenance of law and the preservation of order. But 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. Unfortunately, I look in vain in your address for any indication that these activities will cease. I fully understand that none of you is in a position to give an assurance to this effect, for none of you have been authorised to make it. . . . I do not know from the address presented to me what view is taken by the leaders who are responsible for non-co-operation activities in the sense that I find no assurance from them that these activities will cease if a conference were to be convened. I am asked, without such an assurance, to withdraw Government measures called into operation by Government under an existing law for the protection of law-abiding citizens and to release all those arrested for defying law. I cannot believe that this was the intention of the deputation when originally suggested, for it would mean that throughout the country intimidation and unlawful oppression and other unlawful acts should be allowed to continue, whilst Government action to maintain order and protect the law-abiding citizens would be largely paralysed."

There was a touch of Nelsonian innocence in the attitude of the Viceroy, for he seemed deliberately to put the glass to the blind eye. His Excellency continued in the same strain to traverse the grounds put forward by Govt. of the numerous breaches of law and order. It did not occur to His Excellency that the breaches of law he was talking of were made so by the promulgation of what the non-co-operators called "lawless laws" against which their activities were directed. Once remove these lawless laws, and the so-called breaches

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and unlawful actions become perfectly lawful and legitimate. His Excellency went on it became more and more clear to the Deputationists that they and His Excellency were working at cross purposes. The object of the deputation was to secure cessation of the mad orgy of repression in the name of law and order,—for what constituted law and order came from the sweet will of the Government officials,—if not to bring the Government to reason in a round table conference ; and the object of the officials without doubt was to secure a stoppage of the hartalist activities of the Calcutta non-co-operators in order that the Prince may have a peaceful reception and the bureaucratic face saved from the scrutinising gaze of the world. And in refusing to act as the deputationists suggested His Excellency continued :—

“Had there been indications to this effect before me to day in the representations which you have made in your address on the part of the leaders of non-co operation, had the offer been made to discontinue open breaches of law for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for discussion of remedies suggested, my Government would never have been backward in response. I deeply regret that these are not the present conditions, and the discussion which I thought was to have proceeded on the high level of a patriotic desire by temporary mutual concession and forbearance to the finding of a solution of India's present problems, takes the form in its present aspect of a request to the Government to abandon its action without any guarantee that the action which has led, or, as we believe, forced the Government to take such action, would also cease. Therefore it is that a request conveyed to me even by so influential and authoritative a deputation as yourselves to call a Conference, coupled as it is with the two conditions of revocation of the law and release of all the prisoners, the answer I must make is that I cannot comply with the request.

The Present Situation

“I would ask you who represent various shades of opinion to consider the present situation. I have already told you of my Government's dislike of arrests and imprisonment. I know that you yourselves have strong feelings upon the subject. You tell me in the address that we are proceeding to an acute crisis. It may be that we may have a more disturbed condition of affairs than at present. If the law is defied whatever the reason, all the incidents, that unfortunately accompany the challenge of law and order of which we have seen instances only during the recent year, may quickly follow. I appeal to you to observe the conditions to-day and in the future, and urge that we should all seek a high level above party or political advantage, otherwise we shall all be failing in our

to India. I remind you that whatever reforms may be desired in the present constitutional system, they only come through the British Parliament. The only constitutional methods, the only peaceful solution, is by the British Parliament amending the Government of India Act. Therefore it is so important that a proper impression should be made upon the British Parliament and the British people who are represented by that Parliament. For the vast majority of the population in India are loyal to the Crown whatever their views may be about other political controversies.

Affront to the Prince.

"His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will arrive in Calcutta within the next three days. He has nothing to do with the political controversies that are agitating us at the moment. Yet every attempt is being made to prevent the success of his visit. I shall not discuss or characterise those attempts. But I must utter the warning that every man who lends himself to an affront to the Prince of Wales is doing incalculable injury to India and her fortunes in the future. We hold His Royal Highness in deep affection and admiration. Apart altogether from the personal aspect, an affront to the Heir-Apparent when he comes to India to make acquaintance with India is an affront to the British people, for the Crown with us is beloved by the people, and when I remind you that it is from those British people that any amendment must come to alter the constitutional system of India, I trust I shall have shown how necessary it is to cultivate good relations between the British Parliament and our legislatures here, between the British and the Indian peoples."

M. Gandhi's Reply

The hartal, however, was not called off, as it could not possibly be called off at that stage. An open line was kept up for direct messages between M. Gandhi at Ahmedabad and Pt. Malaviya at Calcutta and people waited expectantly to see if Gandhi would give way before the Viceregal threats. Pt. H. N. Kunzru and Mr. Jamnadas were trying to draw him into a conference. The Mahatma, however, was not going to move an inch from Ahmedabad in view of the coming Congress. To a press representative he expressed himself as follows in reply to the Viceroy's last speech:—

"I must confess that I have read the Viceregal utterance with deep pain. I was totally unprepared for what I must respectfully call his mischievous misrepresentation of the attitude of the Congress and Khilafat organisations in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. Every resolution passed by either organisation, and every speaker, has laid great stress upon

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M. GANDHI'S REPLY

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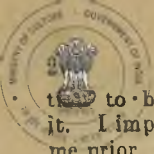
the fact that there was no question of showing the slightest ill-will against the Prince or exposing him to any affront. The boycott was purely a question of principle, and directed against what we have held to be the unscrupulous methods of the bureaucracy.

"I have always held, as I hold even now, that the Prince has been brought to India in order to strengthen the hold of the Civil Service Corporation which has brought India into a state of abject pauperism and political serfdom. If I am proved to be wrong in my supposition that the visit has the sinister meaning, I shall gladly apologise. It is equally unfortunate for the Viceroy to say that the boycott of the welcome means an affront to the British people. His Excellency does not realise what grievous wrong he is doing to his own people by confusing them with the British administrators in India. Does he wish India to infer that the British administrators here represent the British people, and that the agitation directed against their methods is an agitation against the British people? If such is the Viceregal contention, and if to conduct a vigorous and effective agitation against the methods of the bureaucracy and to describe them in their true colours is an affront to the British people, then I am afraid I must plead guilty.

"I have said . . . that we have not taken the offensive. We are not the aggressors. We have not got to stop any single activity. It is the Government that must stop its aggravatingly offensive activity, aimed not at violence but at lawful, disciplined, stern, but absolutely non-violent agitation. It is for the Government of India, and for it alone, to bring about a peaceful atmosphere if it so desires.

"The immediate issue now is the right of holding public meetings and the right of forming associations for peaceful purposes, and in vindicating this right we are fighting the battle not merely on behalf of non-co operators, but we are fighting the battle for all India, from the peasant to the Prince. I have only to point to the unprovoked assaults being committed, not in one place, but in Bengal, in the Punjab, in Delhi and in the United Provinces. I have no doubt that as repression goes on in its mad career the reign of terrorism will overtake the whole of this unhappy land, but whether the campaign is conducted on civilised or uncivilised lines, so far as I can see there is only one way open to non-co operators—indeed, I contend, even to the people of India. On this question of the right of holding public meetings and forming associations there can be no yielding. We have to march onwards till that primary right of burnt our boats and we must march onwards till that primary right of human beings is vindicated.

"Let me make my own position clear. I am most anxious for a settlement. I want a round table conference. I want our posi-



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to be clearly known by everybody who wants to understand it. I impose no conditions, but when conditions are imposed upon me prior to the holding of a conference, I must be allowed to examine those conditions, and if I find that they are suicidal, I must be excused if I don't accept them. The amount of tension that is created can be regulated solely by the Government of India for the offensive has been taken by the Government."

The Prince in Calcutta

Meanwhile arrangements were being pushed ahead for the reception of the Prince in Calcutta. On Dec. 22nd. the Prince reached Patna amidst a partial hartal in the town. Fortunately there was no disturbance, especially as only the day before the Government had issued a communique stating that in view of the Round Table Conference to be held next month, the local Government had directed the release of all prisoners arrested or convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act on condition that they undertook, pending the results of the said conference, to refrain from participating in picketing, promoting hartals, recruiting volunteers, and fostering civil disobedience. And after attending the official functions the Prince arrived at Calcutta on the appointed day, the much-advertised 24th of December 1921. All this while, ever since the arrest of Mrs. Das, the mad rush of volunteers and their equally mad and insensate arrests had gone on increasing. Every day in Calcutta alone, hundreds of volunteers rushed from the Congress and Khilafat offices into the streets armed with short slips of khadder and crying 'hartal on the 24th'; and were forthwith arrested. No less than 2,500 went to jail during the last 10 days. On the 23rd, the day before the Prince's arrival, no less than 750 offered themselves for arrest and were arrested. Practically business in the city came to a stand-still from that day afternoon. Next day the Prince came; the usual official receptions were held, the promised hartal was observed, and all the fuss made by the volunteers of a complete hartal and all the threats held forth from the Viceroy downwards, were of no avail. After all that had happened, no self-respecting Prince would go through the Indian quarter of the city, and no self-respecting Indian could venture forth to greet the Prince. In the European quarter of the city there was the triumphal State, there was all the glorious display by the Military and Police, Europeans, the Anglo-Indians, the Jewish communities, were out in burago and formed a joyous crowd along the guarded route of the Prince. High dignitaries, British and Indian, official and non off.



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Royal Highness at public receptions, and altogether European Calcutta wore a gala dress in honour of the Royal visitor.

The Indian quarter of the town, however, presented a dismal contrast. It was hartal all over. All shops were closed, the streets deserted. Houses had their blinds drawn. No tram, no taxis, no cabs and conveyances plied in the streets. The great mass of Indians, remembering what Gurkhas and Military and the Police had an ineffable preference for their skins, and cowering before the new-fangled arm of the law, the Anglo Indian civil guards, now thoroughly roused into pompous activity by the vim of the Viceroy, and remembering the sweet attentions bestowed on Principal Maitra and other respected Indians during the last few days, thought it after all prudent to keep indoors and risk official displeasure rather than go out and tempt fate.

The appearance of the civil guards patrolling the streets created a sort of panic in the mind of the Indian residents, while it gave great assurance to the Europeans and Anglo-Indians against hooliganism. Reprisals were hourly expected in the Indian section of the town, and stories ran from mouth to mouth of assaults by the civil guards. As on the 17th. November last, hartal was observed by Indians of all classes, though, owing to precautions taken by the authorities and the Anglo-Indians from before-hand, the streets did not look quite deserted. From the morning of the 24th large numbers of the military and the police along with civil guards were drafted along the route to be taken by the Prince, but the Indian crowd dared not approach. No sweeper swept the streets, no cartman removed the refuse, and even the municipal lamp-lighters were on hartal. It was a dismal semi dark, semi-deserted night that Indian Calcutta passed on that day of December 24th. In the European quarter arrangements had been made whereby the civil guards and the residents were to look after the street lamps, and the *Sahibs* running from post to post, with the bamboo ladder on their shoulder and lighting the lamps, afforded a merry spectacle.

Thus passed December 24th without any disturbance, and the Prince enjoyed his reception, perhaps the best that the Government could afford, to offer in India at that period. Next day, December 25th. saw a wild outbreak of some civil guards and European sergeants in Entally. It began in a drunken brawl started by a few civil guards and ended in the muslim population of the neighbourhood being seriously assaulted. The offending civil guards were reinforced by their confreres and several European sergeants, who madly roamed about the streets, revolver in hand, ready to shoot whoever interfered with their mad career. One man was killed outright and some 20 wounded. The same night the police raided



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a mosque in Machuabazar and was alleged to have desecrated it. A constable was found shot at dead of night and a mysterious fear enveloped the whole affair. In this connection Mr. Gandhi wrote in his paper thus :—

"This spontaneous 'hartal' in spite of the herculean efforts to break it, and the preservation by the people of the peace despite provocation, enraged the civil guards and the Europeans generally. The Viceroy is clearly to blame for it. He has brought the Prince when he should not have. Having brought him, he is trying to enforce public welcomes wherever the Prince is being taken and having failed in so doing His Excellency has excited the passions of the British residents by calling the boycott an affront to the Prince and the British nation. The expected has happened. The police and the civil guard have construed the various declarations of the Government to be a licence to do as they please. They have looted shops. They have, if the Reports in the 'Servant' are true, walked into mosques with shoes on and even committed thefts. Innocent men have been injured. Some have even been killed. The people of Calcutta have borne this legalised lawlessness with great forbearance. They have done the right thing. In my opinion the shoes of scoffers have not desecrated the mosque in question. The amazing forbearance of the mosque-goers has made it more sacred and proved the religious nature of the struggle.

"The authorities have behaved no better in parts of Bihar. Here is what the Secretary of the Tiara Congress Committee, Sonpur, writes :—

"On the 21st December 1921, at about 3 p.m. 10 volunteers with some workers were patrolling the road asking the shop-keepers to observe complete 'hartal' on the 22nd instant, during the Prince's visit. When they reached the Sonpur Police Station the S. P. Mr. Parkin, who has been posted here on account of H. R. H. the Prince's visit, came out with about 100 constables and snatched away from the volunteers flags, badges and even 'khadi' clothes which they had on them and tore everything to pieces."

"Immediately after this the S. P. marched up to the Congress Office followed by a band of constables in plain clothes and with lathis in their hands. On reaching the office the S. P. ordered the constables to plunder ('Maro aur looto' were the words he used); whereupon the constables broke upon and entered the office room pushing the volunteers right and left and assaulting them. Mr. Parkin then thoroughly searched the office, and breaking open a box which contained cash and an almirah which contained records. He then removed all records, Khadi pieces, national calendars, pictures, badges, Khadi caps, and religious books, such as the Ramayan and the Gita which were there, and burnt them in front of the office. They have also taken away about Rs. 120 in cash which was sent here from the District Congress Committee for distribution among the flood-affected people and also contribution to the National School."

"The following from Benares completes the dismal picture :—

"During the last three days the volunteers did not parade the streets to court arrest. Altogether nearly 500 were arrested, most of them were released after 24 hours or fined Rs. 10. In default, the police stripped them of their blankets, coat, caps, shoes, watches etc."

"One hears of such things done by hooligans. In law the persons and property of citizens are held so sacred that they cannot be touched without processes of law. I have seen debtors in courts walk away in unconcern with gold chains dangling on their waistcoats in spite of orders of payment against them. I have seen accused charged with crime being fined and yet walking away with diamond rings on their fingers covering the amount of their fines. In

all such cases, recovery has been made after warrants of public attachment and public sales. But the law that is being just now administered against non-cooperators is a law without restraint. The caprice of an official represents the whole law in India. I imagine that even under martial law some of the things that are reported to have happened could not be done with impunity. It is pity that human beings can be found and used for playing a game so low as it is being played by the Government of India."

Some of the graver allegations, were denied by Govt. In fact, the non co operators made allegations which they cared not to prove in the law courts, and Government also made allegations which they, too, did not prove in the law-courts. So this vicious circle went on whirling and throw off from time to time fine products of popular riots on one side and Govt. repressions on the other. Space does not permit to detail all such affairs of this most troublous period in India. Short notes on the daily happenings will be found in the Chronology. The Prince left Calcutta on 30th Dec. for Burma and spent ten days there. His reception in Burma was perhaps more cordial than in British India.

The Prince in Madras

From Rangoon the Prince then came to Madras where he landed on January 13th. 1922. And here the reception that was accorded to him was in every way a smaller edition of the notorious Bombay reception of the 17th. November. There was a grand reception and there was a great riot, though not so extensive and murderous as at Bombay. The chief festive-makers here, besides the Europeans and Anglo-Indians and big Rajahs and Zamindars, were the Adi-dravidians and non Brahmins, people who, from the low social position assigned to them by the higher classes, have generally come to entertain a sort of hatred for the latter. On the day of the Prince's landing, the Adi dravidians and non-Brahmins joyously joined the reception while the Hindus and Moslems observed a complete hartal. Street urchins hooted and hissed the loyalists. Stones were thrown at them. Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty, the great non-Brahman leader of the city, was molested in the way and could not proceed to Govt. House. At the Pachiappa's College where the loyalist Adi-dravid scouts and volunteers were congregated, hooliganism prevailed, stones being thrown by both sides. Pedestrians were molested, motor cars were stoned, public streets were barricaded by filthy dust bins, and many people were prevented from joining the welcome demonstration. Practically at the very gate of Govt. House the rioters demolished a band-stand and tore off the decorations, all the while shouting with the name of Mahatma Gandhi on their lips. The Elphinstone Cinema was next attacked, its bunting torn down, windows broken, store-room burst open and the films brought out

and burn. Electric lights and fittings were ruined beyond description and only the stout teak-doors of the Cinema Hall saved it from a total wreck. At Triplicane liquor-shops were looted and burnt, and even Esplanade Road was burst into and its arches and decorations pulled down and set fire to. Military pickets soon came, and order was restored. The Govt. of Madras had not followed the examples of the other Government in Upper India in declaring volunteer associations unlawful, and, as was justly said by the *Englishman* of Calcutta: "There was no repression in Bombay and Madras and riots followed. There was repression in Calcutta and there were no riots." The following observations of two impartial British journalists on the Prince's tour in India reflect the true position of affairs in India about this period.

The Nation & the Athenaeum on the Prince in India

"It is easy to be wise after the event, but in this case nearly everyone was wise before it also. With the exception of the contractors and the extremists, scarcely anyone in India wished the Prince of Wales to come. The Army did not want him, nor did the Civil Service outside Simla, nor did the responsible merchants in Bombay and elsewhere, nor did the Native Rulers, whose finances are scarcely recovering from the visit of his great-uncle, nor did the educated Indians, whether friendly or hostile to the Government, nor did the people. All agreed, whatever their politics or rank, that now is not the time for a solemn and delicate ceremonial, that the existence of the tie between England and India should not be emphasized at the moment it is under revision, that the ancient troubles and complicated sorrows of a continent cannot be smoothed by sending a pleasant young man about in railway trains, all hand-shakes and jollity, and proclaiming in his graver moments that he is 'anxious to learn.' No doubt the Prince is anxious, and no doubt he will learn, but it will be at the expense of the other people. While the visit has intensified existing problems, it has also created problems of its own. His safety has to be secured, and the unfortunate Government, afflicted with Moplahs and the Darchy and other genuine difficulties, has in addition to persuade hundreds of millions of people not to be rude. All this was foreseen, and, though apparently avoidable, has come to pass. Fate did not conceal what was written in her scroll.

"Imperial pride and the will of a Viceroy are the agents through which Fate has worked. It was unseemly to our wavers of Empire that a royal progress should be twice postponed; it would look as if they doubted India's enthusiasm, it would look what it was in fact. Prestige can only be maintained by pretending it has not been questioned. And this high logic was confirmed by the considered conclusions of Lord Reading. Whom the Viceroy consulted it is difficult to say; I am told, on good authority, that in inviting the Prince he acted against the advice of his Provincial Governors, who reported public opinion as everywhere hostile, and in accordance with the assurance of his Indian conciliators, Pundit Malaviya and others, who promised adequate success, which account, if true, shows how little student Indians can know about their own countrymen; but anyhow, it is easier to believe than another account which says that the Prince has come to India because he wanted to come. A few people argued that he came in order to announce some dramatic boon, such as was conferred by his father at Delhi—an acceptable settlement with Turkey, perhaps; but the Viceroy has pointed out that any such announcement would



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be constitutional and that we must expect nothing from this visit but the honour of it.

It is in Calcutta that the new trouble started. The Bombay riots, terrible to the victims, did not harm the Government, because they provoked a reaction in the visitor's favour, and placed Mr. Gandhi in a difficult position. The reception at Bombay was not bad, and after it the Prince disappeared into the deserts of Rajputana, dining with the Maharaja of Rutlam, staying with the Maharana of Udaipur, who is descended from the Sun, etc., all of which is easy and safe. But when he reappeared in British India, at Allahabad, a changed atmosphere awaited him, because, during his tour in the Native States, the Government had taken to repression. The day of his landing (November 17th) had, in Calcutta, been observed as a Hartal and as a full dress rehearsal of the reception intended for him. Eye witnesses—awed Englishmen—bring amazing accounts. They say that the volunteer organization was perfect, with police and permits complete, and displayed a calm enthusiasm that was very impressive, and an efficiency that could only come from careful preparation. The discovery that Indians can run a great city without European assistance filled the Calcutta merchants with dismay, and they appealed to Lord Ronaldsday. The volunteer organizations were declared unlawful in British India.

As a result of this firm policy the Prince, when he reached Allahabad, was greeted by five miles of deserted streets, and by scarcely any bunting. He is said to have resented the insult, and if so, it shows how completely he has been secluded from reality, for he ought to have known that such an insult was possible at any moment of the tour. The spirit of self-sacrifice in Indians is often spasmodic and temporary, but while it lasts, it is supreme; nothing can stand against it, and at the moment of writing most of the educated population is ready to go to jail. The Moderates are deserting the Government because their protest against the arrests have been ignored. Important Indian officials resign their posts, often under pressure from the *zanana*. The wife and daughters of a member of the U. P. Government go on hunger-strike, and his withdrawal from public life can only be a matter of hours. A man whose brother has been arrested condoles with the sister-in-law; she, and his own sister, repulse him indignantly; there is nothing to mourn here, they say, it is those who have not gone to jail who should feel sorrow and shame. Another lady, whose husband expects arrest, tries to learn how to carry on his Swaraj work in his absence, although unsympathetic to Swaraj, and prefers to remain unguarded when he leaves her rather than return to the comfort of her family. These three instances (all with name attached) happened to come to my notice. There must be thousands more, proving that the women as well as the men are desperate. Heroism is common in no country, and few Indians could share, with Mr. Gandhi, a martyrdom deliberate, long-drawn, and obscure. But any Government can create heroism by foolish edicts, as Rome found when she directed the early Christians to worship the Emperor, and the Government of India is finding it in consequence of its semi-mystical parade of the Prince of Wales.

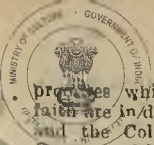
Fresh featured and smiling, the Prince has, of course, certain human assets and the students of Benares University are said to have been delighted with his appearance, and to have cheered when a turban was put on his head. But it is doubtful whether his jolly, democratic manner, so welcome to our colonies, will suit a land which was once the nursery, and is still the lumber-room, of kings. If Royalty is to go down in India it must go down strong. The Prince's naïf hesitations, his diffidence, his friendly avowals of ignorance, do not produce the effect intended. Indians wish he was having a more free, and could have come privately for some sport; but his royal aspect is not discussed, nor has he revealed it himself in any of his public utterances. What he does or is

the do not discuss; they are not interested, because he represents no tradition which they can recognise—not Alamgir's, nor Sivaji's, nor even Queen Victoria's. He belongs to the chatty-handly type of monarch which the West is producing rather against time, and of which the King of the Belgians is the leading example. It is a type that can have no future in India. If it is crowned, another work; if the subordinate Englishmen in the country had also been naïf and genial, if the subalterns and tommies and European engineers and schoolmasters and policemen and magistrates had likewise taken their stand upon a common humanity, instead of the pedestal of race—then the foundation of a democratic Empire might have been well and truly laid. But the good-fellowship cannot begin at the top; there it will neither impress the old-fashioned Indian who thinks a Prince should not be a fellow, nor conciliate the Oxford educated Indian who is excluded from the local Club. It will be interpreted as a device of the Government to gain time, and as an evidence of fear. Until the unimportant Englishmen here condescend to hold out their hands to "natives," it is waste of money to display the affabilities of the House of Windsor.

"By the time these remarks are printed the progress will be nearly over. Mr. Gandhi enjoins politeness, but his conception of politeness is not that held by Royalty who will scarcely be appeased by deserted thorough-fares and closed shops. Direct protests are unlikely, because the idea of abstention has entered deeply into the Indian mind. On the other hand, the methods of Non-co-operation was inevitably into violence; the line between persuasion and compulsion is difficult to draw, and there will be endless obscure tussels between the shopkeepers who have closed and those who want to remain open, tussels in which the authorities gladly intervene: "to protect law-abiding citizens and to enforce order." The formula and the results are both familiar. It is sad that the pleasure of a young man should be spoilt, but it is sadder that hundreds of other young men should be in prison on account of his visit to their country. What one may call the general Indian trouble exists in any case, and is deeply and complexly rooted in the past. But this particular trouble seems the needless decision of a day, unless indeed, we suppose that Fate and not volition rules the Empire, and that a rapid darkening of our stage has been decreed."

"The New Republic" on the Prince in India

The visit of the Prince of Wales to India undertaken after much questioning was undoubtedly intended by the British Cabinet as a means of conciliation. As the King's speech at Belfast marked a change of policy in Ireland from repression to discussion, so from the Prince was to be expected an announcement which would bring the position of Great Britain in India, and of India within the Empire, within the bounds of negotiation. The British Cabinet could scarcely have been so lacking in knowledge of the situation in India as to send the Prince with nothing but fair words in his mouth. They made that mistake in the case of the Duke of Connaught. Undoubtedly it was assumed that the personality of the Prince and the general glamour of Royalty would make an immediate appeal to the ignorant masses; but it must further have been recognised that if there were no positive results from the Royal visit the effect of this appeal would soon be lost or turned against the British Rule with a violence proportionate to the disappointment. The Prince was either a vessel of reconciliation or an agent of provocation. On the two questions about which opposition to British rule in India centres, the Prince was in a peculiarly favourable position to act as mediator. The first of these is that of the Khilafat, the British subjection of the Muslim world culminating in the partition of Turkey. That this should be the result of a War which India aided the Empire to win is especially galling to the Mussalmans of India. The pledges and the



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proposes which the Indian Government made to the subjects presumably injured are in direct conflict with the policy of the Departments of Foreign Affairs and the Colonies. Mr. Montagu, Secretary for India, is in opposition to Lord Curzon and Mr. Churchill. This is a situation to meet which the Crown has been reserved.

The Prince could at least assure himself by personal investigation that Britain is paying in India for the Treaty of Sèvres and its hostility to Angora.

The second question which has advanced agitation against British Rule is that of the Punjab atrocities and the punishment of those responsible for them. In this matter the embarrassment of the British Government is equally acute. For the British have created an Ulster in India consisting first of British officials and soldiers who would find residence in India intolerable except on the theory of Divine Right of a superior race, and secondly, of those Indians who, for reasons of position, business, or property, find their interest bound up with British Rule. It is this section of the public, like Ulster more loyal than the King himself, to which the British Governors and Generals are in the first instance responsible. As Ulster prepared an armed revolt in order to protect her allegiance, so this Indian Ulster is suspected of provoking the Punjab atrocities in order to render abortive the Home Rule plans of Mr. Montagu. When General Dyer's massacre was known in England, liberal journals pointed out that since protection of an infinitely small ruling class in the midst of a vast alien population was the first duty of the Indian soldier, he must, in the last analysis, be ready to meet the alternative which Dyer met with such insane misjudgment at Amritsar. It was impossible to punish Dyer, O'Dwyer and their gang. To the Indian Ulster they had been faithful even unto the death of thousands of men, women and little children. It was impossible to prevent General Dyer's grateful compatriots from giving him twenty-one thousand pounds in addition to his pension. It was only after every effort had been made and had failed to secure justice upon these miscreants that Gandhi declared that co-operation with such a Government was a moral degradation to India and a stain upon the honour of every Indian. To his protest all that the Duke of Connaught could reply was "Forgive and Forget". And it is to the Indian Ulster that Lord Reading's pathetically jocular speeches before Anglo-Indian clubs are directed—speeches delivered and received with a sinking of heart which the faithful punctuation "laughter and applause" cannot conceal. The greatest obstacles to the reconciliation between England and India is the Indian Ulster, and the only voice to which any Ulster will listen is that of the Crown. The Prince of Wales can tell the Indian Ulster in popular parlance "where it gets off".

"For, as the WESTMINSTER GAZETTE just now admitted, it is impossible to stay in India in opposition to the united demand of the Indian people and this demand is formulating itself with extreme rapidity. As in Ireland the British Raj seems to be moving always in the rear of popular unrest and, instead of intercepting it or heading it off by statesmanlike methods, the Amritsar massacre took place in April 1919. Not until December did the House of Commons consider the matter; and even with the Report of the Hunter Commission before it, it failed to do justice. In response to his failure Gandhi launched the first measures of non-co-operation to which came the Duke of Connaught's magnanimous but belated reply.

"The Montagu-Chelmsford grant of Legislative Councils for India composed of appointed and elected members was a step towards Home Rule; but the first meeting did not take place until 1921 when the Indian National Congress had already become the voice of the Indian people. The Khalifat Commission was allowed to go to London to plead the cause of Islam, but meanwhile the British were aiding Greece against Angora, and last October the Khalifat Com-

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The reply threatening to declare independence unless such assistance be forthcoming. The arrest of the Mahommedan leaders, the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew, and their sentence to two years' imprisonment on November 1st, was followed immediately by Gandhi's declaration of the final measures of non-co-operation; namely, refusal of taxes and military service.

"The visit of the Prince of Wales was denounced by Gandhi as a further attempt to palliate the Punjab and Amritsar, and breach of faith with the Mussalmans. He declared that "India will refuse to welcome the representatives of a system which she is sick to death" and whose visit is "an insult added to injury". At the same time he pledged the non-co-operators anew to their doctrine of non-violence as a measure for the personal safety of the Prince and for all Europeans. The arrival of the Prince at Bombay was the occasion both of demonstrations of loyalty and of counter-demonstrations which resulted in serious rioting in which the Parsees especially suffered. To this Gandhi's answer is given in terms of humiliation and contrition. He declares that he holds himself personally responsible for the spirit of revolt, laments that he cannot fully control and discipline that spirit, and confesses that in the light of this fact he has come to the conclusion that mass civil disobedience cannot be started at present. In other words, he admits a serious check to that revolutionary movement which by its peaceful methods has gained such dignity and prestige in the eyes of the world.

"Gandhi accepts responsibility for the outbreak but that responsibility belongs in far higher degree to the British. After all, their rule must finally rest on the consent of the governed, and if that consent is largely withdrawn in consequence of their acts, the burden of proof is upon them. It is for them to define their position in India, by negotiation or by the sword. If the Indian Ulster has its way, it will be by the sword. Already the Government seems determined to press the advantage which it immediately gains by the outbreak of violence. On pretext of the necessity of providing for the safety of the Prince, the authorities are arresting Nationalist leaders in various cities in advance of his visit—Lajpat Rai in Lahore, Moti Lal Nehru in Allahabad—and by so doing are at once offering a challenge to the people and depriving them of a leadership that so far has been a restraining influence. The Khilafat movement has been outlawed. Everywhere the native Indian troops are being replaced by Gurkhas who are as much alien mercenaries in India as the Swiss in Medieval France. The presence of the Prince in India offers an occasion for the application of statesmanship, and we repeat our belief that the British Cabinet would not have sent him without planning to take advantage of it. That this intention is rapidly being defeated by the Indian Ulster is beyond doubt. Gandhi has made himself personally responsible for the safety of the Prince who under his protection could go into the meeting of the Indian National Congress and hear India herself on the subject of her wrongs. Instead, he lurks within the pale of Indian Ulster, enjoying the shameful prodigality of the Gackwar of Baroda, exchanging toasts with Lord Reading, and uttering public platitudes like the Duke of Connaught while his Royal progress becomes a trial of blood. Once more the fair hopes and honest intentions of benevolent Imperialism have been defeated by the inevitable conditions of Imperial rule.

The Indian National Congress

Of far more public importance than all this child's play of royal tour and its attendant trail of sorrows and repression, was the session of the Indian National Congress in X'mas week 1921. The great Ahmedabad Congress is memorable for more than one reason.



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More than 20 thousand of its devoted workers from all over India were in jail—the President-elect was in jail, the General-Secretaries were in jail, and all the great stalwarts of the N.C.O. were in jail. But Gandhi was free, and his name could raise even the dead. And from the dead mass of India up rose thousands of new recruits. Turn of events had clean swept the dead old past. Gone that anglicised institution, the western gibberish, the western dress, the western cast. A rejuvenated, nationalised, Indianised Congress, clad in national dress, squatting on the floor in Indian style, talking the Indian language, sat in Indian fashion at the feet of its great leaders. Only two questions were at the fore : Gandhi's civil disobedience and Hasrat Mohani's independence resolution. The latter was defeated and Gandhi, as ever, prevailed. (For the full proceedings of the Congress and other national political institutions see p. 362).

Civil disobedience now loomed large. It was announced to be started from the 1st January 1922. On Jan. 11th an important ladies' meeting was held in the Congress office at Lucknow, even though the prohibition order under S. 144 remained there in force. At this meeting the daughters of Pt. Jagat Narain, the Minister of the U. P. Govt. and one a daughter-in-law of Pt. Motilal Nehru, then in jail, were talking leading part along with the president, Mrs. Abdul Quadir. Resolutions were passed urging ladies to wear Khaddar and a committee was formed to do propaganda work. In Calcutta, too, Mrs. Das, and the ladies of her family, and Mrs. Majumdar took the leading part in organising meetings on the 15th and the following days. These meetings were broken up by the Calcutta police, and soon getting tired of arresting the endless number of volunteers, the police, under the lead of the European Deputy Commissioner, followed the novel plan of dispersing the meetings by baton charge, reminding one of similar methods adopted by the German police to disperse socialist gatherings in Berlin. But people still continued to attend with broken limbs and heads till some days later a lady was almost killed by a blow on the head.

At Poona the civil resisters resumed picketing the liquor-shops. Mr. H. V. Tulpule, Municipal Chairman, along with 19 others was arrested for this and fined, and distress warrants were issued to realise the fine, this being here regarded better expression than locking up in jail. The picketing went along unabated. In the U. P., things were more warm. At several places there was a conflict between the police and the civil resisters, but a free use of the baton, as at Calcutta, settled them. At Jhajjar in the Punjab the civil resisters forcibly took possession of the Town Hall and picketed even the city gates. At Guntur a 'no-tax' campaign was started. And things went on like this all over India for the space of a night.



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The Malaviya Conference

(Early in January a Round Table Conference of leaders of all shades of political opinion under the lead of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya was arranged to be held at Bombay.) The following letter setting forth the reasons for such a conference was circulated to about 300 leading Indians, irrespective of political creed or party, inviting them to signify their willingness to join.—

Dear Sir,—The Ahmedabad Congress, by rejecting the motion for independence and relaxing the mandatory character of the non-co-operation resolution has gone some way towards conciliating the large section of the public which is opposed to forced marches in politics. This section has not recently been very articulate, but its influence on that account is not the less decisive. While the position of the Congress has been thus strengthened on the one side, the countenance given by it to the early adoption of aggressive Civil Disobedience cannot but cause anxiety. It therefore behoves us all, both the Government and the people, to strain every nerve to see that Civil Disobedience is not resorted to until at least it is far more obvious than at present that the resources of reason and statesmanship have been exhausted. The great obstacle in the way of attempting this at present is the policy adopted by the Government within the last few weeks of extending and applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, eventuating in wholesale arrests and imprisonments, including those of many men of high character and integrity. This policy is in our opinion both unjust and unwise, the more so as it comes on the top of the discontent created by the failure on the part of the Government to satisfy the demands of the people with reference to the questions relating to the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj. As the Federal Federation, which met the other day at Allahabad, has rightly pointed out, this policy has defeated its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general unrest. A considerable body of opinion in the country is anxious to see a settlement effected which would make it possible to secure the redress of political grievances and the satisfaction of national aspirations in an atmosphere of peace and harmony. The Ahmedabad Congress, in rejecting the proposal for severing India's connection with the British Empire, has reflected the opinion still retained by the bulk of thoughtful people in the country that it is possible to achieve full national development within the orbit of the British Commonwealth. It is, therefore, necessary at this juncture for all those who realise the disastrous consequences bound to ensue on a continuance of the present deadlock to confer together and devise means whereby it will be possible to open wide the door to an honourable settlement. It has been suggested that with this object in view a representative conference should be called to consider the situation in all its aspects and to decide upon a course leading to a satisfactory solution of the present difficulties. If you are in favour of such a conference please let us know at your earliest convenience, preferably wire, whether you will be able to attend the Conference which is proposed to be in Bombay on the 14th instant and oblige."

In response to this invitation some 300 eminent representative Indians from distant parts of the country, representing all shades of political opinion, signified their assent and met on the 14th January 1922 in the C. J. J. J. Hall, Bombay. Prominent Congress-



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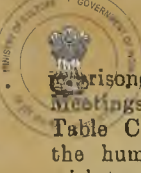
men were all by this time either in jail or undergoing trial, and those that were free mostly signified their approval and left themselves to be represented by Mahatma Gandhi who attended. The predominant part of the assembly was, however, composed of the leading Moderates and there were also such non-party men as Sir P. C. Roy and Sir M. Viswesvaraya.

Never before had any Conference in India met under a graver situation or under happier auspices. The country was faced with a grave and a serious situation. The Government indulged in a widespread and systematic repression all over the country. And, on the other hand, the Congress according to its declarations at Ahmedabad that they have only one answer to make to this policy viz, general civil disobedience, was about to start civil disobedience on a very large scale. It was therefore universally recognised by the Conference that the Government policy if continued could only ultimately lead to absolute despotism, and the Congress policy if continued, could only ultimately lead to a hopeless impasse. The proceedings began at 3 p. m.

Pandit Malaviya in opening the Conference spoke for an hour and a half explaining how the non-co-operation movement had developed step by step owing to the mistakes and blunders made by the Government and how utterly unjustifiable was the policy of wholesale repression adopted by the Government. He also dwelt upon the conditions under which a Round Table Conference could be brought about in order to reach an honourable settlement on the issues of the Punjab, Khilafat and Swaraj with the Government. He then proposed Sir Sankaran Nair to the chair.

Mr. Jinnah, the Secretary, explained at length the object and read out a resolution which he said, had been drafted after a long discussion amongst themselves and which strongly urged the desirability of a Round Table Conference under conditions acceptable to Mr. Gandhi and the Government, the idea being to put a stop to certain activities on both sides. The object of the Conference was to settle the terms of peace, but he added, that there could be no Conference until the Viceroy gave an assurance that he had the sanction of the British Government behind him for carrying into effect whatever decision might be reached by the suggested Conference.

Mahatma Gandhi who was next invited to speak thanked the conveners for bringing all parties together on a common platform, as it gave him an opportunity, for which he was pining, to lay bare his heart to his moderate friends. So far as he was personally concerned, he was quite willing to attend any Conference without making any conditions, but the position was quite different in so far as the Congress and non-co operators were concerned. Among other conditions he insisted that all political prisoners, including those



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imprisoned under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Meetings Acts must be released before the proposal for a Round Table Conference could be accepted. He was not there to ask for the humiliation of General Dyer or Sir M. O'Dwyer. He did not wish to see a single human being humiliated. What he was concerned to know was that the heart of the Government had changed and that it showed true repentance. As one illustration, he mentioned the case of Sitamari in Behar which had been saddled with the punitive police. He asked the Conference if they realised what the stationing of the punitive police meant, and maintained that so long as such things were happening in the country by the express sanction of the Government, the talk of a conference was absolutely futile. While expressing his regret for stray cases in which non-co-operators had been guilty of violence, he felt otherwise quite satisfied with the progress of the non-co-operation movement. As regards the sufferings on the part of his co-workers, which were quite voluntary, he pointed out that not one of them had ever complained on this ground.

In accepting the invitation to the Conference, he said, the non-co-operators wanted to prove their sympathy with the conveners, but beyond that they did not want to be a party to the passing of the resolutions by that Conference. But that did not mean that they did not want to associate themselves with the Conference to bring about an honourable settlement in a proper atmosphere. There was a war between non-co-operators and the other party, and it could not be broken without the former surrendering a total principle and the latter joining them. A Conference was not their goal but a proper declaration of penitence on the part of the Government, and there could be no favourable atmosphere until the Government retraced their steps.

Sir Hormusji Wadia, the great Moderate Leader of Bombay, made a remarkable speech which was only next in outspokenness to that of M. Gandhi. Referring to the Punjab wrongs, he said that it was very well to forgive and forget. The Government had an opportunity to redress these wrongs. He would leave aside the House of Lords which did not count, but the manner in which the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the House of Commons had dealt with these wrongs by characterising Gen. Dyer's action as an 'error of judgment' was really too much for the people to accept. How can we forget the Punjab wrongs, he said, when some of the authors of these wrongs are still before our eyes and continue to remind us daily of the Punjab wrongs by the position they still held in the services. Turning to the Khilafat wrongs, he asked : was it or was it not a fact that when the Government of England was in distress, the Prime Minister of England gave a pledge in January 1918 that Turkey's integrity would be preserved ? It is said that this was said

in order to get more recruits in India, but if the Mahomedans of India had known that the pledge was never intended to be fulfilled, he ventured to assert that there would have been no response.

Then speaking on the Reforms, Sir Hormusji Wadia said : when the Reforms were introduced, we, Liberals, considered them to be satisfactory, and we proposed to make them successful, but the repression that is being carried on within the last two months has caused a great searching in our hearts and we began to consider whether, after all, these Reforms are worth much. Things have happened which were impossible to conceive in the old regime. We have three Indian Executive Councillors in the Government of India. What are they doing? We have two or three Indian Ministers attached to each of the provincial Governments and an equal number of Executive Councillors with Englishmen. It may be said that law and order are outside the transferred subjects, but Ministers are equally responsible for the present state of things. If they are not consulted or are outvoted, why don't they resign? Law and order are good in their places, but we, Liberals, cannot allow a wanton abuse of law in the name of law and order, as Raut and Hapsburgs and Romanoffs did under the same plea. We have failed to allow our right of association and of the Press to be attacked or destroyed in the manner in which the Government is doing. What is life worth if liberty is taken away?

Proceeding, Sir Hormusji Wadia said he had opposed non-cooperation because he honestly believed it would produce chaos. He opposed mass civil disobedience because he honestly believed that it would lead to disorder. He would wound up by making a fervent appeal to Mahatma Gandhi, to give up the idea of mass civil disobedience as well as individual, and said that it was left only to the educated people who understood the significance of their actions, he would unhesitatingly say that he would join it.

Mahatma Gandhi replying to Sir Hormusji Wadia said that he was aware of the danger ahead in embarking upon mass civil disobedience, and he would think fifty times before he launched it. He had, therefore, asked his friends and Congressmen not to do so. It has to be done in a scientific manner and he had some experience of it in South Africa. He had asked his followers to wait and see until he had done it himself.

General Discussion.

A general discussion then followed in which Messrs S. R. Bomanji, J. A. Wadia, Jehangir Petit, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Satyamurthi, besides others took part. In accordance with an understanding arrived at previously at Mahatma Gandhi's residence between him-



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and his co-workers, no other non-co operator took any part in the proceedings.

Mahatma Gandhi in replying to the debate appealed to the Moderates and the Independents to form a link between the Government and non-co-operators and not to place an undue strain on the latter who were willing to help them in their deliberations.

Other parties in their turn all appealed to Mahatma Gandhi, and it was suggested that the settlement really lay with Lord Reading on the one hand and M. Gandhi on the other. Before adjourning the Conference, a committee of 20 finally to settle the terms of the resolutions to be discussed next day, but the Mahatma again made it clear that he or his fellow non co-operators will have nothing to do officially with the Committee, though he would assist the Committee in every way he could unofficially or personally but not as the representative of the Congress.

Next day, 15th January, the Committee of 20 appointed the previous day to draft the terms of the resolutions, had great difficulty in coming to a settlement. The Committee meeting was held in the morning and continued to sit till late in the evening. Mahatma Gandhi was present and assisting it but only as a non-member.

The following points were put forward by themselves to a discussion of an acute character which had more than once to break up the conference; they are:

- (1) Whether the release of prisoners should be a condition precedent to the summoning of a Round Table Conference.
- (2) Whether in addition to all the prisoners taken under the notifications, the political prisoners should not be released.
- (3) Whether the 'Satyagrahi' prisoners should not be released along with the rest.
- (4) Whether picketing of a boy should not be stopped.
- (5) Whether minimum demands should be stated in regard to the three fundamental questions to which the Round Table Conference must address itself.

At about 6 P.M. Sir Sankaran left the hall unable to agree with the resolutions which were framed, and the committee meeting having ended, the general meeting of the Conference was resumed. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, late Dewan of Mysore and one of the Viceregal Deputationists of the last December, was put into the chair which had been rendered vacant by Sir Sankaran Nair's sudden departure. At the outset Pandit Malaviya explained that the committee had adopted the resolutions without opposition and that Sir Sankaran could not wholly endorse the decision of the committee and had therefore left the committee and the Conference. He regretted that Sir Sankaran Nair felt obliged to take this step but he thanked him.

having conducted the deliberations of the Conference and the Committee.

Mr. Jinnah then placed the resolutions before the Conference which were passed, all non-co-operators abstaining from voting. Before the resolutions were discussed and voted upon, Mahatma Gandhi explained the position which he and the Congress party took with regard to the resolutions.

The following Resolutions were passed. —

(1) This Conference is strongly of opinion that the policy, adopted by the Government within the last few weeks, of extending and applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act to various part of the country and of misusing the ordinary law in connection with political offences leading to wholesale arrests and imprisonments including those of some of the most respected leaders and citizens, constitutes an unwarranted encroachment upon the elementary rights of citizenship, of the freedom of the Press and liberty of speech and association, has defeated its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general discontent, and ought to be reversed without delay.

(2) The Conference is of opinion that until it is clear beyond any doubt that no other means can be secured a redress of the country's grievances and the status of full liberty Government, the civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Committee should not be resorted to.

(3) In response to the statement expressed by H. E. the Viceroy in his speech at Calcutta on 11th December 1921 and in order to explore all methods of reaching a harmonious and amicable settlement of the important issues now before the country, namely the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and the demand for Swaraj or full responsible Government on the Dominion basis, the Conference supports the proposal for a Round Table Conference between the Government and popular representatives, and is of opinion that, in order to provide a favourable atmosphere for the dispassionate consideration of the points in controversy, all notifications issued and orders passed by Government under Act 14 of 1908 part II, and the Seditious Meetings Act, should be withdrawn, and all prisoners convicted or under arrest or prosecutions under the aforesaid notifications or orders should be released, as also the 'fatwa' prisoners, and that in as much as persons have been convicted for non-violent activities and other activities of an innocent character under cover of the ordinary laws, a committee should be appointed by the Government consisting of two persons, one to be nominated by the Government and the other by the Committee of the Conference appointed by resolution No. 5 with power to them to appoint an umpire to investigate the cases of the persons hereinbefore referred to, and that such of them as might be recommended by the said Committee or umpire be released, and that pending the results of the said Conference all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease.

(4) This Conference is likewise of opinion that having regard to the critical situation in the country and the desirability of effecting an early settlement, the Round Table Conference should be called as soon as possible and that His Majesty's Government should clothe His Excellency the Viceroy with the authority necessary for the purpose of arriving at a settlement.

Personnel of the Committee

(5) Without at present going into the particulars of the demands of the country with reference to the Punjab, Khilafat and Swarajya questions, this

Conference hereby appoints a Committee of the following persons to carry out all communications with the Government on the one hand and the important political organisations in the country on the other with the view of arranging the composition, the dates and other details relating to the holding of the said Round Table Conference and for all purposes incidental to the carrying out of these resolutions including, when necessary, the convening of another representative conference, the Committee to consist of:—1. Sir M. Visveswaraya, 2. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, 3. Mr. Seshagiri Iyer, 4. Sir P. C. Ray, 5. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, 6. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, 7. Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, 8. Sir H. Wadia, 9. Mr. C. R. Reddy, 10. Mr. S. Satyamurthi, 11. Prof. S. C. Mukerjee, 12. Mr. Joseph Baptista, 13. Mr. Raizada Bhagatram, 14. Mr. G. M. Bhargri, 15. Mr. B. Chakrabarti, 16. Dr. H. S. Gour, 17. Pandit H. Kunzru, 18. Mr. K. Natarajan, 19. Mr. Hasan Imam, 20. Pandit Gokarnath Misra with power to co-opt.

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech.

The following is the text of the Mahatma's speech at the second day's sittings before the resolutions were passed:—

"Mr. Chairman and friends.—"This Conference should remember that I do not propose to be a party to the resolutions of this Conference so far as I am concerned, and the non-co operators also will not become parties. (Hear, hear.) They will not take part in the discussion either. I am humbly of opinion that it is the special prerogative and duty of those who are not non-co operators to consider fully the bearings of these resolutions and to accept them or to reject them as they choose. I defined the functions of non-co operators yesterday and I repeat every word of what I said yesterday and their function is this, namely, of advisers; but they do not identify themselves with these resolutions. That does not mean that they do not hold any opinion about these resolutions. They do certainly hold an opinion about these resolutions. There are certain things which the non-co operators are called upon to do in the event of certain contingencies. Personally I may explain to you what the attitude of the non-co operators will be with reference to the obligations that these resolutions seek to impose upon them. With reference to the first resolution I have absolutely nothing to say beyond what I said yesterday. I say it remains intact.

"The second resolution also remains intact. With reference to that I have to tell the Conference that I repeat the remark I made before the committee; that the resolution will be placed before the Working Committee of the National Congress if it is sent to it officially by this Conference and the Working Committee will consider that resolution, and I have assured the Conference Committee, and I repeat the assurance, that I shall advise the Working Committee to suspend general civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress resolution pending the nego-

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tions that the Committee to be appointed by this House will enter into correspondence with Government in the hope that there will be a Round Table Conference granted. But beyond the 31st of this month it will not be possible for me to advise the country to suspend general civil disobedience. I must also tell you that I was pressed to extend that limit of time but I feel grieved that I could not do so. I want to tell the reason very briefly for my inability to do that. To me even 15 days matter. Another reason I placed before you yesterday in view of what was going on in the country to-day. As to the repressive acts in the country, in spite of the faults or the crimes that the non-co-operators may have committed, I hold these acts of repression to be absolutely indefensible and the only answer that the non-co operators can return is general civil disobedience. But in order to buy the support of those countrymen of mine who are not non-co operators, in order to enlist their sympathy on our side, I have reluctantly said that we shall postpone general civil disobedience for a fortnight. (Hear, hear.) I expect I shall be able to carry the Working Committee with me in this matter. We had an informal discussion on the subject last night amongst ourselves—the non-co operators—and I was authorised by them to say that they had decided to wait for a fortnight in order to enable the Committee appointed by this Conference to enter into negotiations with the Viceroy. That will put us square with the Viceroy and show that we are reasonable people. We do not taboo a Round Table Conference if a Round Table Conference can be summoned with any prospect of success. And what is most important of all is that we want to place ourselves right with those of our countrymen who do not see eye to eye with us. Discharge of the *Fatwa* prisoners, discharge of political prisoners against whom convictions exist or prosecutions are pending under the ordinary law or under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, this is what we asked for yesterday and these are the conditions which I have been urging. My non co-operating friends will perhaps be angry that I have been yielding to the blandishments of my Moderate friends. If they charge me with that I am guilty (laughter). With reference to political prisoners convicted or under prosecution under the ordinary law, I told you yesterday that it would be before the Committee to be appointed by this Conference which would decide whether all such prisoners could be covered by the recommendations of this Conference, but I was borne down by the logic of facts and the pressure of friends. Therefore I said, "If you want to appoint one nominee from yourselves and another from Government with power to appoint an umpire, I shall accept the proposal." I hope that my non-co operator

friends will not be angry with me for having accepted this proposal. As regards the persons who have been imprisoned in virtue of the normal law of the country which has been misused or misapplied, this small committee will consider their cases and recommend their discharge. I have no hesitation in feeling that in the hands of that committee the interests of our imprisoned countrymen will be quite safe. You will see that in yesterday's resolution there was a condition that activities of a hostile nature would cease to-day. I placed a phrase before the committee in this connection and I found that I had landed myself into difficulties (Laughter). You will be surprised to find that the keen intellect of Pundit Kunzru detected a flaw in it, and that flaw put me on the proper track, and I said 'no'. I do not want to use any phrase of a general character, not for one moment. Our struggle is of the purest character. We have nothing to conceal from the country or from the Viceroy. So far as I am concerned, they should all know exactly what is running in our minds. There is the question of activities of a general hostile character to be suspended pending this Round Table Conference. I can only bring myself to accept a definite thing, and therefore in order to enter into a compromise have sacrificed the interest of a number of women of Erode (Madras) and of Mr. Lavate of Poona. I have said that we shall suspend even the liquor shop picketing during the time the conference is going on. This sacrifice I have made in order that I can gain the other purpose, that neither the Viceroy nor any body else can charge us with breach of faith. Provided those conditions that are to be fulfilled by Government are accepted by Government, we shall suspend hartal, we shall suspend picketing, and we shall suspend civil disobedience. Of course, it grieves me to say that we shall have to suspend lawful, peaceful and bona-fide picketing of liquor-shops, but I hope that my non-co operator friends will not be angry on that score. The chief thing that I want to say is that no other non-co-operating activity is to be suspended. Mr. Kunzru asked me whether if these prisoners are discharged and this notification is withdrawn, I would not stop enlisting volunteers. I say 'No' emphatically. I would not stop the enlistment of volunteers for a single moment. It is not what we can possibly undertake to do on the ground that it is a preparation for civil disobedience. The preparation will not be of an offensive character nor of a hostile character. It is in the interest of those who are now ready for embarking upon general civil disobedience. They will have to embark upon civil disobedience at a given moment, so that they should keep the atmosphere of preparation ready for themselves. I do not consider that there I am doing anything of a hostile

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character. But I want this Conference to understand what the implications of the undertaking that I have proposed to give after consulting the Working Committee which will meet to-morrow after the deliberations of this Conference are over. I have finished the whole of my work. I said to the Subjects Committee also that these things are all right. The Government may or may not grant these things to-day. To me the chief thing is that the Viceroy should not be able to say that we have given away the Khilafat. There is no open mind about the Punjab. The irreducible minimum has been before the country for a long time. All that can be discussed is: how to give effect to the Khilafat terms that are demanded? I do want to appreciate all the difficulties that face the Government, but the vital principle of these demands is *Full Dominion Status*. How is that to be arrived at? At the Round Table Conference also my emphatic submission to the Viceroy will be for a scheme in accordance with the spirit of this demand, for full dominion status that will be evolved by duly-elected representatives of the people of this country. I mean by the expression "duly-elected representatives", all those elected representatives—elected under the Congress constitution, that is to say, under the four-anna franchise. That is, those who pay four-annas each will be duly registered as voters and they will elect representatives. These representatives will evolve a scheme for full dominion status. I know this is a big question. I do not conceal that from you, from the country or from myself. I know also, I feel keenly, that this country is not really ready for making a demand of that character. I have many misgivings about the Round Table Conference becoming successful. But I would have been false to my creed and to those friends whose association I have the privilege of enjoying and to the Viceroy. I do not want to be false to the Viceroy. I shall be false to myself if I withheld those things from you, or from the country. So far as my advice is accepted by the non-co-operators or by the country, I shall certainly press that they should not take a little less. Till we have all these things we shall not be free from the miseries that the country is oppressed with to-day. We gloat in our miseries, we take glory in them. We do not want the miseries to be sprung upon us as of surprise. As Lala Lajpat Rai said, this country is screwed up. I have less faith in the interests of my own countrymen because they have not suffered enough. Therefore, I have got my own misgivings. I feel that the committee that will be appointed will convey this humble message of mine in the name of non-co operators to the Viceroy that if he wants to convene the Round Table Conference, he should summon that Conference expecting that the non-co operators will be satisfied

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with nothing less than what I have said. I am here to confess that we are fully able to take charge of all military dispositions of the country and that we are fully able to deal with all foreign complications. The worst that may happen is that we may be blotted out from the face of the earth. I am quite willing to be blotted out from the face of the earth so long as I can breathe the free atmosphere of India. (Hear, hear)"

Post-Conference Work.

(The resolutions of the Conference were at once wired to the Viceroy and the Secretaries opened negotiations with the Government. One member of the Committee, Pandit H. Kunzru, however, declined to serve as he resented the Mahatma's attitude and the minimum demands that the letter made. In pursuance of the compact the Working Committee of the Congress met on the 17th January under M. Gandhi and passed among others the following resolutions and postponed the campaign of civil disobedience till the end of the month :—

(The Working Committee places on record its thanks to Pandit Malaviya and his fellow conveners for convening the conference of persons belonging to various political parties in the country for the purpose of considering the existing tension, and having considered the resolutions of the Conference the Committee resolves that offensive Civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress be not started till 31st day of January 1922 or pending the result of negotiations undertaken by the Committee of the Malaviya Conference for a Round Table Conference, whichever may be the first date.)

The Working Committee considers it necessary for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable for a successful Round Table Conference that (a) all notifications and notices declaring illegal and prohibiting formation of Volunteer Corps, Public Meetings, picketing and other normal activities of the Congress or the Khilafat Committee be withdrawn and prisoners undergoing prosecution or conviction in respect of such notices be discharged or released as the case may be; (b) all 'Fatwa' prisoners including the Ali Brothers and their companions be released; (c) all other prisoners already convicted or under trial for non-violence or other innocent activities be dealt with and discharged in the manner appointed therefor in the third resolution of the Conference; and (d) that simultaneously with the performance of the foregoing acts by the Governments concerned and in the event of the Round Table Conference being called and pending such Conference, all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease in order to avoid any misunderstanding about the Congress demands.

The Working Committee desire to draw the attention of the Committee appointed by the Malaviya Conference to the Khilafat, Punjab and Swaraj claims as stated publicly from time to time, or the Congress and Khilafat representatives will be bound to demand full settlement of these claims.)

Sir Sankaran Nair's Letter

The peaceful atmosphere for which the 300 all-India representatives of the Malaviya Conference had been striving was, however shattered as if by a bomb-shell by the sudden appearance of Sir Sankaran Nair's famous letter to the Press in which he roundly

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SIR SANKARAN'S LETTER

denounced M. Gandhi and his activities. The following is the full text of the letter :—

We were called to confer together and devise means to come to an honourable settlement. I have come to the conclusion along with many others that any further conference with Mr. Gandhi and his followers is useless or that any settlement will be faithfully carried out.

It is only right that I should give my reasons. The signatories to the manifesto placed certain proposals before the Conference yesterday. Mr. Gandhi did not accept those resolutions. This morning the Committee appointed by the Conference, which at his own request (reasons will be apparent later), did not contain himself nor any of his followers framed, however, in consultation with him, resolutions to meet his wishes as far as possible. They also were not accepted by him.

In the two long speeches he delivered he defined his own position, so far as any conference with the Viceroy is concerned, as follows: penitence on the part of the Government must be shown in order to create a favourable atmosphere, Government must unconditionally retrace all the steps they have recently taken, only cancel notifications extending certain provisions of law, release all Congress and Khilafat Volunteers arrested and convicted, but all others convicted recently under what I shall call ordinary provisions of the Penal Code and Procedure Code. This latter demand was subsequently modified in one particular. This, Mr. Gandhi said, is not due to any sympathy with them but only to create a favourable atmosphere and to show penitence on the part of the Government. He also said that he was himself prepared to go to a conference with the Viceroy if invited by him without any conditions. This would be in his personal capacity and not in his representative character. He did not, however, believe that the time had come for a conference, as there had not been suffering enough for people to acquire control over themselves. On his own side he would cease picketing, boycott or hartal or civil disobedience till January 31st unconditionally, and later if the Government agree to hold a conference, though he must insist upon his freedom to make all active and intensive preparation during this period by the enrolment of additional volunteers and active propaganda to carry on his campaign of civil disobedience, picketing etc., in default of a satisfactory settlement. This cannot be accepted. He also put forward the minimum demands of the Congress Party so far as the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj are concerned. He further expressed the opinion, referring no doubt to the Government—"You dare not declare Martial Law, however far we go."

Mr. Gandhi's followers, even those who expressed mild dissent in some respects, support him in his attitude, the most thorough-going of his supporters being Mr. S. Sreenivas Iyengar, some time Advocate-General of Madras, and Mr. S. R. Bomanji who went further than Gandhi in denouncing any conference with the Government.

These statements disclose a state of mind which would render any conference nugatory of any satisfactory results. They will not justify us in approaching the Government in association with Mr. Gandhi and his followers for holding any conference.

Mr. Gandhi does not want a conference or settlement except on his own impossible terms, and any stray observations made by him amid cloud of statements supporting any other view are only calculated to mislead. That Government should be "penitent" for their so-called misdeeds is, of course, an impossible condition and would never have been put forward by any one wishing for any amicable settlement.

In regard to the Punjab he emphasised the fact that the Congress party would be satisfied with nothing less than carrying out the proposals made in

the Congress Sub-Committee's report. It includes not only the punishment of subordinate officials but the practically impossible condition of deprivation of pensions of Sir Micheal O'Dwyer, Dyer etc.

With reference to the Khilafat matter Mr. Gandhi said that the French must have Syria, of course, an impossible condition. They want England to leave Egypt. On this it is not necessary to make any comment.

So far as Swarjya is concerned he wants at once in the Central and Provincial Governments full Dominion status as may be determined by duly-elected representatives of the people. For the election of representatives, the Congress Constitution as to franchise etc. should be accepted. He emphasised over and over again that these are the minimum demands which must be accepted by the Government. It seems to me that there is no good of any Government conference with Mr. Gandhi and his party, and it would not be right to request for a Round Table Conference to discuss those terms which Government will not accept. Mr. Gandhi himself, therefore, was quite right in saying that the Congress is not keen on a Conference. The failure of the Reforms Scheme to carry out the purpose the Parliament had in view is demonstrated by experience already gained. Subsequent events have shown the necessity of widening the scope of the Reforms scheme in other directions. It is unnecessary here to say anything about the Khilafat agitation or the Punjab. In my opinion we can put forward a more effective method than any suggested method which is likely to meet general acceptance. I am, therefore, so anxious for a Round Table Conference with the Government about Swaraj, Mussalman feeling, about the Treaty of Serves and the Punjab, that I felt we should not allow, if possible, any impediment to stand in our way. No minimum demands should, therefore, be insisted upon.

With reference to the Punjab, Khilafat and other matters, the decision of these questions must be left to the Round Table Conference. The release of some of the convicted persons like volunteers, and the constitution of a tribunal to consider the case of others are made conditions precedent to holding the conference. I do not object to a tribunal for re-consideration, if the Government are willing to accept the suggestion, though all the Judges are not to be appointed by the Government. This observation does not apply to the cases of the Ali brothers and others in their position whose (Fatwa prisoners') release is however demanded as an essential preliminary to any conference. The demand, however, that certain prisoners should be released before we can agree to such a conference must, in my opinion, be dropped if we want a conference. I agree that the Government should not interfere with Mr. Gandhi's movement as long as there is no apprehension of any violence. This essential preliminary requisite of non-violence stands in our way of demanding the unconditional release of all persons who have been recently convicted or making it a condition precedent to a Round Table Conference with the Government. The admission that any agitation should be strictly peaceful and of a non-violent character carries with it the admission that if violent the Government may suppress it by any legitimate and legal means and punish those who are responsible for the same. That right carries with it the responsibility of taking any steps necessary to prevent the commission of those acts, which would in all reasonable probability lead to violence, which must cause suffering. If, therefore, the associations in question were being formed for the commission of acts which in the opinion of the Government are bound to lead to violence, or the persons now arrested or convicted were following a course of conduct leading to the same result, the Govt. are, in my opinion, not only entitled but justified in taking the necessary steps to prevent such a consummation. Whether the Government had such information before them, I am unable to say. Mr. Gandhi and certain other Members of the Conference are satisfied that such evidence could not have been forthcoming

against the persons arrested and convicted and that, therefore, we must consider the action taken by the Government and make their release a condition precedent to holding a Round Table Conference. It is possible and even probable that the authorities have made mistakes in many cases. But, in view of the recent occurrences and in particular of what is now going on in the Madras Presidency, I am not willing unreservedly to accept that view, that the convictions are wrong in all cases. They are, moreover, the opinions of persons almost all of whom have minimised or disbelieved the horrid atrocities committed by the Khilafatists on those who have not joined them in their rebellion in Malabar, and thus shown their bias.

Apart from this aspect of the case, however, there is a lamentable feature of the situation which determines my attitude in this respect. Some of the persons arrested have put forward pleas which would not justify their unconditional release. I remember the statement of one of them, at any rate, that he considers himself in a state of war with the Government; of several of them that they do not recognise the jurisdiction of the Courts which, for practical purposes, means the same thing. No Government can, be called upon to release them unconditionally or without conditions which can be easily surmised. We should not make their release, therefore, a condition precedent to the holding of a conference.

As regards Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and others in that category, the Government's position is stronger. It is within the knowledge of Mr. Gandhi and many of us that they do not accept the principle of a non-violent agitation. In view of the promise of Mr. Gandhi that he would obtain Swaraj within a year, if his method of non-violent agitation was followed, they did not press for violence. That year has elapsed and the Mussalmans feel that the pact with Mr. Gandhi is over. The well-known Mahomedan character, the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference and of the Muslim League speech on this point by the President, who represents the views of the Ali Brothers and their friends leave no doubt in my mind that the Mussalmans are not under the restraint of the self-imposed obligations of Mr. Gandhi, and satisfy me that they will not hesitate to resort to violence not only against the Government but also against others who may not join them in their agitation. Recent occurrences also support this. All those circumstances point to the conclusion that they and their friends will continue the agitation on their release. I do not think it right therefore, to insist on their unconditional release or make it a condition precedent for a conference with the Government. The only ground of differentiation, the superior obligation to follow religious injunctions even against the laws of the country, has only to be stated, in view of what is happening in Malabar, to be discarded. It is on the other hand a strong argument against their unconditional release which would leave them free to follow the line of conduct declared illegal by the Court and may be attended by disastrous consequences.

An additional reason is the fact that Mr. Gandhi and his friends and the accused themselves welcome arrests and convictions. I trust, therefore, that I shall not be deemed uncharitable if I state that the demand for release by them is for the humiliation of the Government or to preclude a Round Table Conference as suggested. It is possible that the refusal to release these persons might be used as a pretext for Civil Disobedience, the non-payment of taxes, etc. The movement will then stand naked in all its illegality and hideousness. It is a fitting consummation of the policy which had its origin in the false promise of the attainment of Swaraj within a year,—a statement calculated and therefore made to mislead the ignorant masses, which all its intelligent supporters must have known to be impossible of attainment, supported by schemes

abandoned one after another in succession when the suffering caused by them and their futility exposed their absurdity and the incapacity for political leadership of the leaders, and which in its later stages, when its consequences became apparent, has led to bloodshed, butchery of thousands, untold misery for thousands of women and children, the ravishment of thousands of women. Civil Disobedience is necessarily bound to lead to bloodshed in the existing civil and political conditions, and if carried out on an extensive scale will drench the country in blood.

The movement of which Mr. Gandhi is the head has attained these proportions on account of the culpable weakness of Lord Chelmsford's Government whose policy was continued by the new Government. There can be no excuse now that the character and consequences of the movement have become apparent. A foreign Government inimical to Indian progress would watch with indifference, if not satisfaction, the mutual slaughter that must follow disobedience. Being of opinion that I cannot associate with Mr. Gandhi and his followers in asking for a conference or in any other respect for reasons, some of which are given above, and differing from the conference on those vital questions on which the conference agrees with Mr. Gandhi, I have felt bound to leave the conference of which I was the Speaker at the close of the Committee.

(Sd.) C. Sankaran Nair.

"P. S. Since writing the above I am informed that the resolutions passed after I left the conference leave the case of the Ali Brothers also to the proposed tribunal. If so the terms of the resolutions are calculated to mislead the ordinary reader. However, it does not affect the remarks made by me as their case is not one that should be referred to any tribunal.

This letter created a great sensation at the time. It further strengthened the hands of the Govt. in their ruthless policy of reaction and repression, backed by the united voice of the Anglo-Indian community who, never too friendly with Sir Sankaran ever since his bold resignation in 1919 from the Govt. of India Council owing to its policy of "whittling down the Reforms", now found in him a convenient handle to decry Gandhi, and still more, the moderate politicians who like Pandit Malaviya, were trying to establish peace in the land. Indians as a class, however, felt scandalised, for Sir Sankaran Nair's attitude looked as a sort of betrayal of the Indian cause, and further it once more showed up how easily the Indian community could lend itself to the time-honoured policy of 'divide and rule' of an irresponsible self-willed bureaucracy. For, at once the Government through its machinery of propaganda and through the Anglo-Indian Press gave the widest publicity to Sir Sankaran's views and tried to discredit the bona-fide intentions of the Mahatma. Sir Sankaran's personal animus of Gandhi and his views got the better of his sense of public duty at a critical stage of the country's political growth where a solid volume of moderate opinion was sought to be created to hold in balance the extreme activities of the non co-operators on the one hand and the Government on the other. At the closing scene of the committee meeting on the 15th January, Sir Sankaran created

and then by shouting at Gandhi : "either you must get out of this house or I must go," to which the Mahatma smiled and replied "neither of us need go ; I shall not desert you, nor should you desert me." Sir Sankaran, however went out and with him went all hope of an honourable settlement.

As a counterblast, the Secretaries of the Committee, Messrs Jinnah, Jayakar and Natarajan, wrote to the Press in their individual capacity contradicting categorically some of the allegations made by Sir Sankaran. Mr. S. Srinivas Aiyangar, for sometime Advocate-General of Madras, Sir P. C. Roy and Messrs Bomanji, Baptista, Rajagopalachary, Dr. Syed Mahmood, the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee and many others including the Mahatma himself also wrote to the Press contradicting much of the rash and angry statements made by Sir Sankaran, and the Secretaries of the Committee issued the following Press-note :—

We regret that we have to make this statement because the letter of Sir Sankaran Nair contains some statements with regard to what took place in the Committee meeting which are not strictly correct. We should have preferred to remain silent because the proceedings of a Committee meeting should not go before the public ; but as Sir Sankaran Nair has referred to them, we deem it necessary to publish this correction having regard to the gravity of the situation.

Sir Sankaran Nair's letter contains an expression of opinion on many important points relating to the present tension in the country. We are not concerned with them here nor with the explanations given by Sir Sankaran Nair.

The reasons why Sir Sankaran Nair withdrew from the Conference at the close of the proceedings of the Committee on the second day have been explicitly stated by him in his letter. They are :—

(1) That he could not associate himself with Mr. Gandhi and his followers in asking for a Conference or in any respect.

(2) That he differed from the members of the Committee on some of the vital questions, including the suggested terms precedent to the holding of a Round Table Conference.

With regard to the first reason, we have to state that Mr. Gandhi was invited to the meeting of the Committee to state in clear terms the views of his party as a protagonist. The main object of doing so was to elicit and record his views with the object (1) of placing them before the Government and the public, and (2) of exploring all possible avenues of arriving at a common basis with the views of the other political parties who took part in the Conference. In stating his views, therefore, Mr. Gandhi was necessarily representing the extreme position of his party ; but we may mention that some of the Resolutions which were finally adopted by the Conference represent a working compromise on one or two important points arrived at between divergent views, including those of Mr. Gandhi.

As regards the second reason for Sir Sankaran Nair's withdrawal, we would observe that the Committee was mainly composed of Liberals and Independent Non-co-operators having, by their own wish, been excluded from the Committee. We may add that the Committee was practically unanimous in the proposals embodied in the several Resolutions passed at the Conference.

Under these circumstances we are constrained to observe that Sir Sankaran Nair's proper attitude, as the Chairman of the Committee, was to see that the

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opinions of the members thereof, as disclosed in the course of the discussion, were fully focussed in the several Resolutions. He could have even, if he chose, recorded his dissent from the Resolutions. Unfortunately, he went further than this. Towards the close of the discussion, he developed an independent line of thought and said he would "smash the Conference" and hold another from which Mr. Gandhi and his party would be excluded. The Committee thought that such a procedure was beyond Sir Sankaran Nair's rights as a Speaker of the Conference, and on other grounds also the Committee were not prepared to go to the lengths which their Chairman wished to take them.

Sir Sankaran Nair's letter contains one or two statements of facts which requires to be contradicted. So far as we can recall, Mr. Gandhi never mentioned, at the meetings of the Committee, the evacuation of Egypt by the British. He only said that when Swaraj was obtained, India would not permit a single Indian soldier to leave the country in order to enable England to maintain her supremacy in Egypt against the wishes of the Egyptians.

With regard to the statement that Mr. Gandhi intended to pursue his "intensive preparations" for Civil Disobedience during the continuance of the truce, we may point out that Mr. Gandhi, while pursuing these preparations, agreed to take no offensive step calculated to destroy the peace and harmony to be maintained on both sides during the continuance of the truce.

After Sir Sankaran Nair had retired, the work of the Committee proceeded and Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Sankaran Nair for the help he had given in conducting the proceedings up to that stage, and in that connection referred to his past services to the country in terms of the warmest appreciation.

Fate of the Round Table Conference

Effort was also made at Delhi to bring about the much-needed truce. The Independent Moderates, the so called Democratic party of the Imperial Legislature, voiced the sentiments of the Bombay Conference. On January 18th, Munshi Iswar Saran moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly urging immediate abandonment of the repressive policy of the Government, and simultaneously in the Council of State, the Hon. Mr. Pheroze Sethna moved for an informal joint sitting of both Houses to settle on what lines a Round Table Conference of all party-leaders should be held. It was understood on all sides that the Viceroy's Calcutta utterance of the 21st December last showed white feather. Both resolutions were, however, defeated after a long and heated debate. Already the back of the Malaviya Conference was broken. It soon became apparent that neither the 300 all-India representative leaders at Bombay nor the most advanced party in the Legislature had weight enough to sway either the Government or the People's Congress one way or the other: that the words of the Viceroy upon which Pundit Malaviya's party had built so much were to be taken in the same way as the war-pledges of his chief, the Premier of England, given to the Mohammedans: that both were diplomatic utterances made under the greatest political exigency not to be taken on their face-value in live practical politics,—the exigency of the Viceroy being

to be the future Emperor of India, the Prince of Wales, the King, through the most galling reception from the people wherever he went, resulting from the criminal stupidity of his own Government, safely through Calcutta. As soon as the Prince left Calcutta, Government carried on what the people took as unmitigated coercion; in the name of law and order things were done which the people felt to be the foretaste of a Russianised administration. And so, while Pundit Malaviya and his sympathisers were making attempts for a round table conference, the non-co-operators saw through the game Government was playing, and never having their trust in the pronouncements of the Viceroy or of the Government, which from long and bitter experience they had come to regard as made to the ear only to be broken in the spirit, began earnestly to make preparations for a campaign of civil disobedience. Meanwhile, the Secretaries of the Bombay Conference were corresponding with the Viceroy and the Government of India on the matter of the round table conference. On the 26th January the Private Secretary to Viceroy replying to the communications addressed said that 'the Viceroy regretted that the proposals put forward by the Conference should have been regarded as a response to the sentiments which the Viceroy had expressed at Calcutta,' and that 'His Excellency was unable to discover in them the basis for a profitable discussion in a round table conference and no useful purpose would be served by entering into any detailed examination of their terms.' On 30th January the Secretaries of the Conference again wired to the Viceroy requesting him to reconsider the matter and expressed their anxiety to meet his wishes by modifying the terms which were not acceptable to His Excellency. To which no reply was vouchsafed. Meantime M. Gandhi had been informed of what was going on, and on the 30th January was requested by the Secretaries to postpone the resumption of his Bardoli campaign for three days more within which time they expected to hear from the Viceroy. This Gandhi did, and as no reply came from Delhi, he issued his famous letter to the Viceroy on February 4th 1922 preparatory to the launching of civil disobedience at Bardoli.

M. Gandhi's Letter to the Viceroy

In the course of this letter M. Gandhi said that it was originally intended to start "civil disobedience" in Bardoli in order to mark the national revolt against the Government's consistently criminal refusal to appreciate India's resolve regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj. Then the step was postponed owing to the Bombay riots. Meantime, virulent repression had been started by the Government in many parts. The immediate task before the

country therefore was to rescue from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the Press. He further said:—

"In the present mood of the Government of India and the present unprepared state of the country in respect of complete control of forces of violence, non-co-operators were unwilling to have anything to do with the Malaviya Conference the object of which was to induce Your Excellency to convene a Round Table Conference, but as I am 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."

He then said that although the terms were quite in keeping with the Viceroy's requirements as understood through his Calcutta speech, the Viceroy had summarily rejected the proposal. Therefore, there was nothing before the country but to adopt some non-violent method for the enforcement of its demands. In his opinion recent events were a clear departure from the civilised policy laid down by the Viceroy at the time of the Ali Brothers' unconditional apology 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's policy remained neutral and allowed public opinion to ripen, the adoption of aggressive "civil disobedience" could have been postponed 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 lawless repression had made the immediate adoption of mass "civil disobedience" an imperative duty, and for the present it was to be confined to Bardoli, though he might, under the authority conferred on him, give his consent at once in respect of a group of hundred villages in the Guntur District, provided they strictly conformed to the necessary conditions.

He said further:—

"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 set free all non-co-operating prisoners who are convicted or under trial for non-violent activity, 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 Khilafat or Punjab wrongs, or 'Swaraj,' or any other purpose, and even though they fall within the repressive section of the Penal Code or Criminal Procedure, or of 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 fines and forfeitures recently imposed. In thus arguing I am asking Your Excellency to do what is to-day being done in every country which is deemed to be under a civilised Government. If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of the publication of this manifesto, I shall be prepared to advise the 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 Government makes the requested declaration, I shall regard it as an

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honor 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 public opinion without violent restraint from either side, and trust to its unalterable demands. Aggressive civil disobedience in that case will be taken up only when Government departs from a policy of strictest neutrality, or refuses to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India."

The Government Reply

In reply the Government of India issued the following Press communique on February 6th.

"The manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi on Feb. 4th justifying his determination to resort to mass Civil Disobedience contains a series of mis-statements. Some of those are so important that the Government of India cannot allow them to pass unchallenged.

(1) "In the first place they emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of Civil Disobedience has been forced on the non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech and a free press. "In brief" the Government of India desire to draw attention to the fact that the decision to adopt a programme of Civil Disobedience was finally accepted on November 4th before the recent notifications relating either to the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act to which Mr. Gandhi unmistakably refers were issued. It was in consequence of serious acts of lawlessness committed by persons who professed to be followers of Mr. Gandhi and the non-co-operation movement that the Government were forced to take measures which are in strict accordance with the law for the protection of peaceful citizens in the pursuit of their lawful avocations.

(2) Since the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement, the Government of India, actuated by a desire to avoid anything in the nature of the repression of political activity, even though it was of an extreme character, have restricted their action in relation thereto to such measures as were necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of public tranquility. Up to November no steps save in Delhi last year were taken against volunteer associations. In November, however, the Government were confronted with a new and dangerous situation. In the course of the past year there had been systematic attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the soldiers and the police and there had occurred numerous outbreaks of serious disorder, directly attributable to the propaganda of the non-co-operation party, amongst the ignorant and excitable masses. These outbreaks had resulted in grave loss of life, the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness and increasing disregard for lawful authority. In November they culminated in grave riots in Bombay in which 63 persons lost their lives and approximately 400 wounded. On the same date dangerous manifestations of lawlessness occurred in many other places and in this period it became clear that many of the volunteer association had then embarked on a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction, to combat which proceedings under the Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure had proved ineffective. In these circumstances the Government were reluctantly compelled to resort to measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character. Nevertheless the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act was strictly limited to few districts in which the risk of grave disturbances of the peace was especially great, and the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 was confined to associations the majority of the members of which had habitually indulged in violence and intimidation. It is impossible here to set

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out in detail the evidence which justified the adoption of these measures in the different provinces. Abundant proof is, however, to be found in the published proceedings of the various Legislative bodies, in communiques of different Local Governments and in the pronouncements of Heads of Provinces. While resolute on their determination to enforce respect for law and order and to protect loyal and peaceful subjects of the Crown, the Government have, at the same time, taken every precaution possible to mitigate, where desirable, the conditions of imprisonment and to avoid any action which might have the appearance of vindictive severity. Ample proof of this is to be found in the orders issued by the Local Governments. Numerous offenders have been released, sentences have been reduced, and special consideration has been shown in the case of persons convicted of offences under the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act. There is thus no shadow of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscriminate and lawless repression.

(3) A further charge which has been brought by Mr. Gandhi is that the recent measures of the Government have involved a departure from the civilised policy laid down by His Excellency at the time of the apology of the Ali Brothers, namely 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. The following citation from the communique of the Government of India issued on May 30th, conclusively disprove this statement. After explaining that in view of the solemn undertaking contained in the statement over their signatures, it had been decided to refrain from instituting criminal proceedings against Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, the Government of India observed—'It must not be inferred from the original determination of the Government to prosecute for speeches inciting to violence that promoting disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law. The Government of India desire to make it plain that they will enforce the law relating to offences against the State as and when they may think fit against any persons who have committed breaches of it.'

It remains for the Government of India to deal with the allegation that His Excellency summarily rejected the proposal for a conference although the terms put forward by the Conference at Bombay and accepted by the Working Committee of the Congress were quite in keeping with His Excellency's own requirements as indicated in his speech at Calcutta. How far this is from being the case will be manifest from a comparison of His Excellency's speech with the terms proposed by the Conference. His Excellency in that speech insisted on the imperative necessity, as a fundamental condition precedent to the discussion of any question of a Conference, of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the Non-co-operation party. No assurance on this point was, however, contained in the proposals advanced by the Conference. On the contrary whilst the Govt. were asked to make concessions which not only included the withdrawal of the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Meetings Acts and the release of persons convicted thereunder, but also the release of persons convicted of offences designed to affect the loyalty of the Army, and the submission to an arbitration Committee of the cases of other persons convicted under the ordinary law of the land, there was no suggestion that any of the illegal activities of the Non-co-operators other than hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease. Moreover, it was evident from the statements made by Mr. Gandhi at the Conference that he intended to continue the enrolment of Volunteers in prohibited associations and preparation for civil disobedience. Further, Mr. Gandhi also made it apparent that the proposed Round Table Conference would be called merely to register decrees. It is idle to suggest that terms of this character fulfilled in any way the

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ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

been laid down by His Excellency or can reasonably be described as having been made in response to the sentiments expressed by him.

Finally, the Government of India desire to draw attention to the demands put forward in the concluding paragraph of Mr. Gandhi's present manifesto which exceed even the demands made by the Working Committee of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi's demands now include (1) the release of all prisoners convicted or under trial for non-violent activities; (2) a guarantee that Government will refrain absolutely from interference with all non-violent activities of the non-co-operation party even though they fall within the purview of the Indian Penal Code or, in other words, an undertaking that Government will indefinitely hold in abeyance, in regard to non-co-operators, the ordinary and long-established law of the land. In return for these concessions, he indicates that he intends to continue the illegal and seditious propaganda and operations of the non-co-operation party and merely appears to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character until the offenders now in jail have had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation. In the same paragraph he re-affirms the unalterable character of the demands of his party. The Government of India are confident that all right-thinking citizens will recognise that this manifesto constitutes no response whatever to the speech of His Excellency at Calcutta and that the demands made are such as no Government could discuss, much less accept.

The alternatives that now confront the people of India are such as sophistry can no longer obscure or disguise. The issue is no longer between this or that programme of political advance, but between lawlessness with all its dangerous consequences on the one hand, and on the other, the maintenance of those principles which limit the root of all civilised Governments. Mass Civil Disobedience is fraught with such danger to the State that it must be met with sternness and severity. The Government entertain no doubt that in any measures which they may have to take for its suppression they can count on the support and assistance of all law-abiding and loyal citizens of His Majesty.

M. Gandhi's reply.

Mahatma Gandhi issued the following rejoinder in reply to the Government of India's communique of the 6th February:—

"I have very carefully read the Government's reply to my letter to His Excellency. I confess that I was totally unprepared for such an evasion of the realities of the case as the reply betrays. I will take the very first repudiation. The reply says:—They (the Government) emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of Civil Disobedience has been forced on the Non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech and a free Press. Even a cursory glance at my letter would show that whilst Civil Disobedience was authorized by the All-India Congress Committee meeting held on the 4th November at Delhi, it had not commenced. I have made it clear in my letter that the contemplated mass Civil Disobedience was indefinitely postponed on account of the regrettable events of the 17th November in Bombay. That decision was duly published, and it is within the knowledge of the Government as also the public that herculean efforts were being



THE MAHATMA'S REPLY

[HARDOLI]

made to combat the still lingering violent tendency amongst the people. It is also within the knowledge of the Government and the public that a special form of pledge was devised to be signed by volunteers with the deliberate purpose of keeping out all but men of proved character. The primary object of these volunteer associations was to inculcate amongst the masses the lessons of non-violence and to keep the peace at all Non-co-operation functions. Unfortunately the Government of India lost its head completely over the Bombay events and perhaps still more over the very complete hartal on the same date at Calcutta. I do not wish to deny that there might have been some intimidation practised in Calcutta, but it was not. I venture to submit, that it was not intimidation but the irritation caused by the completeness of the hartal that maddened the Government of India as also the Government of Bengal. Repression there was even before that time but nothing was said or done in connection with it; but the repression that came in the wake of the notifications proclaiming the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the purpose of dealing with volunteer associations and the Seditious Meetings Act for the purpose of dealing with public meetings held by Non-co-operators, came upon the Non-co-operation community as a bomb-shell. I repeat then that these notifications and the arrest of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in Bengal, the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his co-workers in the U. P. and of Lala Lajpat Rai and his party in the Punjab made it absolutely necessary to take up not yet aggressive civil disobedience but only defensive civil disobedience otherwise described as Passive Resistance. Even Sir Hormusjee Wadia was obliged to declare that if the Bombay Government followed the precedents set by the Governments of Bengal, U. P. and the Punjab he would be bound to resist such notifications, that is, to enrol himself as a volunteer or to attend public meetings in defiance of Govt. orders to the contrary. It is thus clear that a case has been completely made out for Civil Disobedience unless the Government revises its policy which has resulted in the stopping of public associations and the Non-co-operation process in many parts of India.

Now for the statement that Government 'have embarked on a policy of lawless repression.' Instead of an ample expression of regret and apology for the barbarous deeds that have been committed by officials in the name of law and order, I regret to find in the Government reply a categorical denial of any 'lawless repression.' In this connection I urge the public and Government carefully to consider the following facts whose substance is beyond challenge:—

1) The official shooting at Eutally in Calcutta and the callous treatment even of a corpse.



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TO GOVT. ALLEGATIONS

- (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. Gokul Chand Narang about the brutal and uncalled for assaults upon volunteers and the public in Lahore.
- (6) Wicked and inhuman treatment of volunteers and the public at Jullunder.
- (7) The shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun and the cruelly forcible dispersal of a public meeting at the 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, and the assaults upon volunteers and burning of Khaddar and papers belonging to the Congress at Sonapur.
- (9) Midnight searches and arrests in 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, and I wish to state without fear of successful contradiction that the scale on which this lawlessness has gone on in so many Provinces of India puts into shade the inhumanities that were practised in the Punjab, if we except the crawling order and the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh. It is my certain conviction that the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh 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 shock sufficient to turn everybody's face against this Government. But as this warfare against innocence was not enough, the reins are being tightened in the jails. We know nothing of what is happening to day in the Karachi jail, to a solitary prisoner in the Sabarmati jail and to a beaten one in Benares jail, all of whom are as innocent as I claim to be myself. The crime consists in their constituting themselves trustees of national honour and dignity. I am hoping that these proud and defiant spirits will not be bent into submission to insolence masquerading in the official garb. I deny the right of the authorities to insist on high-souled men appearing before them almost naked, or pay any obsequious respect to them by way of salaaming with open palms brought together, or rising to the intonation of "Sarkar Ehi hai." No God-fearing man will do the latter even if he has to be



standing in stocks for days and nights as a Bengal school-master is reported to have been.

For the sake of the dignity of human nature, I trust that Lord Reading and his draughtsmen do not know the facts that I have adduced or, being carried away by their belief in the infallibility of their employees, refuse to believe in the statements which the public regard as God's truth. If there is the slightest exaggeration in the statements that I have made, I shall as publicly withdraw them and apologize for them as I am making them now, but as it is, I undertake to prove the substance of every one of these charges if not the very letter, and much more of them before any impartial tribunal of men or women unconnected with the Government. I invite Pundit Malaviyaji and those who are performing the thankless task of securing a Round Table Conference to form an impartial commission to investigate these charges by which I stand or fall.

"It is this physical and brutal ill-treatment of humanity which has made many co-workers and myself impatient of life itself, and in the face of these things I do not wish to take public time by dealing in detail with what I mean to be abuse of the common law of the country, but I cannot help correcting the misimpression which is likely to be created in connection with the Bombay disorders. Disgraceful and deplorable as they were, let it be remembered that of the 53 persons who lost their lives over 45 were Non-co-operators or their sympathisers—the hooligans; and of the 400 wounded, to be absolutely on the safe side over 350 were also derived from the same class. I do not complain. The Non-co-operators and the friendly hooligans got what they deserved. They began the violence—they reaped the reward. Let it also not be forgotten that with all deference to the Bombay Govt. it was the Non-co-operators, ably assisted by Independents and Co-operators, who brought peace out of the chaos of the two days following the fateful 17th.

"I must totally deny the imputation that "the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was confined to associations the majority of the members of which had habitually indulged in violence and intimidation." The prisons of India to-day hold some of the most inoffensive men and hardly any who have either resorted to violence or intimidation and who are convicted under that law. Abundant proof can be produced in support of this statement as also of the statement of the fact that almost wherever meetings have been broken up there was absolutely no risk of violence.

"The Government of India deny that the Viceroy had laid down upon the apology of the Ali brothers the civilised policy of non-interference with the non-violent activities of Non-co-operators. I am extremely sorry for this repudiation. The very part of the

communiqué reproduced in the reply is in my opinion sufficient to show that the Government did not intend to interfere with such activities. The Govt. did not wish it to be inferred that speeches promoting disaffection of a less violent character were not an offence against law." I have never stated that breach of any law was not to be an offence against it, but I have stated, as I repeat now, that it was not the intention of the Government then to prosecute for non-violent activities although they might amount to a technical breach of the law.

"As to conditions of the Conference, the Government reply evidently omits to mention the two words "and otherwise" after the words "Calcutta speech" in my letter. I repeat that the terms as I could gather from "the Calcutta speech and otherwise" were nearly the same that were mentioned in the resolutions of the Malaviya Conference. What are called unlawful activities of the N. C. O. party being a reply to the notifications of the Government, would have ceased automatically with the withdrawal of those notifications, because the formation of volunteer corps and public meetings would not be unlawful activities after the withdrawal of offending notifications. Even, while the negotiations were going on in Calcutta the discharge of *Fatwa* prisoners was asked for, and I can only repeat what I have said elsewhere, that if it is disloyal to say that Military or any service under the existing system of Government is a sin against God and humanity, I fear that such disloyalty must continue.

"The Government communiqué does me a cruel wrong by imputing to me a desire that the proposed Round Table Conference should be called "merely to register" my "decrees." I did state, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, the Congress demands as I feel I was in duty bound in as clear terms as possible. No Congressman could approach any Conference without making his position clear. I expected the ordinary courtesy of not considering me or any Congressman to be impervious to reason and argument. It is open to anybody to convince me that the demands of the Congress regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj are wrong or unreasonable, and I would certainly retrace my steps and, so far as I am concerned, rectify the wrong. The Government of India know that such has been always my attitude.

"The communiqué strongly enough says that the demands set forth in my manifesto are even larger than those of the Working Committee. I claim that they fall far below the demands of the Working Committee, for, what I now ask against total suspension of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character is merely the stoppage of ruthless repression, the release of prisoners convicted under

it and a clear declaration of policy. The demands of the Working Committee included a Round Table Conference. In my manifesto I have not asked for a Round Table Conference at all. It is true that this waving of a Round Table Conference does not proceed from any expediency, but it is a confession of our present weakness. I freely recognise that unless India becomes saturated with the spirit of non-violence and generates disciplined strength that can only come from non-violence, she cannot enforce her demands, and it is for that reason that I consider that the first thing for the people to do is to secure a reversal of this mad repression and then to concentrate upon more complete organization and more construction, and here again the communique does me an injustice by merely stating that Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character will be postponed until the opportunity is given to the imprisoned leaders of reviewing the whole situation after their discharge, and by conveniently omitting to mention the following concluding sentences of my letter:—'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 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 refuses to yield to clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India.'

"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 communique 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 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 whilst looting of property and assaulting of innocent men are going on all over the country in the name of law and order."

The Bardoli Preparation for Civil Disobedience.

Meanwhile Bardoli in the Bombay Presidency and Guntur in the Madras Presidency were making strenuous preparations to launch

the 'No-Tax' campaign. Similar preparations were made in Chittagong and some parts of Assam, in many districts of Southern India, in Behar and some parts of the Punjab and C. P. It is impossible here to describe in detail the mad orgies of repression that followed; imprisonment, distraint, armed police, all the inexorable machinery preserving 'law and order' were set in motion. But it helped only to stiffen the oppressed. Hundreds and thousands of khaddar-clad volunteers went smilingly to prison. Taxes were held up at many places, awaiting the word of command from Gandhi. On 26th January M. Gandhi left his Satyagraha Asram for Bardoli where he settled down to lead the 'no-tax' campaign in person. On January 30th, all the people of the taluk were called together in a big conference where the Mahatma made a long speech emphasising all the preliminary requisites for the coming struggle. All signified their unswerving assent. A resolution was passed that "the Bardoli Taluk, having fully grasped and satisfied Congress conditions of civil disobedience, the conference gave notice to the Working Committee of the Congress that if it did not pass a prohibitory resolution, and if the Round Table Conference did not come off, Bardoli Taluka would begin mass civil disobedience under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and Vallabhai Patel." Regarding this conference Gandhi wrote in his paper 'Young India':—

Bardoli has come to a momentous decision. It has made its final and irrevocable choice. Vithalbhai Patel, the President, addressed a conference of the representatives of the Taluka in a speech impressive for its warning. He certainly did not mince matter. There was an audience of KHADDAR-clad representatives numbering 4,000. There were five hundred women, a large majority of whom were also in KHADDAR. They were interested and interesting listeners. It was an audience of sober, responsible men and women with a stake.

I followed Vithalbhai and went through every one of the conditions of mass civil disobedience laid down by the Congress. I took the sense of the meeting on every one of the conditions, separately. They understood the implications of Hindu-Muslim-Parsi-Christian unity. They realised the significance and the truth of non-violence. They saw what the removal of untouchability meant; they were prepared, not merely to take into National Schools, but also to induce 'untouchable' children to join them; they have had no objection to the 'untouchable' drawing water from the village wells. They knew that they were to nurse the "untouchable" sick as they would nurse their ailing neighbours. They knew that they could not exercise the privilege of non-payment of revenue and other forms of civil disobedience until they had purified themselves in the manner described by me. They knew, too, that they had to become industrious and spin their own yarn and weave their own KHADDAR. And lastly, they were ready to face forfeiture of their movables, their cattle and their land. They were ready to face imprisonment and even death, if necessary, and they would do all this without resentment.

There was an old dissentient voice on the question of untouchability. He said that what I said was right in theory, but it was difficult in practice to break down the custom all of a sudden. I drove the point home but the audience had made up its mind.



THE BARDOLI PREPARATIONS

[BARDOLI]

Before the larger meeting, I had met the real workers about fifty in number. Before that meeting Vithalbhai Patel, some workers and I conferred together and felt that we would pass a resolution postponing the decision for about a fortnight, to make the Swadeshi preparation more complete and removal of untouchability more certain, by actually having untouchable children in all the sixty National Schools. The brave and earnest workers of Bardoli will not listen to the postponement. They were certain that more than 50 per cent of the Hindu population were quite ready about untouchability and they were sure of being able to manufacture enough KHADDAR for their future wants. They were bent on trying conclusions with the Govt. They bore down every objection raised by Vithalbhai Patel, and Abbas Tyabji with his hoary beard and ever-smiling face was there to utter the warning. But they would not budge an inch from their position and so the resolution which I give below was unanimously passed :—

"After having fully understood and considered the conditions as essential for the starting of mass civil disobedience, this Conference of the inhabitants of the Bardoli Taluk resolves that this Taluk is fit for mass civil disobedience.

This Conference is of opinion :—

(a) That for the redress of India's grievances, unity among Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christian and other communities of India is absolutely necessary.

(b) That non-violence, patience and endurance are the only remedy for the redress of the said grievances.

(c) That the use of the spinning-wheel in every home, and the adoption of hand-spun and hand-woven garments to the exclusion of all other cloth by every individual are indispensable for India's freedom.

(d) That Swaraj is impossible without complete removal of untouchability by the Hindus.

(e) That for the people's progress and for the attainment of the freedom readiness to sacrifice movable property, to suffer imprisonment and, if necessary, to lay down one's life, is indispensable.

"This Conference hopes that the Bardoli Taluka will have the privilege to be the first for the aforesaid sacrifices, and this Conference hereby respectfully informs the Working Committee that unless the Working Committee otherwise decides or unless the proposed Round Table Conference is held, this Taluka will immediately commence mass civil disobedience under the advice and guidance of Mr. Gandhi and the President of the Conference.

"This Conference recommends that those tax-payers of the Taluka who are ready and willing to abide by the conditions laid down by the Congress for mass civil disobedience, will retain, till further instruction, from paying land revenue and other taxes due to the Government."

Who knows the issue? Who knows whether the men and women of Bardoli will stand the repression that Government may resort to? God only knows. In His name has the battle been undertaken. He must finish it.

The Government have acted hitherto in a most exemplary manner. They might have prohibited the Conference. They did not. They know the workers. They might have removed them long ago. They have not done so. They have not interfered with any of the activities of the people. They have permitted them to make all preparations. I have watched their conduct with wonder and admiration. Both sides have up to the time of writing behaved in a manner worthy of chivalrous warriors of old. In this battle of peace it ought not to be otherwise. If the battle continues in this fashion, it will end only in one way. Whoever has the ear of 85000 men and women of Bardoli will gain the day.

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FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Working Committee has to sit and pass its judgment upon Bardoli's decision. The Viceroy has still choice and will have yet another choice given to him. No charge of hurry, want of preparation, of thought, no charge of discourtesy, will it be possible to bring against the people of Bardoli.

Therefore—

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.

Next day the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee held a meeting in Surat with the president Hakim Ajmal Khan in the chair and passed the following resolution:—

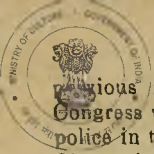
The Working Committee, having considered the resolution of the Bardoli Taluka Conference regarding mass civil disobedience, desires to congratulate the people of that Taluka upon their self-sacrificing resolve to offer mass civil disobedience and wishes them every success in their patriotic effort.

The Working Committee advises all other parts of India to co-operate with the people of Bardoli Taluka by refraining from mass or individual civil disobedience of an aggressive character, except upon the express consent of Mahatma Gandhi previously obtained, provided that in no case shall there be any relaxation in the conditions laid down therefore either by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi or by the Congress at Ahmedabad, provided further that this resolution shall, in no way, be interpreted so as to interfere with the present defensive civil disobedience going on the country whether in respect of notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act or the Seditious Meetings Act or orders under the ordinary law of the country restricting the liberty of citizens.

The Working Committee advises the people throughout the provinces to pay up Government tax, whether directly or indirectly through Zamindars or Taluqdars, except in such cases of direct payment to Government where the previous consent has been obtained from Mahatma Gandhi for the suspension of payment, preparatory to mass civil disobedience.

The Chauri Chaura Tragedy.

It was thus settled that the 'no tax' campaign was to be first started at Bardoli, and then other districts will follow if they can, after satisfying all the conditions of the Congress. The non-co-operation leaders of Guntur, however, pressed M. Gandhi to give them permission to start at once on the 'no-tax' campaign. Already they had stopped payment of land revenue to Government, and in consequence an awful policy of repression was facing them. Gandhi hesitated to give his consent. He wanted to see what his own Bardoli could do. Once more, however, Gandhi's hopes proved short-lived, and his action premature. When the whole of India was watching in awful suspense the impossible daring of the Mahatma and his small band of followers with their preparations at Bardoli for "the freedom's battle", news came like a thunder-clap of a ghastly mob outrage at Chauri Chaura in U. P. On the 5th February the whole of India was shocked to hear that on the



THE CHAURI CHAURA TRAGEDY

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On a previous night a mob of 3000 men headed by several hundreds of Congress volunteers had killed, maimed and burned to death all the police in the station of Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur Dt. Chauri Chaura is a police station 15 miles from Gorakhpur. The Police buildings were within a 100 yards of the Ry. station and the Post and Telegraph office. The whole of the police station was burnt to cinders along with its 22 policemen whose charred and mangled remains made a hideous sight. The story of the outrage is given below:—

The local Bazar, called Mandera bazar, had been for some time past the scene of vigorous picketing which was so far successful that foreign cloth was excluded and the drink shops had no custom. This was resented and resisted by the local zamindar, the owner of the bazar. On February 1st, B. Gupteswar Singh, reputed to be a very zealous police-officer for which he was in bad odour in that district, with a police force visited the bazar, and is alleged to have beat some of the volunteers engaged in peaceful picketing. Amongst the picketers there he recognised one government pensioner whom he threatened with a warning that his pension would cease. These events led all the volunteers of the surrounding villages to assemble at Dumri, a neighbouring village, on Saturday the 4th February. They were believed to have numbered five or six hundred and accompanied by a very large crowd marched to the thana with evident intention of mischief. The strength of the mob is variously estimated at between three and five thousand. The procession halted in front of the thana. The volunteers, it is said, demanded to know why the Sub Inspector beat them on the previous bazar day, expressed their determination to picket the bazar that day, and asked the police to prevent them from doing so if they dared. Some neutrals acted as peace-makers and managed to pacify the volunteers who then moved on. When the major part of the mob had moved on to some distance a hue and cry was raised in the rear. It appears that the police roughly handled some of the stragglers in the rear. Upon this the mob returned and began to throw brick bats.

The armed police, it is stated, at first fired a volley in the air but finding it produced no effect, they fired on the mob. How long the firing lasted is not known, but the dead bodies of only two rioters were found near the thana. More might have been taken away by the mob. In spite of the firing the police were overpowered by the mob.

The policemen then seeing no loophole of escape made for their rooms and bolted the door from the inside. The mob then set fire to the building. Some of the policemen perished in the flames and those who were driven out by the heat and smoke were brutally assaulted, besmirched in kerosine, and thrown back into

that he there to suffer further torture until life was extinct. It was altogether a ghastly crime scarcely less horrible than the murder outrage on Europeans at Amritsar in 1919. The brutality of the outrage and its unprovoked character combined to deal a staggering blow to Gandhi, and at first he refused to believe all that appeared in the newspapers. Gradually as details came from prominent leaders the truth unveiled was more horrible than the scaring headlines in Anglo-Indian journals. The appalling possibilities of non-co-operation in the hands of the proletariat suddenly flashed in men's minds. There was an universal feeling that so long people had been running thoughtlessly upon the edge of an abyss into which they might at any moment be precipitated. And from previous experience, a retribution of equal brutality was expected. All ears were strained to hear the booms of another Jallianwalla.

There was another mob-outbreak at Bareilly which was, however, suppressed by armed police before any mischief was done. The tragedy at Gorakhpur and the incidents at Bareilly charged the atmosphere with a stifling sense of disgust of 'non-violent non-co-operation.' Some fifty prominent leaders of the U. P. at once issued a manifesto condemning the conduct of the volunteers. Mr. Devadas Gandhi, son of M. Gandhi, wired to his father to suspend his activities. Pundit Malaviya addressed the Mahatma and urged him to call an emergent meeting of the Working Committee. M. Gandhi was distressed beyond measure. He at once left Bardoli and came to Bombay on 9th February to see Pundit Malaviya, Messrs. Jayakar, Natarajan, Jinnah and other independent politicians of Bombay who had been endeavouring to bring about the Round Table Conference. Suspension of Congress activities was strongly urged. Gandhi submitted. Pundit Malaviya and other members of the Conference Committee were thereupon invited to come to Bardoli. The two parties met. Pundit Malaviya and the independents prevailed, and the result was the famous Bardoli resolution on suspension of civil disobedience.

The Bardoli Resolutions

The Working Committee of Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th February 1922 and passed the following resolutions:—

- (1) The Working Committee deploras the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned police thana, and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.
- (2) In spite of the nation's repeated warnings, every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent, some popular violent outburst has taken place, indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass civil disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur. The Working Committee of the Congress, therefore, resolves that mass civil disobedience, as contemplated at Bardoli and

be suspended and instructs the local Congress Committees to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government, the payment of which might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

(3) The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities, such as at Gorakhpur, or hooliganism, such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on November 17th 1921, and January 13th last.

(4) In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises, till further instructions, all Congress organisations to stop activities especially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save the normal Congress activities including voluntary bartals, wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured, and for that end all picketing shall be stopped, save for the bona-fide and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor-shops against the evils of drinking. Such picketing is to be controlled by persons of known good character and especially selected by the Congress Committee concerned.

(5) The Working Committee advises, till further instructions, the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications regarding such meetings. This, however, shall not interfere with the private meeting of the Congress and other Committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

(6) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryots are not paying rents to the Zamindars, the Working Committee advises Congress workers and organisations to inform the ryots that such withholding of rent is contrary to the resolutions of the Congress, and that it is injurious to the best interests of the country.

(7) The Working Committee assures the Zamindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights, and that even when the ryots have grievances, the Committee desires that redress should be sought by mutual consultation and by the usual recourse to arbitration.

(8) Complaints having been brought to the notice of Working Committee that in the formation of volunteer corps great laxity prevails in the selection, and that insistence is not laid on the full use of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, and on the full observance by the Hindus of the rule as to the removal of untouchability, nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candidates believe fully in the observance of non-violence in word and deed in terms of the Congress Resolution, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to revise their lists and remove from them the names of all such volunteers as do not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

(9) The Working Committee is of opinion that unless Congressmen carry out to the full the Congress Constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Committee, it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

(10) The foregoing Resolutions will have effect only pending the meeting, to be specially convened, of the All-India Congress Committee and thereafter subject to confirmation by it. The Secretary will call such a meeting as soon as possible after consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan.

Work of Congress Organisation

Whereas the Gorakhpur tragedy is a powerful proof of the fact that the mass mind has not yet fully realised the necessity of non-violence as the integral, active and chief part of Mass Civil Disobedience, and whereas the reported indiscriminate acceptance of persons as volunteers in contravention of the Congress instructions betrays want of appreciation of the vital part of Satyagraha, and

which is the opinion of the Working Committee the delay in the attainment of the national aim is solely due to the weak and incomplete execution in practice of the constitution of the Congress with a view to perfecting the internal organisation, the Working Committee advises all Congress organisations to be engaged in the following activities :—

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

NOTE :—(i) Since peace (non-violence and legitimacy) and truth are the essence of the Congress creed, no person should be enlisted who does not believe in non-violence and truth as indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj. The creed of the Congress must, therefore, be carefully explained to each person who is appealed to join the Congress.

(ii) The workers should note that none who does not pay the annual subscription can be regarded as a qualified Congress-man. All the old members are, therefore, to be advised to re-register their names.

(2) To popularise the spinning-wheel and organise the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

NOTE :—To this end, all workers and office-bearers should be dressed in khaddar, and it is recommended that with a view to encouraging others they should themselves learn hand-spinning.

(3) To organise National Schools.

NOTE :—No picketing of the Government Schools should be resorted to. Best reliance should be placed upon the superiority of National Schools in all vital matters to command attendance.

(4) To organise the depressed classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to the National Schools and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which other citizens enjoy.

NOTE :—Whilst, therefore, where the prejudice against the untouchables is still strong in places, separate schools and separate wells must be maintained out of Congress funds, every effort should be made to draw such children to National Schools and to persuade the people to allow the untouchable to use the common wells.

(5) To organise the temperance campaign amongst the people addicted to the drink habit by house-to-house visits and to rely more upon appeal to the drinker in his home than upon picketing.

(6) To organise village and town "Panchayats" for the private settlement of all disputes, reliance being placed solely upon the force of public opinion, and the truthfulness of "Panchayat" decision to ensure obedience to them.

NOTE :—In order to avoid even the appearance of coercion, no social boycott should be resorted to against those who will not obey the Panchayat's decisions.

(7) In order to promote and emphasise unity among all classes and races and mutual good-will the establishment of which is the aim of the movement of non-co-operation, to organise a School Service Department that will render help to all, irrespective of differences, in times of illness or accident.

NOTE :—A non-co-operator whilst firmly adhering to his Creed, will deem it a privilege to render personal service in case of illness or accident to every person, whether English or Indian.

(8) To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund and to call upon every Congressman or Congress sympathiser to save at least one hundredth part of his annual income for the year 1921. Every province to send every month 25 per cent of its income from the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to the All-India Congress Committee.

(9) The above resolutions shall be brought before the forthcoming Session of the All-India Congress Committee for revision, if necessary.

10. In the opinion of the Working Committee, a project is necessary for the purpose of finding employment for those who may give up Government service, and to that end the Committee appoints Messrs Mian Mahomed Hazi Mahomed Chotani, Jammalal Bajaj and V. J. Patel to draw up a scheme for consideration by the said Special Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

Mahatma Gandhi on Chauri Chaura.

In the following article written in his paper "*Young India*" Mahatma Gandhi fully explained the new position of Congress-men created by the ghastly affair of Chauri Chaura.

"God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify mass disobedience which can be at all described as civil, which means gentle, truthful, humble, knowing, wilful yet loving, never criminal and hateful.

"He warned me in 1919 when the Rowlatt Act agitation was started. Ahmedabad, Viramgam and Kheda erred; Amritsar and Kasur erred; I retraced my steps; called it a Himalayan miscalculation, humbled myself before God and man and stopped not merely mass Civil Disobedience but even my own which I knew was intended to be civil and non-violent. The next time it was through the events of Bombay that God gave a terrific warning. He made me eye-witness of the deeds of the Bombay mob on the 17th November. The mob acted in the interest of non-co-operation. I announced my intention to stop the mass Civil Disobedience which was to be immediately started in Bardoli. The humiliation was greater than in 1919. But it did me good. I am sure that the nation gained by the stopping. India stood for truth and non-violence by the suspension.

"But the bitterest humiliation was still to come. Madras did give the warning, but I heeded it not. But God spoke clearly through Chauri Chaura. I understand that the constables, who were so brutally hacked to death, had given much provocation. They had even gone back upon the word just given by the Inspector that the people would not be molested, that when the procession had passed the stragglers were interlarded with and abused by the constables. The foreman cried out for help. The mob returned. The constables opened fire. The little ammunition they had was exhausted and they retired to the thana for safety. The mob, my informant tells me, therefore, set fire to the thana. The self-imprisoned constables had to come out for dear life, and as they did so they were hacked to pieces and the mangled remains were thrown into the raging flames.

"It is claimed that no Non-co-operation volunteers had a hand in the brutality and that the mob had not only the immediate provocation but they had also a general knowledge of the high-handed tyranny of the Police in that district. No provocation can possibly

justly the brutal murder of men who had been rendered defenceless and who had virtually thrown themselves on the mercy of the mob. And when India claims to be non-violent and hopes to mount the Throne of Liberty through non-violent means, mob-violence, even in answer to grave provocation, is a bad augury. Suppose the non-violent disobedience of Bardoli was permitted by God to succeed; the Government had abdicated in favour of the victors of Bardoli: who would control the unruly element that must be expected to perpetrate inhumanity upon due provocation? Non-violent attainment of self-Government pre-supposes non-violent control over the violent elements in the country. Non-violent non-co-operators can only succeed when they have succeeded in attaining control over the hooligans of India, in other words, when the latter also have learnt patriotically or religiously to refrain from their violent activities at least while the campaign of non-co operation is going on. The tragedy at Chauri Chaura, therefore, roused me thoroughly.

"But what about your manifesto to the Viceroy and your rejoinder to his reply?" spoke the voice of Satan. It was the bitterest cup of humiliation to drink. 'Surely it is cowardly to withdraw the next day after pompous threats to the Government and promises to the people of Bardoli.' Thus Satan's invitation was to deny Truth and therefore Religion, to deny God himself. I put my doubts and troubles before the Working Committee and other associates whom I found near me. They did not all agree with me at first. Some of them probably do not even now agree with me. But never has a man been blessed perhaps with colleagues and associates so considerate and forgiving as I have. They understood my difficulty and patiently followed my argument. The result is before the public in the shape of the resolutions of the Working Committee. The drastic reversal of practically the whole of the aggressive programme may be politically unsound and unwise, but there is no doubt that it is religiously sound and I venture to assure the doubters that the country will have gained by my humiliation and confession of error.

"The only virtues I want to claim are Truth & Non-violence. I lay no claims to super-human powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow-beings wear and am, therefore, as liable to err as any. My services have many limitations, but God has up to now blessed them in spite of the imperfections. For, confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before. I feel stronger for my confession. And the cause must prosper for the retracing. Never has man reached his destination by persistence in deviation from the straight path.



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It has been urged that Chauri Chaura cannot affect Bardoli. There is danger, it is argued, only if Bardoli is weak enough to be awayed by Chauri Chaura and is betrayed into violence. I have no doubt whatsoever on that account. The people of Bardoli are in my opinion the most peaceful in India. But Bardoli is but a speck on the map of India. Its efforts cannot succeed unless there is perfect co operation from the other parts. Bardoli's disobedience will be civil only when the other parts of India remain non-violent. Just as the addition of a grain of arsenic to a pot of milk renders it unfit as food, so will the civility of Bardoli prove unacceptable by the addition of the deadly poison from Chauri Chaura. The latter represents India as much as Bardoli.

"Chauri Chaura is after all an aggravated symptom. I have never imagined that there has been no violence, mental or physical, in the places where repression is going on. Only I have believed, and the pages of "Young India" amply prove, that the repression is out of all proportion to the insignificant popular violence in the areas of repression. The determined holding of meetings in prohibited areas I do not call violence. The violence I am referring to is the throwing of brick-bats, or intimidation and coercion practised in stray cases. As a matter of fact in civil disobedience there should be no excitement. Civil Disobedience is a preparation for mute suffering. Its effect is marvellous though unperceived and gentle. But I regarded certain amount of excitement as inevitable, certain amount of unintended violence even pardonable, i.e., I did not consider Civil Disobedience impossible in somewhat imperfect conditions. Under perfect conditions disobedience when civil is hardly felt. But the present movement is admittedly a dangerous experiment under fairly adverse conditions.

"The tragedy of Chauri Chaura is really the index-finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precautions be not taken. If we are not to evolve violence out of non-violence, it is quite clear that we must hastily retrace our steps and re establish an atmosphere of peace, rearrange our programme and not think of starting mass civil disobedience until we are sure of peace being retained in spite of much civil disobedience being started and inspite of Government provocation. We must be sure of unauthorised portions not starting mass civil disobedience.

"As it is, the Congress organisation is still imperfect and its instructions, are still perfunctorily carried out. We have not established Congress Committees in every one of the villages. Where we have, they are not perfectly amenable to our instructions. We have not probably more than one crore of members on the roll. We are



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in the middle of February; not many have paid the four-anna ^{tax} ~~for~~ ^{contribution} for the current year. Volunteers are indifferently enrolled, they do not conform to all the conditions of their pledge. They do not even wear hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar. All the Hindu volunteers have not yet purged themselves of the sin of untouchability. All are not free from the taint of violence. Not by their imprisonment are we going to win "Swaraj," or serve the holy cause of the "Khilafat," or attain the ability to stop payments to faithless servants. Some of us err in spite of ourselves. But some others among us sin wilfully. They join volunteer corps well knowing that they are not, and do not intend to remain, non-violent. We are thus untruthful even as we hold the Government to be untruthful. We dare not enter the kingdom of liberty with mere lip-homage to truth and non-violence.


"Suspension of mass Civil Disobedience and subsidence of excitement are necessary for further progress; indeed, indispensable to prevent further retrogression. I hope, therefore, that by suspension every Congress man or woman will not only not feel disappointed but he or she will feel relieved of the burden of unreality and of national sin.

"Let the opponent glory in our humiliation or so called defeat. It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of denial of our oath and sin against God. It is million times better to "appear" untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves.


"And so, for me the suspension of mass Civil Disobedience and other minor activities that we calculated to keep up excitement is not enough penance for my having been the instrument, howsoever involuntary, of brutal violence by the people at Chauri Chaura. I must undergo personal cleansing. I must become a fitter instrument able to register the slightest variation in the moral atmosphere about me. My prayers must have a much deeper truth and humility about them than they evidence. And for me there is nothing so helpful and cleansing as a fast accompanied by the necessary mental co operation.

"I know that the mental attitude is everything. Just as a prayer may be merely a mechanical intonation as of a bird, so may a fast be a mere mechanical torture of the flesh. Such mechanical contrivances are valueless for the purpose intended. Again, just as a mechanical chant may result in the modulation of voice, a mechanical fast may result in purifying the body. Neither will touch the soul within.

"But a fast undertaken for fuller self-expression for the attainment of the spirit's supremacy over the flesh, is a most powerful factor in one's evolution. After deep consideration, therefore, I



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imposing on myself a five days' continuous fast permitting myself to eat. It commenced on Sunday evening, it ends on Friday evening. This is the least I must do. I have taken into consideration the All-India Congress Committee meeting in front of me. I have in mind the anxious pain even the five days' fast will cost many friends but I can no longer postpone the penance nor lessen it.

"I urge co-workers not to copy my example. The motive in their case will be lacking. They are not the originators of Civil Disobedience. I am in the unhappy position of a surgeon proved skill-less to deal with an admittedly dangerous case. I must either abdicate or acquire greater skill. Whilst the personal penance is not only necessary and obligatory on me, the exemplary self-restraint prescribed by the Working Committee is surely sufficient penance for every one else. It is no small penance, and if sincerely carried out, it can become infinitely more real and better than fasting. What can be richer and more fruitful than a greater fulfilment of the vow of non-violence in thought, word and deed or the spread of that spirit? It will be more than food for me during the week to observe that comrades are all silently and without idle discussion engaged in fulfilling the constructive programme sketched by the Working Committee in enlisting Congress members, after making sure that they understand the Congress Creed of truth and non-violence for the attainment of Swaraj, in daily and religiously spinning for a fixed time, in introducing the wheel of prosperity and freedom in every home, in visiting "untouchable" homes and finding out their wants, in inducing national schools to receive "untouchable" children, in organising social service especially designed to find a common platform for every variety of man and woman, and in visiting the homes which the drink curse is desolating, in establishing real panchayats and in organising National Arbitration Courts. The workers will be better engaged in these activities than in fasting. I hope, therefore, that no one will join me in fasting either through false sympathy or in ignorant conception of the spiritual value of fasting.

"All fasting and all penance must, as far as possible, be secret. But my fasting is both a penance and a punishment, and a punishment has to be public. It is penance for me and punishment for those whom I try to serve—for whom I love to live and would equally love to die. They have unintentionally sinned against the laws of the Congress, though they were sympathisers, if not actually connected with it. Probably they hacked the constables, their countrymen and fellow-beings, with my name on their lips. The only way love punishes is by suffering. I cannot even wish them to be arrested. But I would let them know that I would suffer for

the breach of the Congress Creed. I would advise those who feel guilty and repentant to band themselves voluntarily to the Government for punishment and make a clean confession. I hope that the workers in the Gorakhpur District will leave no stone unturned to find out the evil-doers and urge them to deliver themselves into custody. But whether the murderers accept my advice or not, I would like them to know that they have seriously interfered with Swaraj operations, that in being the cause of postponement of the movement in Bardoli they have injured the very cause they probably intended to serve. I would like them to know too that this movement is not a cloak or a preparation for violence. I would at any rate suffer every humiliation, every torture, absolute ostracism and death itself to prevent the movement from becoming violent or a precursor of violence.

"I make my penance public also because I am now denying myself the opportunity of sharing their lot with the prisoners. The immediate issue has again shifted. *We can no longer press for the withdrawal of notifications or discharge of prisoners. They and we must suffer for the crime of Chauri Chaura.* The incident proves, whether we wish it or not, the unity of life. All, including even the administrators, must suffer. Chauri Chaura must stiffen the Government, must still further corrupt the police and the reprisals that will follow must further demoralise the people. The suspension and the penance will take us back to the position we occupied before the tragedy. By strict discipline and purification we regain the moral confidence required for demanding the withdrawal of notifications and the discharge of prisoners.

"If we learn the full lesson of the tragedy, we can turn the curse into a blessing. By becoming truthful and non-violent, both in spirit and in deed, and by making the Swadeshi, that is, the "Khaddar" programme complete, we can establish full "Swaraj" and redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs without a single person having to offer Civil Disobedience."

It remains now only to relate the tale of the complete disfigurement of the Mahatma. It is not proposed here to give in detail the current of political affairs in the country of this period as it will form the subject matter of the next issue of this Register. Suffice it to say that Chauri Chaura broke down Gandhi and with him broke down all the religious enthusiasm which for a year had animated the thousands of self-less workers of the National Congress and the Khilafat League, and which had served to infuse a great spirit of self-abnegation and self-purification in the leaders and of

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The Indian proletariat. Gradually the Guntur "No—Tax" campaign which was making head for a wholesale civil disobedience was relaxed. Mass civil disobedience, courting arrests, volunteer processions, picketing—all the array of flamboyant non-co-operation, gradually lost their high spirit. And in high quarters responsible statesmen and politicians set themselves to a cool and calculated deliberation as to how to circumvent and deal the final knock-out blow to the nationalist aspirations of the country.

The All-India Congress Committee.

To enable the representatives of the people to consider and discuss the Bardoli resolution on suspension of civil disobedience a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was arranged to be held at Delhi on the 24th February 1922. A meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee was also arranged at the same place.

Accordingly a large number of the members of the All-India Congress Committee met at Hakim Ajmal Khan's house in Delhi on February 24th. The meeting was private, as, owing to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act in Delhi since November 1921, no public meetings could be held. Since the morning the members of the Working Committee held informal conferences with various Congress leaders who had arrived from the Provinces so as to enable it to come to a satisfactory decision as to the terms of the resolutions to be placed before the All-India Committee which had been called to pass its judgment on the decision of its executive. Although Gandhi's opinion still carried great weight among his followers, the extreme element was in revolt against him. The crux of the issues before the Committee was Civil Disobedience, both defensive and aggressive. There was even a small party for the total abandonment of non-co-operation. The real conflict lay between the immediate followers of Gandhi and the leaders from Bengal, the Punjab and Maharastra. The latter strongly condemned the suspension and urged immediate resumption of defensive Civil Disobedience and resort to Mass Civil Disobedience in the near future as originally contemplated.

The All-India Congress Committee met next day, the 25th February, and had a long sitting. The main resolution was moved by M. Gandhi and seconded by Mr. V. J. Patel. The resolution, while confirming the Bardoli decision suspending certain Congress activities, again sanctioned practically all the important activities with the exception of Mass Civil Disobedience as contemplated at Bardoli. A large number of amendments to the motion was made, the majority of which tended to go a step further than ever contemplated in the main resolution which M. Gandhi moved on behalf of

the Congress Working Committee. The text of the resolution as finally passed is given below :—

The Delhi Resolution

The All-India Congress Committee, having carefully considered the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th inst., confirms the said resolutions, and further resolves that individual Civil Disobedience, whether of a defensive or aggressive character, may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of, and upon permission being granted therefor, by the respective Provincial Committees, provided that such Civil Disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.

Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor-picketing, the All-India Congress Committee authorises such picketing of a BONA-FIDE character on the same terms as liquor-picketing mentioned in the Bardoli resolutions.

The All-India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that the resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of the original Congress programme of Non-co-operation or permanent abandonment of Mass Civil Disobedience, but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee at Bardoli.

The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the Congress has attained considerable success in every item of Non-co-operation, and that the spirit of Non-co-operation which pervades the atmosphere has strengthened the country, and full Non-co-operation alone will lead ultimately to real friendship and equality.

The All-India Congress Committee hold Civil Disobedience to be the right and duty of the people to be exercised and performed whenever the State opposes the declared will of the people.

Explanation

NOTE—Individual Civil Disobedience as defined in the resolution is disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore, a prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorised admission is allowed is an instance of individual Civil Disobedience, whereas a prohibited meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of Mass Civil Disobedience. Such Civil Disobedience is defensive when a prohibited public meeting is held or for conducting a normal activity, although it may result in arrests. It would be aggressive, if it is held, not for any normal activity, but merely for the purpose of courting arrest and imprisonment.

The debate revealed that the views put forward by Pundit Malaviya to merely confirm the Bardoli resolution and the opinion of abandonment of civil disobedience and non-co-operation found no support in any quarter of the house.

The main fight centred round two proposals: one of the Prastra and the other of the Bengal delegates. The former wanted a committee of enquiry into the working of the Non-co-operation programme with a view to overhaul it, if necessary. The Bengal members urged that Provincial Committees be authorised to

sanction defensive civil disobedience if only they could be sure of the necessary atmosphere of non-violence and if the means adopted were peaceful, legitimate and moral. They pointed out that other restrictions regarding *khaddar*, untouchability, etc., though necessary, need not be made an indispensable condition for fitting them to launch upon a campaign of disobedience. Both the parties made strong and forceful representations of their views, which when put to the house found a large majority against them.

The resolution as finally drafted did not represent the Mahatma's personal views which were to stick to the Bardoli decision. But the outcry of the extreme section, specially in view of the utterance of the Home Member of the Govt. of India in the Assembly where only two days before he had exhibited a querulous and threatening disposition even against the Bardoli resolution, prevailed, and the Mahatma had to yield. He was moved further to make the Delhi amendments by the appeal of the ten thousand and odd volunteers held in prison for whom the provincial leaders made visibly agitated and moving appeals. Before this Gandhi surrendered. But once away from the talk and noise of the big Committee where he had to face fathers, brothers, mothers and sisters of the sufferers, the Mahatma saw through the slip of weakness at Delhi and issued from the sanctum of his Ashram at Ahmedabad injunctions not to take civil disobedience seriously. His writings on the Delhi resolution is quoted in full below to show how he differed from the majority in the Congress.

M. Gandhi on the Delhi Resolution

"The session just past of the All India Congress Committee was in some respects more memorable than the Congress. There is so much under-current of violence, both conscious and unconscious, that I was actually and literally praying for a disastrous defeat. I have always been in a minority. The reader does not know that in South Africa I started with practical unanimity, reached a minority of sixty-four, and even sixteen, and went up again, to a huge majority. The best and the most solid work was done in the wilderness of minority.

"I know that the only thing that the Government dread is this huge majority I seem to command. They little know that I dread it even more than they. I have become literally sick of the adoration of the unthinking multitude. I would feel certain of my ground, if ' was spat upon by them. Then there would be no need for confession Himalayan and other miscalculations, no retracing, no rearranging.

"But it was not to be.

"A friend warned me against exploiting my dictatorship. I little know that I had never once used it, if only because the legal

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occasion had not yet arisen for its use. The 'dictatorship' accords to me only when the ordinary Congress machinery is rendered unworkable by the Government.

"Far from my consciously or unconsciously exploiting my 'dictatorship', I have begun to wonder if I am not unconsciously allowing myself to be 'exploited.' I confess that I have a dread of it such as I never had before. My only safety lies in my shamelessness. I have warned my friends of the Committee that I am incorrigible. I shall continue to confess blunders each time the people commit them. The only tyrant I accept in this world is the 'still small voice' within. And even though I have to face the prospect of a minority of one, I humbly believe I have the courage to be in such a hopeless minority. That to me is the only truthful position.

"But I am a sadder and, I hope, a wiser man to-day. I see that our non-violence is skin deep. We are burning with indignation. The Government is feeding it by its insensate acts. It seems almost as if the Government wants to see this land covered with murder, arson and rapine, in order to be able once more to claim exclusive ability to put them down.

"This non-violence therefore seems to be due merely to our helplessness. It almost appears as if we are nursing in our bosoms the desire to take revenge the first time we get the opportunity.

"Can true voluntary non-violence come out of this seeming forced non-violence of the weak? Is it not a futile experiment I am conducting? What if, when the fury bursts, not a man, woman or child is safe and every man's hand is raised against his fellow-being? Oh! of what avail is it then if I fast myself to death in the event of such a catastrophe coming to pass?

"What is the alternative? To lie and say that what I know to be evil is good? To say that true and voluntary co-operation will come out of forced co-operation is to say that light will result from darkness.

"Co-operation with the Government is as much a weakness and a sin as alliance with suspended violence.

"The difficulty is almost insurmountable. Hence, with the growing knowledge of the fact that this non-violence is merely superficial, I must continually make mistake and retrace, even as a man wading his way through a tractless forest must continually stop, retrace, stumble, be hurt and even bleed.

"I was prepared for a certain amount of depression, disappointment and resentment, but I confess I was totally unprepared for the hurricane of opposition. It became clear to me that the workers were in no mood to do any serious work of construction.

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the constructive programme lent no enchantment. They were not social reform association. They could not wrest power from the Government by such humdrum reform work. They wanted to deliver 'non-violent' blows ! All this appeared so thoroughly unreal ! They would not stop to think that even if they could defeat the Government by a childish display of rage, they could not conduct the Government of the country for a single day without serious and laborious organisation and construction.

"We must not go to gaol, as Mahomed Ali would say, in a false issue. It is not *any* imprisonment that will lead to Swaraj. It is not every disobedience that will fire us with the spirit of obedience and discipline. Jails are no gateway to liberty for the confirmed criminal. They are temples of liberty only for those who are innocence personified. The execution of Socrates made immortality a living reality for us,—not so the execution of countless murderers. There is no warrant for supposing that we can steal Swaraj by the imprisonment of thousands of nominally non-violent men with hatred, ill-will and violence raging in their breasts.

"It would be otherwise if we were fighting with arms, giving and receiving blow for blow. The imprisonment of those who may be caught intimidating, assaulting and murdering will certainly embarrass the Government, and when they are tried, they would as elsewhere yield. But such is not our fight to-day. Let us be truthful. If it is through 'show of force' that we wish to gain Swaraj, let us drop non-violence and offer such violence as we may. It would be a manly, honest and sober attitude, an attitude the world has been used to for ages past. No one can then accuse us of the terrible charge of hypocrisy.

"But the majority will not listen to me. In spite of all my warnings and passionate plea for rejecting my resolution if they did not believe in non-violence as indispensable for the attainment of our gaol, they accepted it without a single material change. I would ask them therefore to realise their responsibility. They are now bound not to rush to civil disobedience but to settle down to the quiet work of construction. I would urge them to be indifferent to the clamour for immediate action. The immediate action is not court-imprisonment, nor even free speech and free association or free pen, but self-purification, introspection, quiet organisation. We have lost our foot hold. If we do not take care, we are likely to be drowned in the waters whose depth we do not know.

"It is no use thinking of the prisoners. When I heard of Chauri Chaura, for the moment I sacrificed them as the first penitential act. They have gone to jail to be released only by the strength of the people ; indeed the hope was that the Swaraj

Parliament's first act would be to open the prison-gates. God hath decreed otherwise. We who are outside have tried and failed. The prisoners can now only gain by serving the full term of their imprisonment. If there are any who went under false pretences, or under any misapprehension or understanding of the movement, can come out by petitioning. The movement will be all the stronger for the purging. The stoutest hearts will rejoice in the opportunity of unexpectedly greater suffering. Though thousands of Russians have 'rotted' in the Russian prisons for years and years, that unhappy people are not yet free. Liberty is a jilt most difficult to woo and please. We have shown the power of suffering. But we have not suffered enough. If the people in general keep passively non-violent, and if only a few are actively, honestly and knowingly non-violent in intent, word and deed, we can reach the goal in the quickest time with the least suffering. But we shall indefinitely postpone the attainment, if we send to prison men who harbour violence in their breasts.

"Therefore the duty of the majority in their respective provinces is to face taunts, insults, and, if need be, depletion in their ranks but determined to pursue their goal without swerving an inch. The authorities mistaking our suspension for weakness may resort to still greater oppression. We should submit to it. We should even abandon defensive civil disobedience and concentrate all our energy on the tasteless but health-giving economic and social reform. We should bend down on our knees and assure the moderates that they need fear no harm from us. We should assure the Zamindars that we have no ill-will against them.

"The average Englishman is haughty, he does not understand us, he considers himself to be a superior being. He thinks that he is born to rule us. He relies upon his forts or his gun to protect himself. He despises us. He wants to compel co-operation, i. e. slavery. Even him we have to conquer, not by bending the knee, but remaining aloof from him, but at the same time not hating him nor hurting him. It is cowardly to molest him. If we simply refuse to regard ourselves as his slaves and to pay homage to him, we have done our duty. A mouse can only shun the cat. He cannot treat with her still she has filed the points of her claws and teeth. At the same time we must show every attention to those few Englishmen who are trying to cure themselves and fellow-Englishmen of the disease of race-superiority.

"The minority has different ideals. It does not believe in the programme. Is it not right and patriotic for them to form a new party and a new organisation? They will then truly educate the country. Those who do not believe in the creed should surely retire from the Congress. Even a national organisation must have a creed.

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One, for instance, who does not believe in Swaraj, has no place in the Congress. I submit that even so has one who does not believe in 'peaceful and legitimate means' no place in the Congress. A Congressman may not believe in non-co-operation and still remain in it, but he cannot believe in violence and untruth and still be a Congressman. I was therefore deeply hurt when I found opposition to the note in the resolution about the creed, and still more when I found opposition to my paraphrase of the two adjectives 'peaceful' and 'legitimate' into 'non-violent' and 'truthful' respectively. I had reasons for the paraphrase. I was seriously told that the creed did not insist upon non-violence and truth as the indispensable means for the attainment of Swaraj. I agreed to remove the paraphrase in order to avoid a painful discussion but I felt that truth was stabbed.

"I am sure that those who raised this opposition are as patriotic as I claim to be ; they are as eager for Swaraj as every other Congressman. But I do say that the patriotic spirit demands their loyal and strict adherence to non violence and truth and that if they do not believe in them they should retire from the Congress organisation.

"Is it not national economy to let all the ideals be sharply defined and to work independently of one another ? That then which is most popular will win the day. If we are going to evolve the real spirit of democracy, we shall not do so by obstruction but by abstention.

"The session of the All-India Congress Committee was a forcible demonstration of the fact that *we* are retarding the country's progress towards Swaraj and *not* the Government. Every mistake of the Government helps. Every neglect of duty on our part hinders.

Advice to Provincial Committees

"It is thus clear what I would like the Provincial organisations to do. They must not for the present disobey the Government orders so far as it is at all possible. They must not, before they have searched their hearts, take forward action but bring about an absolutely calm atmosphere. No imprisonment courted in anger has availed us anything. I agree with the Mussalman view which is also the Hindu view that there is no imprisonment for the sake of it. All imprisonments to be useful have to be courted for religion or country and that by men and women clad in *khaddar* and without anger or violence in their hearts. If the provinces have no such men and women, they should not embark on civil disobedience at all.

"Hence it is that the constructive programme has been framed. It will steady and calm us. It will wake our organising spirit, it will make us industrious, it will render us fit for Swaraj, it will cool our blood. We shall be spat upon, laughed at, sworn at, may be even kicked and cursed, We must put up with it all in as much as

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will have harboured anger in our breasts even though we have been under the pledge of non-violence. I must frankly state that unless we can retrieve our steps deliberately, cultivate non-violence and manufacture *khaddar*, we cannot render effective help to the Khilafat, we can not get redress of the Punjab wrong, nor can we attain Swaraj. My leadership is perfectly useless if I cannot convince co-workers and the public of the absolute and immediate necessity of vigorously prosecuting the constructive programme.

"We must know whether we can get a crore of men and women in all India who believe in the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful, i.e., non-violent and legitimate, i. e., truthful means.

"We must get money for the prosecution of Swadeshi and we will know how many people there are in India who are willing honestly to pay one rupee out of every hundred of their past year's income to the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. This subscription the Committee expects from Congressmen and sympathisers.

"We must spend money like water in introducing the spinning-wheel in every home, in the manufacture and distribution of *khaddar* whenever required.

"Surely we have long neglected the 'untouchable' brother. He has slaved for us too long. We must now serve him.

"Our liquor-picketing has done some good but not substantial. Not till we pierce the home of the drunkard shall we make any real advance. We must know why he drinks; what we can substitute for it? We must have a census of all the drunkards of India.

"Social service department has been looked at with the utmost contempt. If the non-co-operation movement is not malicious, that department is a necessity. We want to render alike to friend and foe service in times of distress. We are thereby able to keep our relations sweet with all in spite of our political aloofness.

Laughing at it!

"Social service and temperance reform were laughed at as part of the struggle for Swaraj. It was a painful exhibition of ignorance of the essentials of Swaraj. I claim that human mind or human society is not divided into water-tight compartments called social, political and religious. All act and react upon one another. What is more, the vast majority of Hindus and Mussalmans have joined the struggle believing it to be religious. The masses have come in because they want to save the Khilafat and the cow. Deprive the Mussalman of the hope of helping the Khilafat and he will shun the Congress; tell the Hindu he cannot save the cow if he joins the Congress, he will to a man leave it. To laugh at moral reform and social service is to laugh at Swaraj, the Khilafat, and the Punjab.

Even the organisation of schools was laughed at. Let us see what it means. We have demolished the prestige of Govt. schools. It was perhaps necessary in 1920 to do the picketing and certainly not to mind the boys being neglected, but it would be criminal any longer to picket Govt. schools or to neglect National institutions. We can now only draw more boys and girls by putting existing National schools on a better footing. They have the advantage of being in institutions where they breathe free air and where they are not shadowed. But the advantage of scientific training in carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and of having intellectual training in keeping with the requirements of the country must be added. We shall show by successful experiments the superiority of training in National schools and colleges.

"Even the *Panchayats* came to for ridicule. Little did the critics realise that the masses in many parts of India had ceased to resort to law courts. If we do not organise honest *Panchayats*, they will certainly go back to the existing law-courts.

"Nor is a single step devoid of vast political results. Adequate manufacture and universal use of *Khaddar* means a permanent boycott of foreign cloth and automatic distribution of sixty crores of rupees annually among the poor people. Permanent disappearance of the drink and the opium evils mean an annual saving of crores to the people and a diminution of that revenue for the Govt. Constructive effort for the untouchables means the addition to the Congress ranks of six crores of men and women who will for-ever be bound to the Congress.. Social Service department if it becomes a live thing, will restore the strained relations that exist to-day among co-operators (whether Indian or English) and non-co-operators. To work the full constructive programme, therefore, is to achieve all we want. To fail in fulfilling the programme is to postpone all possibility of effective civil disobedience."

The Arrest of the Mahatma.

Already there was distinctly visible a split in the Congress camp—though for the time being it was kept hidden under a camouflage of words. Swami Shradhdhanand who wanted to drop non-co-operation altogether did not attend the Delhi meeting. Pt. Malaviya who tried his best to keep to the spirit of the Bardoli resolution was not heeded. The Aligarh students passed a flamboyant

reputation condemning the suspension of civil disobedience. Other incentives of revolt from Gandhi's leadership cropped up. And Govt. now saw its chance. There was about this time in India, especially in the United Provinces, a strong under-current of lawlessness. There was a very wide-spread strike over the East Indian Railway—and daily it was threatening to break out into lawlessness. The *Aika* movement, ostensibly to preserve the rights of the villagers against the oppressions of the Zamindars, started in the U. P., was the cause of a panic. The Bhils in Rajputana were in militant unrest. In Assam a tragedy happened in Kanarighat where a mob repeated the mistakes of Amritsar in 1919, and instead of quietly sitting down to a fusillade of fire attacked the police and paid the usual penalty. Clearly, Gandhi was unable to stem the tide of unrest. His great name failed to bring quiet and non-violence. The upper classes were in terror. On all sides in European quarters the cry was raised: "Arrest the Man." In England this was very insistent. On February 23rd Sir William Vincent said in the Legislative Assembly that Government had not changed its attitude towards the Congress, even after the Bardoli resolution. On Feb. 28th, Sir Robert Watson-Smyth talked of hitting back: "hit back hard", he said (see *post*) in the Bengal Chamber. On Feb. 14th there was the great debate in Parliament when the M. P.'s wanted the application of more force and repression in India. Mr. Montagu was the subject of intense vituperation. A vote of censure on him was moved. Mr. Churchill was almost openly against his cabinet colleague the Secretary of State for India. Even the Prime Minister gave warning to those who wanted further change in India. Matters now took a dramatic turn.

So long as the riotous multitude frenzied into unrest by the accumulated tortures of years was hushed into non-violence by the magic name of Gandhi, Government lay quiet; but as soon as the repentant Mahatma was left in the lurch by the querrulous mob of second-rate non-co-operators, utterly incapable of understanding the elementary principle of self-control,—and, it must be remembered that by this time all the best and the truest of Gandhi's followers were in jail—Govt. saw its chance and pounced upon him. Govt. could not now do otherwise than take charge of Gandhi as there was fierce internal dissensions in the N.C.O camp. As says Professor Rushbrook Williams, the publicity officer of the Govt. of India:—

"This step had long been contemplated, but had been postponed from time to time for various reasons. In the first place there was a natural reluctance to incarcerate a man who, however mistaken might be his activities, was by all widely respected and by millions



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Arrested as a saint. Moreover, he had consistently preached the gospel of non-violence, and done all that he could to restrain the more impatient of his followers from embarking upon forcible methods. It was further impossible to ignore the fact that until a substantial body of Indian opinion was prepared to support measures against Mr. Gandhi's person: and until the popular belief in his divine inspiration had been weakened by the efflux of time, there was reason to fear that his arrest would have been attended with bloody outbreaks in numerous places, by the intensification of racial bitterness, and by the creation of conditions in which the new constitution would have little or no chance of success. That the arrest, being well-timed, passed off peacefully, should not mislead the reader into thinking that it could have been effected with equal absence of popular excitement at an earlier period. It came when Mr. Gandhi's political reputation, for reasons already outlined, was at its nadir; when the enthusiasm of his followers had reached the lowest ebb; when the public mind of India was engrossed with other issues."

Ostensibly on the ground of publishing the Government of India despatch urging consideration of Moslem demands, but really as a matter of inaugurating a new policy, Mr. Montagu was thrown over by the Cabinet on March 9th. (see Vol. II), and Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on March 10th. From some days before there were persistent rumours of the coming arrest in anticipation of which the Mahatma wrote the following article in his paper "*Young India*":—

M. Gandhi on "If I Am Arrested"

The rumour has been revived that my arrest is imminent. It is said to be regarded as a mistake by some officials that I was not arrested when I was to be, i. e., on the 11th or 12th of February and that the Bardoli decision ought not to have been allowed to affect the Government's programme. It is said, too, that it is now no longer possible for the Government to withstand the ever-rising agitation in London for my arrest and deportation. I myself cannot see how the Government can avoid arresting me if they want a permanent abandonment of civil disobedience, whether individual or mass.

I advised the Working Committee to suspend mass civil disobedience at Bardoli. Because that obedience would not have been civil, and if I am now advising all provincial workers to suspend even individual civil disobedience, it is because I know that any disobedience at the present stage will be not civil but criminal. A tranquil atmosphere is an indispensable condition of civil disobedience. It is humiliating for me to discover that there is a spirit of violence abroad and that the Government of the United Provinces has been obliged to enlist additional police for avoiding a repetition of Chauri Chaura. I do not say that all that is claimed to have happened has happened, but it is impossible to ignore all the testimony that is given in proof of the growing spirit of violence in some parts of these provinces. In spite of my political differences with Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru, I regard him to be above wilful perversion of truth. I consider him to be one of the most capable among public workers.

There is not a man to be easily carried away. When, therefore, he gives an opinion upon anything, it immediately arrests my attention. Making the allowance for the colouring of his judgment by reason of his pro-Government attitude, I am unable to dismiss his report of the Chauri Chaura tragedy as unworthy of consideration. Nor is it possible to ignore letters received from Zemindars and others informing me of the violent temperament and ignorant lawlessness in the United Provinces. I have before me the Bareilly report signed by the Congress Secretary. Whilst the authorities forgot themselves, we are not, if that report is to be believed, without fault. The volunteer procession was not a civil demonstration. It was insisted upon in spite of a sharp division of opinion in our own ranks. Though the crowds that gathered were not violent, the spirit of the demonstration was undoubtedly violent. It was an impotent show of force wholly unnecessary for our purpose and hardly a prelude to civil disobedience. That the authorities could have handled the procession in a better spirit, that they ought not to have interfered with the Swaraj flag, that they ought not to have objected to the use of the Town Hall, which was town property, as Congress office, in view of the fact that it had been so used for some months with the permission of the Town Council, is all very true. It is, therefore, as a penance that civil disobedience has been suspended. But if the atmosphere clears up, the people realise the full value of the adjective "civil" and become in reality non-violent both in spirit and in deed, and if I find that the Government still do not yield to the people's will, I shall certainly be the first person to advocate individual or mass civil disobedience as the case may be. There is no escape from that duty without the people wishing to surrender their birth-right.

I doubt the sincerity of Englishmen who are born fighters, when they declaim against civil disobedience as if it was a diabolical crime to be punished with exemplary severity. If they have glorified armed rebellions and resorted to them on due occasions, why are many of them up in arms against the very idea of civil resistance? I can understand their saying that the attainment of a non-violent atmosphere is a virtual impossibility in India. I do not believe it, but I can appreciate such an objection. What, however, is beyond my comprehension is the dead-set made against the very theory of civil disobedience as if it was something immoral. To expect me to give up the preaching of civil disobedience is to ask me to give up preaching peace, which would be tantamount to asking me to commit suicide.

I hope, however, that whether the Government arrest me or whether they stop, by direct or indirect means, the publication of the three journals "Young India", "Gujrati Nava Jiban", and "Hindi Nava Jiban", the public will remain unmoved. It is a matter of no pride or pleasure to me but one of humiliation that the Government refrain from arresting me for fear of an out-break of universal violence and the awful slaughter that any such out-break must involve. It would be a sad commentary upon my preaching of, and upon the Congress and Khilafat pledge of, non-violence, if my incarceration was to be a signal for a storm all over the country. Surely, it would be a demonstration of India's unreadiness for a peaceful rebellion. It would be a triumph for the bureaucracy, and it would be almost a final proof of the correctness of the position taken up by the Moderate friends viz. that India can never be prepared for non-violent disobedience. I hope therefore that the Congress and Khilafat workers will strain every nerve and show that all the fears entertained by the Government and their supporters were totally wrong. I promise that such act of self-restraint will take us many a mile towards our triple goal.

There should, therefore, be no "bartals" no noisy demonstrations, no processions, I would regard observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a



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of high honour paid to me by my countrymen. What I would like to see, however, is the constructive work of the Congress going on with clock-work regularity and the speed of the Punjab Express. I would love to see people, who have hitherto kept back voluntarily discarding all their foreign cloth and making a bonfire of it. Let them fulfil the whole of the constructive programme framed at Bardoli and they will not only release me and other prisoners but they will also inaugurate Swaraj and secure redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. Let them remember the four pillars of Swaraj—Non-violence, Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Parsi-Christian-Jew unity, total removal of untouchability, and manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven "Khaddar" completely displacing foreign cloth.

"I do not know that my removal from their midst will not be a benefit to the people. In the first instance, the superstition about the possession of supernatural powers by me will be demolished. Secondly, the belief that people had accepted the non-co-operation programme only under my influence and that they had no independent faith in it will be disproved. Thirdly, our capacity for Swaraj will be proved by our ability to conduct our activities in spite of the withdrawal even of the originator of the current programme. Fourthly and selfishly, it will give me a quiet and physical rest which perhaps I deserve."

The Story of the Arrest

The following account of the arrest is given by S. Benarsi Das Chaturvedi of the Satyagraha Ashram.—

"The air in the Ashram had been thick for the last five days with the rumour about the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.

As usual we had our evening prayers together with Mahatma Gandhi. When the prayer was over he told us about the rumour of his arrest. He said that he was expecting it that very night. He advised us to go on working steadily with re-doubled energy after his arrest. After the prayer-time he went to his room, where some people had come from the city to enquire whether there was any truth in the rumour of Gandhiji's arrest. Notable among these were Shrimati Anusuya Bai—the popular worker for the mill labourers—Shriji Shankerlal Banker the printer of the "Young India." Mahatmaji laughed when he heard of Anusuya Bai's arrival and he said to her smilingly, "What brings you here at this hour?" She replied that the rumour about his arrest had brought her there. Mahatmaji then dictated the answers to some of the letters received by him. He was doing his work with his usual calmness. Some of the Ashram people asked him certain questions about his arrest which he answered. Then he gave instructions to his assistant Babu Krishna Das about the editing of his paper "Young India" after the arrest.

"It was nearly 10 o'clock and Mahatmaji said to all of us, "Now you must retire, I shall go to bed." Maulana Hasrat Mohani came just at that time and Mahatmaji was glad to see him.

Anusuya Bai and Shankerlal Banker started in their motor car from the Ashram. They had not gone far when they met the Superintendent of Police on the way to the Ashram in his car. He informed Srijut Shankerlal that he should consider himself under arrest. Shankerlalji then returned with the Superintendent to the Ashram. The Superintendent did not enter the Ashram himself but sent word to Mahatma Gandhi through Anusuya Bai to tell Mahatmaji that he could take as much time as he wanted. Mahatmaji was, of course, quite ready for his arrest. He took some books with him. In the meanwhile the ladies and the girls of the Ashram came to his room. He gave his advice to all and had a word for each of them. Then he asked the ladies to sing the song which he likes most. We translate it below :

"He is the real Vaishnava who has in his heart a love for others. Real love is manifested in relieving the distressed. He who looks to the bright side of a man's nature and does not blame them, and keeps his mind tranquil in the minds of tumults, Mother Lakshmi favours him. The man who is a "Samadarshin", who has conquered desire, who looks upon women as Mother, whose tongue never utters untruth, and whose hand never touches the property of another, who is not bound by attachments and affections, whose mind is dominated by "Bairagya", whose ears enjoy the music of the name of "Ram", who is above avarice and is free from duplicity, in whom desire and anger have been extinguished—such a man should be worshipped. The very sight of him will enable one to cross the limitless ocean of life's miseries."

"It is note-worthy that during the South African struggle when the first batch including Mrs. Gandhi went to jail from the Phoenix Ashram, this beautiful hymn of Narsih Mehta was sung by them at the time of their departure.

"Mahatmaji then went to the motor car of the Supdt., which started under the shouts of "Siyavar Ram Chandra ki Jai" and "Bande Mataram". Mrs. Gandhi and a few others accompanied Mahatmaji up to the Sabarmati Jail which is only a mile from the Ashram."

Next day the Mahatma and S.J. Banker were placed before Mr. Brown, the assistant Magistrate of Ahmedabad charged with sedition for four articles in the *Young India*, viz :—

DISAFFECTION A VIRTUE

TAMPERING WITH LOYALTY

THE PUZZLE & ITS SOLUTION

SHAKING THE MANES

On questioned by the Magistrate M. Gandhi said :—

"I simply wish to state that when the proper time comes I shall plead guilty so far as disaffection towards Government is concerned. It is quite true that I am the Editor of *Young India* and

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."

Charges were then framed and the accused were committed to the sessions on the 18th March 1922.

The Sessions Trial.

The trial opened at twelve noon, March 18th. 1922, before Mr. C. N. Broomfield, District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad. Long before the hour appointed for the commencement of the trial the hall was full with members of the public mostly clad in khaddar. Among those present inside the hall were Mr. V. J. Patel, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Sarabaladevi Choudhurani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. T. Prakasham, Ambalal Sarabhai, Bai Anasuya and other Non-co-operation leaders. Police and military precautions were complete. While policemen were posted all round the compound of the Court, Indian Infantry were stationed inside the compound. About half a dozen European police officers were also in attendance. All this extravagant precaution was, however, unnecessary as a very perfect calmness prevailed all over the town, and even the illiterate mill-hands of Ahmedabad, against whom the precaution was taken, hung their head in shame in common with all non-co-operators for having brought about indirectly the great and historic event of the day—the trial of their Mahatma by a British court of justice.

Mahatma Gandhi and S. J. Banker arrived at court at 11-40 accompanied by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. All those inside the court stood up when Mahatma Gandhi entered the hall and remained standing until he was shown a seat to the left of the Judge. A little farther up, in the same row to the right of Mahatma Gandhi, sat Mr. Banker with Pandit Malaviya on the right, while to the left of the Mahatma sat his wife with Mrs. Naidu and Mrs. Sarala Devi.

At 11 50 Sir Thomas Strangman, the Advocate-General, entered the court and exchanged nods with Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. E. C. Wild, Legal Remembrancer to the Govt. of Bombay, was also present in the court. Punctually at 12 O'clock the Judge took his seat.

At the outset, the Judge pointed out that the charges as framed by the Public Prosecutor contained three counts. He understood the prosecution to mean that there were three distinct offences, which being of the same kind and committed within the space of a year were charged and committed together.

The Advocate-General agreed with the Judge. The charges were then read out against both accused, after which the Judge

explained at length the provisions of Section 124 (A) and said the word "Disaffection" included disloyalty or feelings of enmity, and the word as used in the Section had been interpreted by the High Court of Bombay as meaning political alienation or dis-respect.

The Judge—Do you plead guilty or claim to be tried?

Mahatma Gandhi—I plead guilty on all the charges. I observe that the King's name has been omitted from the charges and, in my opinion, very properly.

Asked by the Judge Mr. Banker also pleaded guilty.

The Advocate-General then pointed out that under Section 271 Cr. P. C. the Court might convict accused on their plea or proceed with the trial. He would ask the Judge to proceed with the case, firstly, because the charges were of a serious character, and secondly, because it was highly desirable in the public interest that those charges should be fully stated and publicly investigated, and a sentence could not be passed simply because accused had pleaded guilty. He (the Judge) could not deal with the matter unless all the facts of the case were laid before him.

The Judge—I do not agree. I have, under the law, full discretion to convict the accused on their own plea, and in this particular case I cannot see what advantage can be gained by going through the evidence that was recorded before the committing Magistrate. But as regards the question that the charges should be investigated as fully as possible, the evidence that was recorded before the committing Magistrate—and as far as I know nothing contrary has appeared—will be the evidence to show that Mr. Gandhi was responsible for these particular articles, and in the fact of this plea it seems to me it would be futile to record any more evidence on that point.

As regards the question of sentence, the Judge said that he would like to hear what Mr. Gandhi wished to say. He did not think that the mere recording of evidence and proceeding with the trial, as asked for, might make any difference one way or the other. He therefore proposed to accept the plea of the accused. Nothing so far remained but to pass sentence, but, before that, he would like to hear what the Advocate-General had to say on the question of sentence.

The Advocate-General pointed out that the articles from "Young India" before the committing Magistrate, and which formed the subject of the charges, formed merely part of a campaign to spread disaffection openly and systematically to render the Government impossible and to overthrow it. He then read out extracts from the articles to show that to create disaffection towards the Government was the creed of non-co-operators and the Congress and the Khilafat Committees. He asserted that they were not the writings of an un-educated or obscure

man. The Court should also consider to what the campaign had inevitably led. "You have had examples before you in the last few months," he said. "I refer to the occurrences in Bombay, Madras and Chauri Chaura leading to rioting and murder and involving people in misery and distress. It is true that in these articles you find that non-violence is insisted upon as an item of the campaign and of the creed. But of what value is it, Sir, to insist on non-violence if incessantly you preach disaffection towards the Government and hold it up as a treacherous Government, and if you openly and deliberately seek to instigate others to overthrow it? Those are the circumstances which I would ask you to take into account in passing sentence.

"As regards Mr. Banker, his guilt is only of a lesser degree, in that he printed the articles, but I would ask the court to impose a fine in addition to such term of imprisonment as he deserves."

The Mahatma's Statement

Mahatma Gandhi then made an oral statement and followed it with a written one, after obtaining the permission of the Court to remain seated (the Mahatma has heart-disease and always makes speeches while sitting). The Mahatma said :—

"Before I read this statement I would like to state that I entirely endorse the learned Advocate-General's remarks in connection with my humble self. I think that he was entirely fair to me in all the statement that he has made because it is very true, and I have no desire whatsoever to conceal from this Court the fact that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of Government has become almost a passion with me. The learned Advocate-General is also entirely in the right when he says that my preaching of disaffection did not commence with my connection with "Young India", but that it commenced much earlier, and in the statement that I am about to read, it will be my painful duty to admit before this Court that it commenced much earlier than the period stated by the Advocate-General. It is the most painful duty with me, but I have to discharge that duty, knowing the responsibility that rests upon my shoulders, and I wish to endorse all the blame that the learned Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences, Madras occurrences, and the Chauri-Chaura occurrences. Thinking over these things deeply and sleeping over them night after night and examining my heart, 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. He is quite right when he says that, as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair share of experience

of this world, I should know the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and, if I was set free, I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I do not do so. I have felt this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I do not say all that I have said here just now,—I wanted to avoid violence; I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is the last article of my faith. But I had to make my choice. I had either to submit to a system which I considered has done an irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it; and I am therefore here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. 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". He then read out the following statement.

The Written Statement

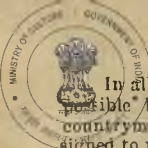
From Loyalist to Non-co-operator

I owe it perhaps to the Indian public and to the public in England, to placate which this prosecution is mainly taken up, that I should explain why from a staunch loyalist and co-operator I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-co-operator. To the Court, too, I should say why I plead guilty to the charge of promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law in India.

My public life began in 1893 in South Africa in troubled weather. My first contact with the British authorities in that country was not of a happy character. I discovered that, as a man and an Indian, I had no rights. On the contrary, I discovered that I had no rights as a man because I was an Indian.

But I was not baffled. I thought that this treatment of Indians was an excrescence upon a system that was intrinsically and mainly good. I gave the Government my voluntary and hearty co-operation criticising it fully where I felt it was faulty, but never wishing its destruction.

Consequently, when the existence of the Empire was threatened in 1899 by the Boer challenge, I offered my services to it, raised a Volunteer Ambulance Corps and served at the several actions that took place for the relief of Ladysmith. Similarly, in 1906, at the time of the Zulu Revolt, I raised a Stretcher Bearer party and served till the end of the rebellion. On both these occasions, I received medals and was even mentioned in the despatches. As for my work in South Africa, I was given by Lord Hardinge a Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal. When the war broke out in 1914 between England and Germany, I raised a Volunteer Ambulance Corps in London consisting of the then resident Indians in London, chiefly students. Its work was acknowledged by the authorities to be valuable. Lastly in India, when a special appeal was made at the War Conference in Delhi in 1917 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled, at the cost of my health, to raise a corps in India and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased and orders were received that no more recruits were wanted.



THE MAHATMA'S TRIAL

[AHMEDABAD]

In all these efforts at service, I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality in the Empire for my countrymen. The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors beginning with the massacre of Jallianwalla Bag and culminating in crawling orders, public flogging and indescribable humiliations. I discovered, too, that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussalmans of India regarding the integrity of Turkey and the Holy places of Islam was not likely to be fulfilled.

But in spite of the foreboding and the grave warnings of friends at the Amritsar Congress in 1919, I fought for co-operation and working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans, that the Punjab wrongs would be healed, and that, the Reforms, inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were, marked a new era of hope in the life of India.

British Connection had made India Helpless.

But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was white-washed and most culprits went not only unpunished, but remained in service and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue and in some cases were even rewarded. I saw, too, that not only did the Reforms not mark a change of heart but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging servitude. I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection had made India more helpless than she ever was before, politically and economically. A disarmed India has no power of resistance against any aggressor if she wanted to engage in an armed conflict with him. So much is this the case that some of our best men consider that India must take generations before she can achieve the Dominion Status. She has become so poor that she has little power of resistance in famine. Before the British advent India spun and wove in her millions of cottages, just the supplement she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. This cottage industry, so vital for India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes, as described by English witnesses. Little do town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of India are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realise that the Government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures, can explain away the evidence the skeletons in many villages present to the way-farers' eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps un-equalled in history.

Law—Hand-maid of Exploitation

The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign exploiter. Punjab Martial Law cases has led me to believe that at least ninety-five per cent of the convictions were wholly bad; and my experience of political cases in India leads me to the conclusion that in nine out of every ten the condemned men were totally innocent, their crime consisting in the love of their country. In ninety-nine cases out of hundred, justice has been denied to Indians as against Europeans in the courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is the experience of almost every Indian who has had anything to do with such cases. In my opinion the administration of the law is thus prostituted, consciously or unconsciously, for the benefit of the exploiter.

One greatest misfortune is that Englishmen and their Indian associates in the administration of the country do not know that they are engaged in the crime I have attempted to describe. I am satisfied that many English and Indian officials honestly believe that they are administering one of the best systems devised in the world, and that India is making steady though slow progress. They do not know that a subtle but effective system of terrorism and an organised display of force on the one hand, and the deprivation of all powers of retaliation and of self-defence on the other, have emasculated the people and induced in them the habit of simulation. This awful habit has added to the ignorance and the self-deception of the administrators.

Section 124 A, under which I am happily charged, is perhaps the prince among the political Sections of the Indian Penal Code, designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or a thing, one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection, so long as he does not contemplate to promote or incite to violence. But the Section under which Mr. Banker and I are charged is one under which mere promotion of disaffection is a crime. I have studied some of the cases tried under it and I know that some of the most loved of India's patriots have been convicted under it. I consider it a privilege, therefore, to be charged under it. I have endeavoured to give in their briefest outline the reasons for my disaffection. I have no personal ill-will against any single administrator. Much less can I have any disaffection towards the King's person. But I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which, in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system.

India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before. Holding such a belief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system, and it has been a precious privilege for me to be able to write what I have written in the various articles tendered in evidence against me.

Non-co-operation—the remedy

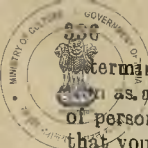
In fact, I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing, in Non-co-operation, the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion, Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good. But in the past, Non-co-operation has been deliberately expressed in violence to the evil-doer. I am endeavouring to show to my country-men that violent Non-co-operation only multiplies evil and that, as evil can only be sustained by violence, the withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for Non-co-operation with evil.

I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully 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. The only course open to you, the Judge and the Assessors, is either to resign your posts and thus dissociate yourselves from evil, if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil, and that in reality I am innocent, or to inflict on me the severest penalty, if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country and that any activity is therefore injurious to the public.

The Judgment

The Judge, addressing Mahatma Gandhi, said :—

"Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task in one way easy by pleading guilty to the charge. Nevertheless what remains, viz., the



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determination of a just sentence, is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a judge can have in this country. The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried, or am ever likely to have to try. Also, it would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great leader, or that even those who differ from you in politics, look up to you as a man of high ideals and leading a noble and even a saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is my duty to judge you as a man subject to the law, who, according to his own admission, broke the law and committed what to an ordinary man must appear to be a great offence against the State. I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence, or that you have on many occasions, I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom they were addressed, how you can have continued to believe that violence would not be an inevitable consequence, passes my capacity to understand.

"There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty, but it is so. I am trying to balance what is due to you against what appears to be necessary in the interests of the public, and I propose in passing sentence to follow the precedent of a case, in many respects similar to this case, that was decided some twelve years ago,—I mean the case against Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the same section. The sentence that was passed upon him, as it finally stood, was a sentence of simple imprisonment for six years. You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak—that is, a sentence of two years simple imprisonment on each count of the charge, six years in all, which I feel it my duty to pass upon you, and, I should like to say in doing so, that if the course of events in India should make it possible to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I."

Turning to Mr. Banker, the Judge said: "You have been to a large extent under the influence of your chief. The sentence that I propose to pass upon you is simple imprisonment for six months on each of the first two counts, that is, simple imprisonment for one year, and a fine of one thousand rupees or six months' simple imprisonment in default."

Mahatma Gandhi was sentenced to six years' Simple Imprisonment.



CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN

The Viceroy & the Secretary of State

The following correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India was published as a White Paper :—

From the Viceroy, Home Department, to the Secretary of State for India, dated 9th February 1922.

The following is a general appreciation of the situation as regards non-co-operation. In order to explain the situation as it exists, it is necessary to trace the origin of the non-co-operation movement and its developments. It is impossible to give within the scope of a telegram an adequate appreciation of the whole situation, and the Government of India would have preferred, had time permitted, to send a considered despatch. As, however, the matter is one of great urgency we have done our best to give a connected account in the message that follows.

The first manifestation of non-co-operation with Government as a political force took place about the beginning of 1920. The spirit of nationalism in this country as elsewhere had been greatly stimulated and intensified by the war and the pronouncements made as to the principles for which the Allies stood. It was intended by the Reforms Act of 1919 to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people, and moderate and reasonable opinion was to a certain extent satisfied thereby. An extreme section of Indian politicians rejected it as inadequate, but opposition to it might not have assumed formidable proportions had it not been for the operation of social causes, in particular, racial feeling which had been engendered by the Punjab disturbances in 1919, the economic distress which resulted from the general rise in prices, the bitter resentment on the part of Muhammadans over the delay in announcing the terms of peace with Turkey and their apprehensions lest these terms should prove unfavourable to Turkey. It was a result of these causes that the doctrine of non-co-operation, which was a revival of Gandhi's Satyagraha movement of 1919, began to make rapid progress in 1920.

The Beginning of N-C-O.

In March 1920 Gandhi established close relations with Mahomed Ali, Shankat Ali, and other leaders of the Khilafat movement, and he announced publicly that that movement had his sympathy and that he would lead the non-co operation movement, directed against

Government, if the terms of peace with Turkey did not meet the sentiments of his Moslem fellow-subjects. He declared in this manifesto that the only remedy left open to him was non-co-operation based on non-violence. There was no very clear announcement at that time of the precise form which the movement would take, but Gandhi defined his programme later in the year after the Turkish peace terms had been published. There was to be a beginning of non-co operation by—

- (1) the resignation of titles and honorary posts ;
- (2) the resignation of posts in the Civil Service of Government, the Police being excluded ;
- (3) the resignation of service in the Police and the Army ;
- (4) the refusal to pay taxes.

By resolutions passed at a special meeting of Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920 the following items were added to the programme.

- (1) withdrawal of children from educational institutions aided and controlled by Government, and establishment in their places of National Schools and Colleges ;
- (2) boycott by lawyers and litigants of British Courts and establishment of private Arbitration Courts ;
- (3) refusal by military, clerical and labouring classes to volunteer for service in Mesopotamia ;
- (4) withdrawal of candidates for election on new Councils and abstention on the part of voters ;
- (5) gradual boycott of foreign goods.

All the foregoing steps were to be initiated before resignation of service in police and army, and refusal to pay taxes, both of which were to be started only at the final stages of campaign.

Little enthusiasm was roused at first by the movement ; all sections of moderate opinion were opposed to it, and even by Tilak and his followers it was regarded with some doubt and suspicion while Hindu opinion naturally was averse from a close alliance with the more violent and fanatical aspects of the Khilafat movement. But the personality of the leader of the non-co-operation movement who was believed to be a self-less ascetic,—a character which has a peculiar attraction for Indians—the propaganda which he and his lieutenants assiduously carried on, the intense irritation which had been caused among Mahomedans by the announcement of the Turkish peace terms, and in particular of the increasing economic pressure on a large section of the population, drew a growing number of adherents gradually to the movement.

The Volunteer Movement.

2. Certain disquieting symptoms commenced to show them-

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self in the movement towards the end of the year 1920. A tendency to imitate military methods was developed in some of the Volunteer Associations, which had been originally started, at any rate nominally, for philanthropic and social service, and the leaders of the agitation against Government were not slow to utilise for political purposes these organisations as a potent instrument of social boycott.

This volunteer movement has presented peculiar difficulties, partly owing to the fact that some of the associations were in the past founded in good faith, in pursuance of some form of social service and have, in fact, on occasions rendered valuable assistance in assisting strangers and facilitating the maintenance of order at great religious fairs and pilgrimages and partly owing to our disinclination to interfere with Associations whose activities were ostensibly directed to political objects which did not come within the criminal law. Violence is opposed to the professed objects for which members are drawn into these bodies; yet gradually the establishment of the Associations has put into the hands of the leaders powerful organisations, which can be, and have been, used for sinister purposes. Attempts to usurp functions of police, intimidation and use of violence to enforce hartals and social and commercial boycott, or under guise of 'swadeshi' or temperance movements in order to impair the authority of Government and terrorise political opponents, have been the prominent features of their recent activities. In some places only have military drill and evolutions been practised. The avoidance of violence has throughout been a part of their ostensible creed, and it was a matter of no small difficulty to decide at what point their suppression was essential in the interest of law and order, and would not be condemned by public opinion as undue interference with the freedom of political associations. The non-co-operation movement presented other sinister features in the growing violence of speeches made by the principal Khilafat leaders, and it endeavoured to enlist the sympathy of students and immature school-boys while cause for anxiety was given by the possible effects on the Indian Army and Police of a campaign of seditious propaganda. As early as April 1920 instructions were issued by Lord Chelmsford's Government that there should be prompt prosecution of all persons tampering with the loyalty of the Troops or the Police and a scheme for instituting counter-propaganda was formulated in July of the same year. In September instructions were issued to local Governments to take action vigorously to prosecute for all incitements to violence and their attention was drawn in October to the dangerous potentialities which lay in the volunteer movement. Lastly, in November 1920, a resolution was passed by Lord Chelmsford's Government defining their general attitude towards

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non-co-operation campaign. It was explained that although the movement was unconstitutional they had refrained from instituting criminal proceedings against such of its promoters as had advocated, simultaneously with non co operation, abstention from violence, and they had given instructions to Local Governments that action should be taken against those persons only who, in order to further the movement, had advanced beyond the limits which its organizers had originally set up and had openly incited the public to violence by speech or writing, or endeavoured to tamper with the loyalty of the Army or the Police. The following considerations had influenced Government in adopting this policy :—

(1) Reluctance to interfere with the freedom of the Press and liberty of speech at a time when India was on the thresh-hold of a great advance towards self-government.

(2) The knowledge that those against whom prosecution might be directed would be likely to find in it the opportunity of posing as martyrs, and that they might swell the number of adherents to their cause by evoking false sympathy.

(3) The belief that non-co operation would be rejected by the country as a whole as a visionary and chimerical scheme, the result of which could only be widespread disorder, political chaos and the ruin of all such as possessed a real stake in the country itself, the appeal being made to the ignorant and prejudiced and its creed being devoid of any constructive genius.

The Nagpur Congress

3. At the Congress meeting which was held in December 1920 at Nagpur a new stage was reached. Little up to that time in the way of solid achievement could be pointed to by the leaders of the movement. Although the movement had undoubtedly engendered in certain parts of the country a general spirit of disloyalty and lawlessness, little success had been attained in giving effect to the specific items of the non-co-operation programme; there had been very few surrenders of titles, a handful only of lawyers had suspended their practice, and, though in the elections to the Reformed Councils the voting had been somewhat interfered with, the constitution of these Councils had not been seriously affected by it. Strong opposition had been provoked by the attack on educational institutions and the attack had no lasting effect. But Gandhi at Nagpur was successful in capturing the entire Congress organisation for his party. Indication of the growing strength in that body of the extremist element was given by the change in the first article of the Constitutions of the Congress which was effected by an overwhelming majority, the object of Congress being defined now as the

attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means. There was an omission of the reference to British connexion. It became moreover, clear by this time that the intention of the leader of the movement was to spare no efforts by which the mere ignorant masses might be permeated with their doctrine. An increasing activity with this object in view marked the early spring of 1921. There was great astuteness shown in promoting labour unrest and exploiting economic grievances, and promises of the widest character were freely made (as now) to ignorant peasants—for example, rent-free lands, cheap clothes, cheap food and free railway passes. The first evidence of this policy was the widespread agitation among the tenantry of Oudh, from which in January 1921 serious disturbances resulted, and there was exploitation with some success about the same time by the non-co-operation leaders of the Akali movement among the Sikhs—a movement which in its inception seems to have been inspired by a genuine desire for religious reform—and success was attained to some extent by such leaders in giving to the movement a character which was definitely anti-Government. At the end of January the Local Governments received from Lord Chelmsford's Government fresh instructions in view of these developments. That Government, while they adhered to the general policy which had been enunciated in November 1920, impressed on the Local Governments the necessity for instituting prosecutions with greater freedom in all cases of incitements to violence and endeavours to seduce police or Indian troops. Remedial legislation was urged where redress was demanded by genuine grievances. There were, too, to be steps taken for starting counter-propaganda whereby Government's policy would be justified, and, in general, for enforcing respect for the law. Government at the same time took every opportunity during the first session of the Reformed Legislature of convincing Indian opinion that the Reforms were real and great and that they had conferred on the representatives of the people wide powers and that there was a readiness to inquire into the cause of discontent or any specific grievances. It was, for example, agreed to refer to the non official Committees of the Legislature certain Acts which conferred extraordinary powers on the Executive, as well as the Acts regulating the conduct of the Press; the greatest consideration was shown, in framing the Budget, to the opinion of the Legislature.

The Beginning of Trouble, 1921

4. As the result of the agitation which was carried on by the non-co-operation leaders, there took place in the early summer of 1921 a stampede from the Tea Gardens of Assam of coolies to the number of many thousands, and there was simultaneously a strike on the Assam-Bengal Railway. Another development was a strong

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campaign against the use of foreign cloth and the drink trade an operation in which a prominent part was played by intimidation. In spite of numerous prosecutions and restrictive orders a general weakening of the respect for law and order resulted from all these activities; frequent out-breaks of mob violence followed from this in various parts of the country and racial feeling directed against Europeans increased, whether they were engaged in commerce or in the service of Government. The leaders of the Khilafat party simultaneously employed languages which steadily increased in violence, and many sections of the Mahomedan community, which had hitherto been untouched by it, were permeated by the agitation which aimed at the restoration of the Sultan of Turkey to his temporal power and pre-war religious ascendancy. A series of speeches was made by the Ali brothers in the winter and the spring at various towns, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and in these speeches Great Britain was openly described as the arch-enemy of Islam, and they did all in their power to incite against the British the animosity of their co-religionists. They declared that a time would arrive when it would be incumbent on all Mussalmans as a religious duty to draw the sword in defence of their religion; nor did they hesitate to put forward the view that if a Mahomedan Power were to invade India with the object of avenging the cause of Islam they would support it. While their prosecution for these speeches was under consideration, their friends induced them to sign a public apology and to undertake that in future they would refrain from any writings which incited to violence or tended to the creation of an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. In a letter addressed in June 1921 to all Local Governments the situation was reviewed. The Government of India were still convinced, in spite of the disquieting symptoms to which reference has been made above, of the soundness of the general policy which had been pursued hitherto. They indicated at the same time that the attitude of Government should in no way be relaxed towards any advocacy of violence, including not only direct incitements but speeches calculated to give rise to feelings of disaffection, enmity or hatred, such as were likely to lead to violence, not as a remote or ultimate consequence but as a probable result in the near future.

Moslem Activity

5. A little time after this a more open form was assumed by the attempts to create disaffection in the ranks of the Police and the Army. There was widely published about mid-summer on the alleged authority of 501 Ulemas (learned men) a *Fatwa*, that is religious pronouncement, which purported to interpret the precepts of the Koran. All services under Government was declared in this

to be forbidden by the Mussalman religion, and service in the Police and the Army was stigmatised as a specially heinous sin. A resolution was passed at Karachi in July at the meeting of the All India Khilafat Committee, Mohamed Ali presiding, to the effect that it was incumbent on all Mohammedans as a religious duty not to join the Indian Army or to continue to serve in it or to give assistance in recruiting for the Army, and that the duty of all Mahomedans was to bring to the notice of the Moslem soldiers this religious injunction. Mohamed Ali, Saukat Ali, his brother, and 4 other Khilafat leaders, were afterwards prosecuted for this resolution and convicted, the conviction being under the ordinary law. In the month of July, riots or minor disturbances took place, with serious loss of life in some instances, at the following places :—Dharwar, Madras, Aligarh, Calcutta, Chittagong, Matuari, Karachi. A fuller account of these events will be found in the Repressive Laws Committee Report of the Indian Legislature together with its appendices. In the month of August took place the out-break of the Moplahs. This was an organised rebellion of a whole country-side which was populated by Moslem tribes of a peculiarly backward and ignorant character, whose fanaticism the Khilafat leaders had by their speeches and writings deliberately excited. Without doubt a considerable body of Hindu opinion was alienated from the Khilafat movement by this rebellion, in which many thousands of Hindus were plundered and many hundreds murdered, as it has become widely known that many Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam and Hindu temples desecrated. Attempts have been made to exploit to the discredit of the Government the lamentable railway train episode in which Moplah prisoners lost their life, but these have had little effect on Hindu opinion. Events in Malabar, however brought about no modification in the attitude of Gandhi. At Delhi on November 4th every Province was authorised by the Congress Committee to start civil disobedience. This authorisation stipulated, however, that conditions, such as proficiency in the spinning wheel, should be fulfilled, the nature of which was so impracticable as to indicate that the immediate inception of this policy was not desired by the Congress. On the day of the landing in India of the Prince of Wales, viz., 17th November, a general hartal (cessation of business) took place in Northern India in most of the principal towns. An enthusiastic welcome was received by the Prince in Bombay itself, but an attack by non-co operators on people returning from His Royal Highness's arrival developed into serious riots which lasted three days; in these several Europeans were murdered, and in all there was a casualty list of 53 killed and approximately 400 wounded. Wide-spread intimidation on the part of the volunteers marked



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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

in Calcutta; on a smaller scale the same thing occurred in other large towns.

November 17th and After.

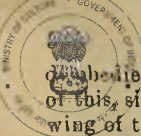
6. A new and dangerous situation confronted Government after the events of the 17th November. An increasing disregard for lawful authority and the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness had been engendered by the out-breaks of the last months, and it had become evident that a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction had been embarked on by many of the Volunteer Associations, to combat which it had proved ineffective to proceed under the ordinary criminal law. In many places these associations were at first recruited from educated classes, but as the campaign became more violent they began to draw adherents from unemployed labours, mill-hands and city-rabble, many of whom were paid for their service. Government decided in these circumstances that measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character should be resorted to, and information was sent to the Local Governments that sanction could be given to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act in any district where it was considered necessary to adopt that course. Instructions were also given to them that vigorous use should be made of the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act Part II., for combating the Volunteer Associations' illegal activities, and that troops should be employed more freely, both in order to re-inforce the police and to hearten and encourage all law-abiding citizens, and the measures to be taken in the event of civil disobedience being inaugurated were laid down. Provincial Governments were assured of the full support of the Government of India in checking disorder, while the formation of armed police battalions and the extensive enrolment of special constables was suggested. In particular, they were informed that they should not hesitate to prosecute any offenders against the ordinary law, however prominent their position, whose arrest and prosecution was, in their opinion, required for the maintenance of authority. Emphasis was laid on the importance of counteracting decisively the first active measures taken to give effect to civil disobedience. It was made clear that the full strength of Government's resources was to be employed, if necessary, for this purpose, and that the most prominent participants in the movement, not excluding Gandhi, should be arrested immediately and prosecuted. Action was promptly taken by practically all Local Governments in Northern India, in accordance with these instructions. The Seditious Meetings Act was introduced in most of the seriously affected districts in the Punjab, Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Burma. In some Provinces the various Associations had been proclaimed as unlawful under the Criminal Law

Amendment Act a few days before the receipt of our instructions and certain other Provinces have now issued similar proclamations. A large number of persons have also been arrested and convicted under that Act and other enactments for preservation of law and order. At the same time prosecutions were more freely instituted against newspapers, leaders and speakers who had incited to violence. Throughout the year proceedings had been taken against a number of persons who had directly or indirectly advocated violence. Although serious alarm had been caused among a substantial section of Moderate opinion by the turn events had taken in the middle of November, and it had demanded that sterner measures should be adopted by the Government, a disappointing revulsion of Moderate opinion in political and journalistic circles followed on the enforcement of the two Acts to which reference has been made above and the prosecution and conviction under them of a large number of persons.

An inclination was shown to represent the new policy as an interference with the freedom of association for political purposes and with the right of free speech, and there was a disposition on this ground to make common cause with the Extremists. It was urged by many of the leaders of Moderate opinion that a Round Table Conference should be held at which Government should be represented and all shades of political opinion, in order that some solution might be found of the situation through the means of some act of constructive statesmanship; there was advanced however no definite constructive suggestion. A deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 21st December in Calcutta advanced the demand for Conference. The speech of His Excellency explained to the deputation fully the reasons by which Government were induced to enforce special Acts. It emphasised the determination of Government to protect its law-abiding subjects, and a grave warning was in it conveyed as to the effect which affronts offered to the Throne were likely to produce on the public and on Parliament in the United Kingdom. Insistence was also made by His Excellency on the imperative necessity of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party as a fundamental condition which should precede the discussion of any question of a Conference. A steady effect was brought about in Moderate opinion by his speech.

The Ahmedabad Congress

During Christmas week the Congress held its annual meeting at Ahmedabad. Gandhi had been deeply impressed by the rioting at Bombay, as statements made by him at the time had indicated, and the rioting had brought home to him the dangers of mass civil



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DELHI

disobedience; and the resolutions of the Congress gave evidence of this, since they not only rejected the proposals which the extreme wing of the Khilafat party had advanced for abandoning the policy of non-violence, but whilst organisation of civil disobedience when fulfilment of the Delhi conditions had taken place was urged in them, omitted any reference to the non payment of taxes and were worded in such a way as to suggest that for the present civil disobedience would be restricted to defiance the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act directed against unlawful associations. Gandhi was appointed to be the sole executive authority of the Congress Committee. An overwhelming majority in the Subjects Committee of the Congress rejected the resolution as to a Round Table Conference, and it was made clear by Gandhi that any such Conference must be a Conference which would meet to register his decrees. In January there was held at Bombay a Conference of politicians outside the Congress-fold in order to formulate terms upon which it would be possible to have a Conference. The resolutions which purported to have been passed by this body were passed in reality by 20 only out of 200 persons. According to our information the attitude of Gandhi, who attended it and announced that he reserved the right to continue, during a conference, preparations for civil disobedience and the enrolment of volunteers, in return for the impossible conditions which Government were asked to accept, had the result that Sir Sankaran Nair, the President, withdrew and that Moderate opinion was alienated and disgusted.

Communication of the resolutions was subsequently made to His Excellency the Viceroy who in reply stated that the basis for any profitable discussion as to a Conference was not contained in them. The presentation of what was practically an ultimatum to the Viceroy by Mr. Gandhi followed on the 4th February. He declared in this document that the non-co operation party had had a campaign of civil disobedience forced upon them, in order that they might secure the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free Press, which he maintained that Government had sought by its recent measures to repress, and he charged the Viceroy with having rejected summarily the proposal for a Conference although the terms which had been accepted by the Working Committee of Congress accorded with the requirement of His Excellency as his Calcutta speech had indicated them. An announcement was at the same time made by him that if Government agreed to release all prisoners convicted and under trial for non-violent activities and gave an undertaking absolutely to refrain from interfering with all non-violent activities on the part of the non-co-operation party, he

would be prepared to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character, till the offenders now in prison had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation, while continuing the illegal and seditious propaganda of the non-co-operation party. It was in reply to this manifesto that the Government of India issued the communique already published,

Situation in February 1922

7. The following may be said to be the situation at the moment:—The lower classes in the towns have been seriously affected, although in the various items of its programme which have hitherto been attempted it has failed or secured but a partial success; and although the influence of the movement has been much smaller in the rural tracts generally, in certain areas the peasantry have been affected particularly in parts of the Assam Valley, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal. As regards the Punjab, the Akali agitation which the Extremists had fostered for their own ends has penetrated to the rural Sikhs. A large population of the Mahomedan population throughout the country are embittered and sullen as a result of the Khilafat agitation, the need for counter-acting which through a modification of the Sevres Treaty has been incessantly and emphatically urged by the Government of India. We desire to take this opportunity of reiterating our convictions as to the imperative necessity of conciliating Mahomedan opinion by the modification of Turkish peace terms. We believe that in the appeasement of 70 million Mohammedans of India and consequent relief to a situation of real danger, tranquility of India is of the utmost importance. Moderate opinion, on the other hand, has been alarmed and alienated by the recent declarations, and by the attitude of Gandhi. His failure so far to achieve any definite result has compelled him to resort to civil disobedience, which he proposes to start in Bardoli Taluka where he has a strong local following, and to join issue on grounds that will secure to the Government the maximum support for the measures it will take. While this entails grave possibilities, the Government of India are satisfied that the Army and the great majority of the Police are staunch. There is no disaffection on the part of the majority of the population, and there are now more promising economic conditions with a bumper harvest in prospect. Religious and racial feeling at the same time is so bitter that the Government of India are prepared for disorder of a more formidable nature than has in the past occurred, and do not seek to minimise in any way the fact that great anxiety is caused by the situation.

8. The Government of India desire in conclusion to make clear the principle which throughout has underlain their policy in regard to the non-co operation movement. Of the risks inherent

in this they have been fully conscious, and if the more drastic measures which have been demanded by some of their critics have not previously been adopted in dealing with it, this has not been owing to any distrust in their power to suppress any possible outbreaks nor because instructions from higher authority have tied their hands, but because their belief is that a statesman-like policy must have in view the ultimate, more far-reaching, and more enduring consequences of any action taken rather than the immediate effects. It is with the co-operation of the people of India that British rule in India hitherto has been carried on, and it is essential for its continued success that there should be such co-operation. It has therefore been regarded by the Government of India as of the utmost consequence that they should carry with them, so far as practicable in any measure that they took against the non-co-operation movement, the approval and acquiescence of Indian opinion. Evidence is given by the recent debates in the Indian Legislature that in this they have been largely successful. Nevertheless, though the impracticable nature of the demands of non-co-operation is realised by sober and sensible Indians, it has not been possible to ignore the fact that the non co-operation movement has to a large extent been engendered and sustained by nationalist aspirations, and, so far as Mahomedans are concerned, by religious feelings which have a strong appeal to those also who have not adopted its programme; and the Government of India have thought, bearing this in mind, that the path of wisdom lay in exercising, in regard to men swayed by such motives, as much forbearance as in the their judgment was consistent with their responsibilities. It is their belief that this policy will be justified by its fruits in the long run.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 9th February, 1922.

Following telegrams received from Government of the United Provinces :—

1.—Following press communique being issued :—

"Commissioner of Gorakhpur wires as follows regarding Chauri Chaura affair already reported—"Trouble arose as follows. On previous Wednesday an attempt to picket Muderwa Bazaar and prevent sales of fish, drugs, and liquor, had been frustrated by police; also an Abir Government pensioner, who was a previous convict and had become a volunteer, was called up and threatened with loss of his position. The volunteers determined on Saturday, that is, next bazaar day, to forcibly picket bazaar and over-awe all

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opposition by numbers. Owner of bazaar is a loyal Zamindar. They proceeded to bazaar through police station grounds. They attacked police station with kunkar and bricks. Eventually police fired in the air. The attack was renewed in greater force; the mob rushed the police and they fled, some into fields and some into buildings. A few police must have fired on the mob in earnest but, whether it was before the rush or not, I cannot say. The buildings were set on fire, and all the force there, except one constable and one chaukidar who escaped, were brutally beaten to death and then burnt. Also a little boy servant of the sub-Inspector was murdered. Resistance to mob was, I fear, badly organised. Then the mob tore up two rails on the line, cut the telegraph wire and scattered. In all 21 police and chaukidars killed and two rioters at least. The attack was deliberately organised by volunteers, but there was a big crowd with them. Number of crowd 1,500 to 2,000. I have just returned from Chauri Chaura. Impossible to give details at present. Military have arrived and police force of district has been strengthened. There is nervousness in other thanas, and requests for reinforcements have been received. No renewal of disorder yet. Investigation proceeding."

II—Commissioner's wire from Bareilly:—"Casualties yesterday's riots, one man killed on spot; two since died in hospital; five wounded now in hospital, including one woman; possibly five more wounded; number difficult to ascertain."

We have drawn attention of all local Governments by telegram to standing orders regarding firing in air, and directed them to impress these on district and subordinate officers.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to the Secretary of State for India, dated 14th February 1922.

Working Committee Congress passed following resolutions amongst others at Bardoli on 11th and 12th:—In view of fact that imminence of civil disobedience has always resulted in violent outbreak of disorder, Working Committee resolves that mass civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes and rent at Bardoli and elsewhere, be suspended till non-repetition of outbreaks is assured by atmosphere of non-violence. Working Committee advises cessation of activities designed to court arrest, and stoppage of all picketing save for peaceful purposes in liquor shops; further advises stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings in defiance of law. In view of complaints of laxity of selection of members of volunteer corps, Congress organisations are warned to revise lists and remove persons not conforming to standards already proscribed,

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Resolutions to have effect, pending meeting All-India Congress Committee. In the meantime Working Committee advises enlistment of crore of members of Congress to whom creed is to be carefully explained ; efforts to be directed to promote use of khadar and spinning wheels ; organisation of national schools ; amelioration of depressed classes, organisation of temperance campaign and Panchayats' Social Service Department to be emphasised ; and collections to Tilak Swaraj Fund to be encouraged. Special committee to be appointed to find employment for those giving up Govt. service.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to the Secretary of State for India, dated 28th February 1922.

In continuation of our telegram of 9th February—The massacre on the 4th February of 21 police by a mob of volunteers at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur, and in a lesser degree the serious rioting that took place on the following day at Bareilly shocked every shade of Moderate opinion throughout the country and led to a revulsion of feeling against the leaders of the non-co operation movement and the movement itself. The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th February, Gandbi presiding, and passed the resolutions which have already been communicated in my telegram to you of the 14th inst. As a consequence of this changed attitude on the part of the leaders, of which we received on the 13th February incomplete telegraphic information only, we decided that there should be a postponement for a short time of the institution of proceedings which had been proposed by the Government of Bombay against them and which had been approved by us, in order that we might ascertain whether it was really their intention to discontinue all illegal activities and whether their action would be endorsed by the Congress Committee. We reached this decision without consultation with the Government of Bombay in view of the urgency of the case : that Government were just about to make the arrest with our concurrence, and they had been urging for several weeks the prosecution of Gandbi. A public announcement has since been made by us in the Assembly that, so long as there was a continuance of any illegal activities on the part of the leaders, our policy towards the movement as a whole will undergo no change. The All-India Congress Committee is at the moment sitting at Delhi. The information we have received is to the effect that while confirming the resolutions passed at Bardoli, it has sanctioned individual civil disobedience and the picketing of liquor-shops and foreign cloth subject to certain conditions ; but any abandonment of aggressive measures may be opposed by the Khilafat Committee. So far as local developments are concerned the Moham-

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mean citizen population is quiet for the moment in the United Provinces, but very hostile and disorderly elements are very imperfectly controlled by the non-co-operator leaders. In the Punjab the strength of the Akali movement is increasing and it is more and more tending towards the defiance of the Government. There has been a development of the movement on lines of its own and independently of the main movement of non-co-operation. Some anxiety is caused by a fairly general strike of the Indian staff of the East Indian Railway, a strike which without doubt has been engineered for political purposes, but the latest information we have is to the effect that the situation is improving, that traffic conditions are becoming easier, and that men are beginning to return to work.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 1st March 1922.

Following is text of resolutions as finally passed by All India Congress Committee, night of 25th Feb. :—

"All-India Congress Committee, having carefully considered resolution passed by Working Committee at its meeting held at Bardoli on 11th and 12th inst., confirms the said resolution with modifications noted therein; and further resolves that individual civil disobedience, whether of defensive or aggressive character, may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of and upon permission being granted therefore by the respective Provincial Committees, provided such civil disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by Congress Committee or Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.

"Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor picketing, All-India Congress Committee authorises such picketing of a bona-fide character on same terms as liquor picketing mentioned in Bardoli resolutions.

"All-India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of original Congress programme of non-co-operation, or permanent abandonment of mass civil disobedience, but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by workers concentrating upon constructive programme framed by Working Committee at Bardoli.

"All-India Congress Committee holds civil disobedience to be right and duty of people to be exercised and performed whenever State opposes the declared will of the people. Individual civil disobedience is disobedience of order or laws by single individual or an ascertained number of group of individuals; therefore, a

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A prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets, to which no unauthorised admission is allowed, is an instance of individual civil disobedience; whereas a prohibited meeting to which general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of mass civil disobedience. Such civil disobedience is defensive when prohibited public meeting is held for conducting normal activity, although it may result in arrests. It would be aggressive if it is held not for any normal activity, but merely for the purpose of courting arrests and imprisonment."

From Viceroy, Home Department, to the Secretary of State for India, dated 1st March 1922.

In view of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee by which it is made clear that no fundamental change is to take place in the policy of the non-co-operation party, it has been decided by us that the Government of Bombay be informed that steps should now proceed for the arrest and prosecution of Gandhi, which in view of the facts stated in our telegram of the 11th February were postponed by us, and that action should be taken accordingly by the Government of Bombay.

From Viceroy, Home Department, to the Secretary of State for India, dated 5th March 1922.

Reference is requested to my telegram dated the 1st March. The Government of Bombay have telegraphed as follows:—

"It has been decided unanimously by the Governor of Bombay in Council that the prosecution of Gandhi should be proceeded with under the Indian Penal Code, Section 124A, in respect of four articles published in "Young India" as follows:—

- (1) 15th June 1921—"Disaffection—a Virtue."
- (2) 29th September 1921—"Tampering with Loyalty."
- (3) 15th December 1921—"A Puzzle and its Solution."
- (4) 23rd February 1922—"Shaking the Maues."

"A decision was also arrived at to proceed at the same time on the same charge against S. G. Banker, the printer of "Young India."

"Arrests will take place probably on the evening of the 9th, Thursday, at Bardoli."

From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 11th March 1922.

Bombay Govt. intimate that Gandhi was arrested evening of 10th.



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Proceedings of Congress & Conferences 1921



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Constitution of

The Indian National Congress Organisation

As adopted by the Congress of 1908, and amended by the Congress of 1911, 1912, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1920

THE OBJECT

ARTICLE I.—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

ARTICLE II.—*The Sessions of the Congress*—(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such a place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session ; and the Articles of this constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each session.

Component Parts of the Congress Organisation

ARTICLE III.—The Indian National Congress Organisation shall consist of the following :

(a) The Indian National Congress (b) Provincial Congress Committees (c) District Congress Committees (d) Sub Divisional, Taluqa or Tehsil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees (e) The All-India Congress committee. (f) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf (g) Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tehsil, Firka or other Local Congress committees such as the Reception committee of the Congress and the Provincial District, Taluqa or Tehsil or other Local Conferences.

ARTICLE IV.—*Membership*—No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 21 and expressed in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this constitution and of the Rules of the Congress



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ARTICLE 7.—The following shall be the Provinces with headquarters mentioned against them and, where no headquarters are mentioned or in every other case, the respective Provincial Congress committees shall have the power to fix or alter them from time to time.

PROVINCE	LANGUAGE	HEAD-QUARTER
1 Madras ...	... (Tamil)	Madras
2 Andhra ...	... (Telugu)	
3 Karnatak ...	... (Canarese)	Gadag
4 Kerala ...	... (Malayalam)	Calicut
5 City of Bombay ...	... (Marathi & Gujrati)	Bombay
6 Maharashtra ...	... (Marathi)	Poona
7 Gujarat ...	... (Gujrati)	Ahmedabad
8 Sindh ...	... (Sindhi)	
9 United Provinces ...	... (Hindustani)	Allahabad
10 Punjab ...	... (Punjabi)	Lahore
11 Frontier Prov. ...	... (Hindustani)	Peshawar
12 Delhi ...	... (Hindustani)	Delhi
13 Ajmer, Merwar, & Br. Rajputana ...	... (Hindustani)	Ajmer
14 Central Prov. ...	... (Hindustani)	Jubbulpore
15 Central Prov. ...	... (Marathi)	Nagpur
16 Berar ...	... (Marathi)	Amraoti
17 Behar ...	... (Hindustani)	Patna
18 Utkal Orissa ...	... (Oriya)	
19 Bengal & Surma Valley ...	... (Bengali)	Calcutta
20 Assam ...	... (Assamese)	Gauhati
21 Burma ...	... (Burmese)	Rangoon

Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular Provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All-India Congress committee to particular Districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress committees shall forthwith proceed to reorganise themselves in terms of this constitution. Such reorganisation shall be final, until it is revised by the All-India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE VI.—(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress committee in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress committee shall organise district and other committees referred to in article III and shall have the power to frame rules for laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business, not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All-India Congress committee.

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(c) Each Provincial Congress committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the district and other committees in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress committees.

ARTICLE VII.—*Membership of local Congress Organisation*—Every person not disqualified under article IV and paying a subscription of 4 as. per year shall be entitled to become a member of any organisation controlled by Provincial Congress committees.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Election of Delegates*—Each Provincial Congress committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress creed.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not of the age of 21 years and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand of the inhabitants of the Province in its jurisdiction, including the Native States therein, in accordance with the last census : provided, however that the inclusion of Native States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates and representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

The rules framed by each Provincial Congress committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th. April 1921, which rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress committee shall send to the Reception committee of the ensuing Session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the committee not later than the 1st day of December every year, and in the case of an Extraordinary session, not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such Session.

ARTICLE IX.—*Subscription*—(a) Each Provincial Congress committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(b) No Member of the Congress committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates or be elected as such, unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

ARTICLE X.—*Delegation Certificates*—Each committee referred



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to the Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates only elected in accordance with the form hereto attached, marked appendix A, and signed by the Secretary of the Committee.

ARTICLE XI.—*Delegation fees*.—Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress Pandal.

ARTICLE XII.—*Right to vote*.—Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

ARTICLE XIII.—*Reception Committee*.—The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

ARTICLE XIV.—The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office bearers from among its own members.

ARTICLE XV.—It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress Session, to elect President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following article, and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests, and as far as practicable of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit a statement of receipt and expenditure to the Provincial Congress committee within 4 months of the Congress Session.

ARTICLE XVI.—*Election of President*.—The several Provincial Congress committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are, in their opinion, eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress as the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one, but not more, of such names, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress committee is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress committees, or in the case of emergency, by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this

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In manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September : in either case the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress committee, subject to the same proviso.

ARTICLE XVII.—*Disposal of Funds.*—(a) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress committee of the Province, remit to the All-India Congress committee not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress Session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees from the Congress Fund.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress committee in the Province in which the session was held to form the Provincial Congress Fund for that province.

ARTICLE XVIII.—*Audit.*—The receipts and expenditure of the Reception committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the Auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All-India Congress committee.

The All-India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XIX.—The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of Ex-Officio members. The Ex-Officio members shall be all past Presidents of the Congress and the General Secretaries and treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within their jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of the population according to the linguistic redistribution of Provinces or in such other manner as may appear more equitable to the All-India Congress Committee, and shall be published by the All-India Congress Committee before the 31st day of January 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily be in the month of November.

The first All-India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th June 1921. Until then the members of the All-India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office.



ARTICLE XX.—The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All India Congress Committee to the persons so elected.

ARTICLE XXI.—The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress from year to year and deal with all the new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose, the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with their Constitution.

ARTICLE XXII.—(a) The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress committee for the year following.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—*The General Secretaries*—The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress committee during the year and submit it with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands to the All India Congress committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress committees.

ARTICLE XXIV.—*Working Committee*.—The All-India Congress committee shall at its first meeting appoint a Working committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and nine other members which shall perform such functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the All-India Congress committee.


ARTICLE XXV.—*Meetings of the All-India Congress Committee*.—The All-India Congress committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress committee.

The Subjects Committee

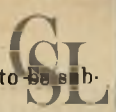
ARTICLE XXVI.—*Subjects Committee*.—The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects committee for the ordinary or the extraordinary session following.

ARTICLE XXIII.—The Subjects committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting, the President elect shall preside and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing sessions of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress committees for adoption.

ARTICLE XXIX.—The Subjects committee shall proceed to



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Discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

ARTICLE XXX.—The Subjects committee shall also meet from time to time as the occasion may require, during the pendency of the congress Session.

Contentious subjects and Interests of Minorities.—(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates as a body object by a majority of three-fourths of their number; and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are by a majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

ARTICLE XXXI.—*Rules.*—The All-India Congress committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its articles.

ARTICLE XXXII.—*Repeal.*—The article and the creed of the constitution now in force are hereby repealed without prejudice to all acts done thereunder.



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A PEN PICTURE OF The Ahmedabad Congress

BY M. K. GANDHI

THE Congress week was a week of joy and celebration. None thought that Swaraj was not attained. Every one seemed to be conscious of the growing national strength. There was confidence and hope written in every face. The Reception Committee had provided for admitting one hundred thousand visitors to the Congress pandal. But the lowest calculation puts down the figure at *two lacs*. The rush was so great that it became impossible to issue either season tickets or the entrance tickets. And this phenomenal attendance would have been still larger if all kinds of false rumours had not been started to scare away people. The imprisonment of leaders and workers and their courage has filled the people with a new hope and a new joy. There was a feeling in the air that the people had found in suffering the surest remedy for the attainment of freedom and breaking down the mightiest force that might be pitted against it.

The Constitution has worked for a year, and in my humble opinion, it has proved a thorough success. There was a serious business air about the Subjects Committee which had ample time for deliberation. It was a committee not chosen hap-hazard, but deliberately by electors who knew what they were doing. The Congress itself was an impressive spectacle. Hakimji made an ideal and patient President in the place of Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. The delegates insisted upon their doubts being solved before they voted. They insisted on understanding everything that was going on.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee, took no more than fifteen minutes to read his address in Hindi. There were no speeches to induct the President. The whole of the function was performed by the All-India Congress Committee. That saved at least two hours of the twelve thousand delegates and visitors. The President's address took no more than twenty minutes. Every speech was to the point and not a minute was allowed to be wasted in idle talk.

In the nature of things, too, it could not well be otherwise. The resolutions were addressed to the nation. They presented a programme of earnest work that had got to be done if the nation was to find her place in the world.

Extraordinary care was therefore taken both in the Subjects Committee and the Congress to see that the resolutions were properly understood before they were voted upon.



M. K. GANDHI ON

So much for the business side.

The Exhibition.

The spectacular was no less impressive. The pandal itself was a majestic structure covered with Khadi all over. The arches also of Khadi, the Subjects Committee pandal of Khadi. A beautiful fountain surrounded by green lawns ornamented the front of the pandal. At the back was a large pandal for overflow meetings where all that had gone in the Congress pandal was explained to the thousands of spectators, men and women, who could not gain entrance for love or money.

The whole ground was a blaze of light at night, and being on the river bank and just at the end of Ellis Bridge, presented for full eight days for thousands of admiring spectators on the other side a gorgeous appearance.

The Exhibition ground was quite near. It attracted huge crowds. It was a complete success. The attendance was beyond all expectation, no less than forty thousand visited the Exhibition daily. It was a unique demonstration of what India can produce. The chief attraction was the party from Chikakole who demonstrated all the processes of cotton leading to the drawing out of yarn up to 100 counts. No machinery could possibly make the snow like silver, that the delicate hands of the women of Andhra produced with their simple bones. No machine could draw the exquisite thread that the delicate fingers of the Andhra women drew. The music of the spindle, as it performed its gentle revolution, is incapable of being reproduced. The evolution that Khadi has undergone during the year could also be studied in a room where every variety of Khadi was collected. The paintings from 'Shantiniketan' and elsewhere, and the beautiful carvings, afforded instruction to the close student as well as the ordinary spectator. The musical concerts in which musicians from all parts of India took part was an irresistible attraction for thousands of spectators. It ended in the convening by Vishnu Digamber Shastri of the first All-India Musical Conference whose object is to popularise music in national assemblies and organise Bhajan Mandalis.

Khadi in Evidence.

The Khadi Nagar, the adjoining Muslim Nagar, and the Khilafat pandal next to it, were a triumphant demonstration of Hindu-Muslim unity and an ocular demonstration of the hold that Khadi has on the public. The Reception Committee used only Khadi manufactured in Gujrat and worth three hundred and fifty thousand rupees. The Committee paid Rs. 60,000 for the use of the Khadi. All the tents including a big kitchen and store house were covered with Khadi. Nearly two thousand volunteers, both Hindu and Mussal-

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men, and including a few Parsis and Christians, looked after all the arrangements for the guests in both Khadi Nagar and Muslim Nagar. The sanitary arrangements were a special feature. Trenches were dug for the purpose. Perfect privacy was secured by Khadi partitions. And the excreta were covered over with clean earth after every time the trench was used. It was therefore found to be in a clean condition. The work of attending to the trenches was done not by paid Bhagis but by unpaid volunteers belonging to all castes and religions. Those only were taken who had no repugnance to this necessary work. The reader may not know that the process is so clean and so expeditious that the cleaner does not have to touch either the excreta or the earth. He has but to take a few shovelfuls of the cleanest earth, and with it carefully cover up the dirt. The result of this simple attention was that the camp was clean, sweet and free from the plague of this. All the camps were lighted by electricity.

Women's Conference.

I must not omit to mention the Women's Conference presided over by Bi Amma, the brave mother of the Ali Brothers. It was a soul-stirring spectacle. The whole of the spacious pandal was filled by no less than fifteen thousand women. I do not say that they all understood what was going on. But I do say that they knew instinctively what it was. They knew that their assembly advanced India's cause and that they were expected to play their part side by side with men.

In the midst of all this rush there was, so far as I am aware, no accident. The police, be it said to their credit, never interfered with anything or any body. On the Congress side of the bridge all arrangements were left to the Congress and the Khilafat volunteers.

The Dark Side.

So far I have given the bright side of the picture. But like every picture the Congress picture too has its shades. Though there was the greatest enthusiasm, there was at times unruliness on the part of the visitors. When they grew impatient they made a rush for the pandal and forced entrance once or twice. It was all good-humoured but it could also prove disastrous. We must be able to regulate such functions in perfect order and that is possible only when the mass of people instinctively and voluntarily obey instructions from their own men. Self-restraint is the key to Swaraj, self-government. Even the delegates were not all punctilious in obeying instructions. Some of them would not even occupy the blocks reserved for them. They did not hesitate even to suggest that they were out for civil disobedience and would therefore sit where they liked. Even some members of the All India Congress Committee

are not above such uncivil criminal disobedience. Some delegates should not pay for their board and lodging. And I am sorry to say that there was even impersonation by at least one Gujarati who used a friend's ticket as visitor although he knew that the ticket bore his friend's name and that it was non-transferable. What adds to the grief is that he is a well-known member of the Provincial Congress Committee.

And After.

When, therefore, I think of the darker side of the picture, my heart sinks within me. I know why there is delay in our realising our ideal. But when I think of the brighter side, the picture is too attractive to enable the shades materially to mar its beauty. At the same time it would not do for us to be forgetful and relax our vigilance. The movement depends for its success only upon developing our moral strength. Even as one false note spoils a whole musical piece, so does a single individual suffice to crush a great movement like ours. Let us remember that we have staked our all upon Truth and Non-violence. Whatever others may be able to do being free from any such pledge, bound by our own pledge we are sure to fall to pieces, if we break our own deliberate pledge. As, therefore, I have often said in these pages, the thorough working of the Congress Constitution leads automatically to the establishment of Swaraj. Let us see.

Financial.

Though the All-India Congress Committee has a fair balance still at hand, the provinces undoubtedly will have used up the monies left with them. They have an automatic source of income. Every Congress member is able to pay four annas per year to enable him to retain his or her vote. If, therefore, each province has its quota of members, it must be able to collect at least Rs. 50,000, counting two lacs to be the least number on the roll of membership. I have been told that this is merely a mirage, that it costs more to collect the amount than it is worth. A government that spends more than it earns is a despotic or a corrupt government. The Congress is claimed to be a voluntary organisation. And if we are unable to collect our subscriptions at a nominal cost, we have no right to exist. Under Swaraj we shall expect to get our revenue at no more than 2-half per cent cost, and then not by force but by the free will of the people. The least therefore that we are entitled to expect is that every province must now be able to finance itself. It ought not to be difficult again to get at least one crore members, i. e. twenty five lacs of rupees throughout all India for membership. Indeed, if we are a growingly popular organisation, say government, we should be able to double our membership. We should be able



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to have enough number of unpaid honest volunteers to do just this one work of collection and no more. If we have not them we must declare our bankruptcy. If we represent a healthy and natural growth, we must be able to collect this nominal personal annual tax without any effort whatsoever. And as with the Congress organisation, so with its many institutions, colleges, schools, weaving factories, etc. No institution is worth keeping that does not command local support by reason of its own moral strength. Only that institution is a necessity in a district which is supported by its inhabitants. The biggest missionary institutions financed from America or England are a super-imposition and have nowhere been assimilated by the people. If the missionaries had from the very commencement relied purely upon the good will and support of the people, they would have rendered infinitely greater service to India. Even so, if Congress organisations and institutions are supported from the central body, they are likely to become foreign growths and hardly beneficial to the people. It may be laid down as a general rule that no local institution should exist which is not locally supported. Self-reliance is the surest test of capacity for self-government. It is possible that there are places or provinces which have not yet become self-conscious. They will need to be developed and helped in the initial stages. They cannot to-day be counted in any scheme of battle we may devise. In this swift struggle we must rely only upon those places that have developed political consciousness. It must therefore be in the rarest cases that the central body may be expected to finance local effort.

Untouchability

Similarly, we must make a herculean effort to deal with the question of untouchability. Not until the 'untouchables' certify to the reformation in Hinduism, may we claim to have done anything in the matter. To my dismay, I have found much misunderstanding on this question even in one of the most advanced and best awakened provinces, namely Andhra. The removal of untouchability means the abolition of the fifth caste. There should therefore be no objection to a *Panchama* boy drawing water from the common well of a village and to his attending its common school. He should freely exercise all the rights of a non-Brahmin. In the name of religion we, Hindus, have made a fetish of outward observances, and have degraded religion by making it simply a question of eating and drinking. Brahminism owes its unrivalled position to its self-abnegation, its inward purity, its severe austerity,—all these illumined by knowledge. Hindus are doomed if they attach undue importance to the spiritual effects of foods and human contacts. Placed as we are in the midst of trials and temptations

from within, and touched and polluted as we are by all the most touchable and the vilest thought currents, let us not, in our arrogance, exaggerate the influence of contact with people whom we often ignorantly and more often arrogantly consider to be our inferiors. Before the Throne of the Almighty we shall be judged, not by what we have eaten, nor by whom we have been touched, but by whom we have been served and how. In as much as we serve a single human being in distress, we shall find favour in the sight of God. Bad and stimulating or dirty foods we must avoid as we must avoid bad contact. But let us not give these observances a place out of all proportion to their importance. We dare not use abstinence from certain foods as a cover for fraud, hypocrisy, and worse vices. We dare not refuse to serve a fallen or dirty brother lest his contact should injure our spiritual growth.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

There is still much left to be desired as to Hindu-Muslim unity. The combination is still suspected to be a menace to the free existence and growth of the small communities. Let us not repeat the mistakes of the past regarding our attitude towards the Moderates or the Independents. They must not feel unsafe in our company but by our toleration we must disarm their suspicion and opposition except as to our deeds.

Civil Disobedience.

We dare not pin our faith solely to civil disobedience. It is like the use of a knife to be used most sparingly if at all. A man who cuts away without ceasing cuts at the very root and finds himself without the substance he was trying to reach by cutting off the superficial hard crust. The use of civil disobedience will be healthy, necessary and effective only if we otherwise conform to the laws of growth. We must therefore give its full, and therefore greater, value to the adjective 'civil' than to 'disobedience'. Disobedience without civility, discipline, discrimination, non-violence, is certain destruction. Disobedience combined with love is the living water of life. Civil disobedience is a beautiful variant to signify growth, it is not discordance which spells death.

THE CONGRESS IN SESSION

The momentous annual session of the Thirty-sixth Indian National Congress opened its session at Ahmedabad on December, 27th 1921 under a specially erected pandal on the bank of the river Sabarmati.

The pandal itself, a majestic structure admirably planned and covered all over with pure white *khadi* (hand-spun and hand-woven), presented an imposing appearance. The exterior resembled that of an ancient Indian Fort with three gates. The main *Sauraj gate* bearing the motto "Swaraj is my birth right", inscribed just above



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the central arch with a *charkha* immediately beneath, fixed in place and stood as the noble gateway to India's freedom.

With the change of India's political atmosphere the Congress also had changed its methods. Everything had business-like appearance and was devoid of superfluities. The decorations inside the pandal though simple were yet attractive. Changes in sitting arrangements were one of its features. The dais was slightly raised from the ground sloping towards the centre.

Quite in oriental fashion the whole audience squatted on the ground, the sand floor covered with Khadi serving the purpose of cushion. Only the acting President and Mahatma Gandhi were provided with stools to write on and the press representatives were supplied with desks.

The audience was composed of the three thousand members of the Reception Committee, five thousand delegates from the several provinces of India and four thousand visitors. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his *Young India* :—

An Instructive Table.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Reception Committee I am able to give the following table showing the number of delegates who attended the Congress and their composition :—

Number of Delegates

Name of Provinces.	No. of delegates under the Constitution.	Actual Arrivals.
Andhra	360	383
Kerala	160	33
Maharashtra	292	263
Karnataka	320	301
Gujrat	185	185
Bombay	18	17
Burma	100	56
Punjab & N. W. F.	540	518
Sindh	71	58
Delhi	100	92
Rajputana	400	369
Utkal	300	198
C. P. (Marathi)	50	44
Assam	63	17
Berar	61	58
Madras	410	162
Bengal	986	373
United Provinces	960	888
C. P. (Hindusthani)	209	205
Behar	588	559
TOTAL	6,173	4,726



M. K. GANDHI ON Analysis of the Attendance.

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Ladies	Musal.	Parsis	Sikhs	Antyazas	The rest.
8	10				365
	1				32
1	9				253
9	29				266
11	22	5		2	145
3	2				15
	2				51
17	67		55		380
1	11				51
7	13		4		68
11	13				375
	3				105
1	5				38
	2				15
2	5				5
2	13				147
10	36		4		323
10	114		3		761
6	29				170
7	83				468
106	469	5	65	2	4,079

It will be noticed that out of the total permissible (6,173, as many as 4,726 attended the Congress. Hitherto the number has been swelled by local delegates who could under the old constitution become delegates for the asking by simply paying Rs. 10. This time not even Pandit Malaviyaji could be regarded as a delegate because he was not elected. The actual attendance of 4,726 was therefore a fine record. That the United Provinces and Bengal, in spite of so many arrests, could have sent 888 and 353 respectively, and the far off Assam should have sent 17 and Utkal 108, shows the keen interest that is being taken in the National Assembly. No less remarkable is the attendance of 106 lady delegates representing almost all the provinces. The attendance of 65 Sikh delegates must also be regarded as altogether remarkable. Hardly a few Sikhs attended two years ago. But now that community is everywhere pushing itself forward in all national movements. The number of 469 Musalman delegates is a good number, but we must not be satisfied till we have got the full quota which must be more than 1,200. I am sure that there were more than 2 'untouchable' delegates. I cannot imagine the Punjab and the Andhra provinces not sending any such delegates. The presence of 5 Parsi delegates is of course beyond their numerical proportion which is 2. The Parsis, and as I have so often remarked, have in proportion to their numbers occupied the foremost place



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whether in point of sacrifice, attendance, ability or generosity. know as a matter of fact that there were at least two Christians. And of course, if Messrs. Stokes and George Joseph had been free, they would have attended. But it is up to the Hindus and the Musalmans to go out of their way to induce a more general interest in the movement on the part of the Christian community.

Visitors

If the attendance of delegates was most satisfactory, that of visitors was not less so. The troubled state of the country scared away the richest men, and so not a single ticket for Rs. 5,000 each was taken up: 21 however paid Rs. 1,000 each, 20 paid Rs. 500 each, 162 Rs. 100 each, 81 Rs. 50 each and 1,686 Rs. 25 each, making a total of Rs. 93,400 in receipts. The Reception Committee contributed more than its quota. The total strength was filled up, the receipts being Rs. 78,625. 11,261 Season Tickets of Rs. 3 each were issued permitting attendance everywhere but the Congress Sessions. 64,469 Four Anna Tickets were issued. As I have already remarked the issue of Season and Entrance Tickets had to be stopped owing to the great rush. Altogether Rs. 2,49,527 were received by the Reception Committee in various fees.

Members Present

Prominent among those present on the dais were Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Acting President, Mahatma Gandbi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Vallabbhai Patel, Chairman, Reception Committee, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Kastouri Ranga Iyengar, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhury, Hon. Mr. Bhurgri, Mother of the Ali Brothers, Mrs. Mahomed Ali, Mrs. Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Gandhi, Sreemoti Sarala Devi Choudhurani, Mrs. Sorojini Naidu, Mr Andrews, Mr. Abbas Tyabjee, Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel, Mr. Satyamurti, Mr. T. Prakasam, and Dr. T. S. Rajam.

The pandal, all in white, broken only by an artistic display of wreaths of flowers, with twelve thousand audience—dressed in white khadi, the majority having Gandhi caps on—presented a scene which can never be forgotten. Mahatma Gandhi, bare-bodied and bare-footed, having only a loin cloth round his waist, was the centre of attraction and admiration of all.



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Address Delivered By
Sj. Vallabhbhai Patel
Chairman, Reception Committee

AT THE THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

AHMEDABAD, 27TH DECEMBER 1921

In welcoming the Delegates, Mr. Patel, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, addressed the Congress in Hindi. The following is an English translation of his speech.—

Hakimji Saheb, Brother Delegates, Ladies & Gentlemen.—

Never before has the Congress met under auspices such as God has provided for us this year. We seem to be pulsating with joy when we might have been grieving over the separation of our loved and revered workers. I shall not call them leaders; for the year that is about to close on us has taught us that true leadership consists in service. And if we recognise that great and learned Musalmans and Hindus are now having their well-earned rest in the Government jails, we do so because they have served and suffered for us and earned the reward coveted by us and reserved by a Government which pretends to be based on principles of law and order but which is really based on force as is becoming clear day by day.

We had hoped that we would meet to celebrate the establishment of Swaraj and therefore endeavoured to arrange a reception befitting such an occasion. But though we do not meet to celebrate that happy event, God in His abundant mercy has sent us suffering to try us and make us worthy of so precious a gift. And therefore, viewing the imprisonments, assaults, forcible searches, breaking open of our offices and schools, as a certain sign of the approaching Swaraj, as a balm for the wounds inflicted upon our Musalman brothers and the Punjabees, we have not in any way altered or toned down our decorations, musical programme or other events, betokening joy and arranged for your reception.

But we do not ask you to judge our fitness for the honour of having you in our midst by the adequacy of our arrangements for your comforts and entertainment. I am fully conscious of our defects and the Reception Committee relies upon your generously overlooking them.



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CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

The Test

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But the test you imposed upon us and we gladly accepted was our response to the creative programme of Non-Co-operation with its life-giving and central fact of non-violence. Our dissociation from the institutions of a Government which seeks its safety by organising violence in the place of organising free public opinion and giving effect to it, meant our abstention under every circumstance from violence. I can truthfully claim that we have endeavoured to be non-violent in thought, word and deed. We have made a serious, definite effort to purify ourselves by conquering the weak flesh in us.

Hindu-Muslim Unity is its most visible symbol. Whereas hitherto we have distrusted and considered ourselves as natural enemies, we have begun to love each other and live in perfect friendliness. I am proud to be able to inform you that the relations between us have been and are not merely negatively friendly but we have been actively working together for the advancement of the national cause. Similarly we have cultivated sweet relations with our Parsi, Christian and other countrymen. Whilst we have vigorously prosecuted our programme we have endeavoured to retain friendly relations with those who have differed from us. We have recognised that toleration is the essence of non-violence.

As to the renunciation of titles and practice by lawyers we can, I am sorry to say, show nothing of which we can feel proud. The boycott of Councils was certainly extensive so far as voters were concerned. We have a creditable record about education. Some of the best schools and high schools have given up their connection with the Government and are none the worse for it. Attendance in most of the big national schools is on the increase. We have a National College and a National University to which institutions are affiliated. In the affiliated and other national schools there are 31,000 boys and girls receiving instruction.

Whereas two years ago there was hardly a spinning wheel working in our Province, to-day there are at least 1,10,000 spinning wheels at work. The output of *Khaddar* during the period under review is no less than two lacs of pounds. We have spent about 5 lacs in organising *Swadeshi*. The use of *Khaddar* in construction of the various pandals and *Khadi* Nagar is in my opinion a striking ocular demonstration of our work in the direction of *Swadeshi*.

In *Temperance* we have resorted to picketting on an extensive scale with encouraging results. We have been most careful in the choice of picketers. They have done their work under trying circumstances and some of them have received injuries at the hands of enraged drinkers and sellers.



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We have perhaps made the greatest advance in the matter of *Untouchability*. Our suppressed countrymen freely attend our meetings. The national schools are open to them in theory for which the Senate had to fight a tough battle. In practice, however, there is not yet the insistent canvass to bring the children of these countrymen to our schools and make them feel that they are in no way inferior to our own. Though therefore, our goal is not to multiply separate schools for such children, we shall be compelled to maintain such schools for such children for some time to come. But the removal of the curse is not to be gauged by the number of schools opened for them or even by their attendance in ordinary national schools. I am glad to be able to note that whilst we have yet much work to do in this direction, it has undergone a most noticeable change.

But I know that we have not passed through the fire of suffering that Bengal, the Punjab, the United Provinces and other Provinces are passing through. I am hoping that our non-violence, to which I have proudly referred, is not non-violence due to helplessness, but that is due to self-imposed restraint. The Government has provided for us an opportunity by taking forcible possession of national schools from the Municipalities of Surat and Nadiad. Ahmedabad has the same problem to solve. And it can only be solved by Civil Disobedience in the last resort. The *Tehsils* Bardoli and Anand are making elaborate preparations for mass Civil Disobedience. I bespeak the prayers of this great Assembly that God may give us the strength to go through the ordeal of suffering and enable us to stand shoulder to shoulder with other sister Provinces. At the same time I wish to assure you that we shall do nothing reckless, nothing that we as peaceful and peace-loving human beings may not do for the preservation of National self-respect or safeguarding of National rights.

I now ask Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahab to take the chair as Acting President. Though Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das is not in our midst in body, his pure, patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit is with us. He has sent his inspiring address full of religious fervour.

In the circumstance created for us by the Bengal Government, the All-India Congress Committee has followed the example of our brethren of the Muslim League when in the absence of Moulana Mahomed Ali, their President, they had to elect an Acting President. I know that in Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahab whom the All-India Congress Committee has elected to act in Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das's place, we have one of the greatest and noblest of our countrymen. For Hakimji is an embodiment of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He commands the confidence and the affection of Hindus and others equally with our Musalman brothers.



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Presidential Address

Delivered By

Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb

AT THE THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

AHMEDABAD, 27TH DECEMBER 1921.

[Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Acting President, spoke in Urdu. The following is an English translation of his address :—

Brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen :—For the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress we are assembling under circumstances when, as a result of the latest repressive measures of the British Government in India, our duly elected President is not amongst us. It is a matter of deepest regret to all of us that Mr. C. R. Das is not with us to guide our deliberations to-day. It is superfluous for me to enumerate the numerous national services of that great patriot from Bengal or refer to the prominent place he occupies in the political and social life of our country, when the nation has itself unequivocally said in what esteem it holds him by conferring on him the greatest honour in its giving. But while we regret his absence on that account it should be a matter of deepest satisfaction to us all, both because the man whom the nation had chosen as its chief representative has, by his undaunted courage, splendid self-sacrifice, and spirit of cheerful suffering, proved himself worthy of the great honour conferred on him, and because his arrest brings us a stage nearer to our success. Mr. C. R. Das has done greater service to his country by his arrest than he would probably have done by presiding over our deliberations to-day. His arrest has infused greater spirit and determination into the hearts of national workers and galvanised the entire country to greater activities and sacrifices.

I, however, realised my own inability to fill the place of Mr. C. R. Das and while thanking you for the great trust you have reposed in me by electing me to act for him, I hope and trust that I will prove myself worthy of the great honour you have conferred on me, not only in this pandal, but when the time comes for me to make for my country and my God the sacrifice that it has been the good fortune of many of our noble brethren to make.



It will take a long time to enter upon a detailed survey of the progress of Non-co-operation movement since the last session of the Indian National Congress. I will only briefly touch on the advance the country has made since the inauguration of non-violent Non-co-operation. The spirit of Non-co-operation pervades throughout the country and there is no true Indian heart even in the remotest corner of this great country which is not filled with the spirit of cheerful suffering and sacrifice to attain Swaraj and see the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs redressed. It has received the highest tribute that a nation could pay to another from our sister nation across the Indian Ocean. Our Egyptian brethren have adopted it to fight their own political battle. It should be a matter of pride to all of us that India is showing the way to other sister countries. Non-violent Non-co-operation has ceased to be an Indian movement. It is fast becoming an Asiatic movement and the day is not distant when the conscience of the world will adopt non-violent Non-co-operation as a world weapon against universal injustice and untruth. Who can deny the success of the spirit of Non-co-operation movement in India after witnessing the cheerful spirit with which our workers have made and are making willing sacrifices for the cause of their country and are going to gaol in ever-increasing numbers with a smile on their lips? What is still more, not even this intense repression has provoked violence. It has only redoubled the national determination. Every successive fit of repression on the part of the Government, whether it was in connection with the confiscation of the *Fatwa of Jama'at-ul-Ulema*, the famous Karachi trial, or the wholesale application of the Seditious Meeting Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, or Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, by means of which the right of association and the peaceful activities of the Volunteer Organisation, together with the other elementary rights of Citizenship were suppressed, have had but one effect, viz, the determination on the part of the people to continue their national activities and to persist in their demand. A ceaseless pilgrimage to the gaol is kept up in vindication of the primary rights of citizenship in all the Northern Provinces of India as also in Maharashtra and Andhra. The nation to-day realises the grimness and the gravity of the great struggle it is engaged in and is behaving with cool determination worthy of heroes fighting for a noble cause.

Nor is the time at which we are waging this noble struggle inopportune. Not only is the conscience of Asia and Africa awake and active but there are signs, feeble no doubt yet full of hope and

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precise, that the conscience of Europe too is at last rousing itself from its long slumber.

Prince's visit

I must add one word about the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. We have no quarrel with His Royal Highness. But we do not want a bankrupt Government to re-establish its fallen political credit by making a capital out of his Royal Highness's visit. Nor is the country in a mood to accord the Prince a cordial welcome so long as the two sores of the Kbilafat and the Punjab are still running and Swaraj is still unattained. We, therefore, resolved simply to refrain from taking part in the welcome to His Royal Highness. And if there have been any regrettable incident with consequent bitterness of spirit, the responsibility for it lies entirely at the door of the Government that betrayed such lamentable lack of sense and judgment and acted in a manner utterly unjustifiable.

Success of Non-co-operation

Our critics say that Non-co-operation movement had failed and in support of their statement point to the Government Educational Institutions, the ranks of the Title-holders, the members of the new Legislative Councils and the Bar of the various High Courts. My answer to that, if answer be still needed after what I have just said, is that so far as the Government Educational Institutions are concerned, I would invite the attention of our critics to what the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University had to say on the effect of the Non-co-operation movement. That result was achieved inspite of the fact that we had not made provisions for a sufficient number of National Colleges and National Schools for the students who left their institutions. As to the Title-holders and Members of the New Legislative Councils, the classes which would naturally not be the first to respond to such an appeal, what is their position? Where is their prestige to-day? It has fallen lower than the Czarist rouble. The Government may still manufacture and place them in the market but the public simply does not care for them. And after all it is the public opinion that gives them value and currency. As to the lawyers, it is true that with some noble exceptions, they have not, as a class, responded to our appeal as they ought to have done. But as we develop our Panchayat system, a work to which we have not been able to devote much of our time and energy, the legal practitioners would soon fall in with the public opinion. The question of the Government servants is slightly different and comparing the number of resignations offered last month with the average for previous months we have no reason to feel dissatisfied with the progress non-co operation is making in that direction, specially the



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Increased number of resignations is unquestionably the result of the policy of intensive repression adopted by the Government.

The Moderates and N-C-O

True, there are some of our Moderate brothers, with genuine love of our common country in their hearts, who for want of true appreciation of the real nature of the struggle we are engaged in and the issues that it involves, have not yet taken their proper place in the national ranks. But I feel sure that if the fire of patriotism is still alive in their hearts, and I feel confident that it will not die, they will soon realise their mistake and will be found taking the place of their brothers whose names figure on the National Roll of Honour.

Tragic Events in Malabar.

I cannot close without referring to the tragic events that are daily taking place in Malabar and the prolonged agonies of our unfortunate Moplah brethren. And here I must make it quite clear that this question has two aspects; one with reference to the Government in the country and the other with reference to the treatment by the Moplahs of their Hindu brethren. As to the first, judging from the evidence before the public, one cannot help coming to the conclusion that the responsibility of provoking these disturbances rests entirely on the shoulders of the Government; while as to the method adopted in suppressing these, there will be no thinking person in the country who will not condemn them. All of us who have had the experience of Amritsar know the horrible nature of this "pacification." It was only accidentally that the terrible train-tragedy was revealed to the public the other day! But how many other tragedies there are that have not come to light!

As to our Hindu brethren who have been forcibly converted or have otherwise suffered at the hands of some of the Moplahs, I fully sympathise with them and there will be no Muslim worthy of the name who will not condemn this entirely un-Islamic act in the strongest possible terms. I feel sure that these stray incidents are the acts of a few misguided individuals and that the rest of the Moplahs are as ready and strong in condemning them as any of us here. Still I should not like the fair name of Islam to be tarnished in the slightest degree and I sincerely regret these deplorable incidents.

Reaching the Goal.

Ladies and gentlemen, our country is experiencing terrible convulsions, but it requires no prophet to foretell that these are the birth pang of Young India that will revive the glorious traditions of this our ancient country and take its proud place by the nations of the world.



The Undelivered Presidential Address of Sj. C. R. Dass

[The following is the undelivered Presidential address of Mr. C. R. Das, the President-elect of the Ahmedabad Congress which was written just on the eve of his arrest by the Bengal Govt. and sent in fragments to Mahatma Gandhi with instructions to revise it and put it to shape.]

Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee and Delegates of the Indian National Congress :—

We have arrived at a critical stage in our struggle with the Bureaucracy, and it behoves us, every one of us, to search our hearts and to ask ourselves the question, "Do I stand for India in her present struggle?" It is because I stand for India that I have responded to your unanimous call to-day. I thank you for your confidence in me; but I warn you that I have no worldly wisdom to offer you. I come from a city which has felt the full force of the wrath of the Government. Measures for stifling political life have been taken, as I believe, in order to coerce the people to receive His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; but it is the imprisoned soul of Calcutta that will greet His Royal Highness on the 24th December. I come from the struggle which has just begun in Calcutta, chastened and purified; and, if I have no worldly wisdom to give, I at least bring before you unbounded enthusiasm, and a resolute determination to see this struggle through.

What is our aim?—Freedom

I think that at the very outset we ought to define our attitude in relation to the present struggle. What is our aim? Whither are we going? I think that most people will agree that we are out to secure freedom, freedom from foreign subjection, freedom from foreign interference. It is as well, however, that we should have a clear grasp of what is meant by the word "Freedom." In the first place it does not imply absence of all restraint. When I am forbidden to steal my neighbour's purse or to trespass on my neighbour's land, there is necessarily a restraint on my action; but there is no opposition between freedom and such restraint as has

the sanction of the people behind it. In the second place, freedom does not necessarily imply absence of the idea of dependence. Dependence there must be so long as we live in society, and need the protection of society; and there is no necessary opposition between freedom and such dependence as is willingly suffered by the people. But though there is no necessary opposition between freedom and restraint, and freedom and dependence, it must be remembered that restraint that does not deny freedom can only be such restraint as has the sanction of the people behind it; and dependence consistent with freedom can only be such dependence as is willingly suffered by the people for its own protection.

What then is freedom? It is impossible to define the term; but one may describe it as that state, that condition, which makes it possible for a nation to realize its own individuality and to evolve its own destiny. The history of mankind is full of stirring stories as to how nations have striven for freedom in order to keep their nationalism and their individuality inviolate and untarnished. To take only modern instances, one may refer to Finland and Poland, Ireland, Egypt and India. Each of these nations has offered a determined resistance to the imposition of a foreign culture upon it. The history of these nations has run on parallel lines. First, there is the protest against cultural conquest; secondly, there is the desire for national education; and lastly, there is the demand for its recognition as a separate organism with the power to work out its own destiny without any hindrance from any foreign power.

Western culture & Indian Nationalism.

We stand then for freedom, because we claim the right to develop our own individuality and evolve our own destiny along our own lines, unembarrassed by what Western civilization has to teach us and unhampered by the institutions which the West has imposed on us. But here a voice interrupts me, the voice of Rabindranath, the poet of India. He says, "The Western culture is standing at our door; must we be so inhospitable as to turn it away or ought we not to acknowledge that in the union of the cultures of the East and the West is the salvation of the world?" I admit that if Indian nationalism has to live, it cannot afford to isolate itself from other nations. But I have two observations to make to the criticism of Rabindranath:—first, we must have a house of our own before we can receive a guest; and secondly, Indian culture must discover itself before it can be ready to assimilate Western culture. In my opinion, there can be no true assimilation before freedom comes, although there may be, as there has been, a slavish imitation. The cultural conquest of India is all but

complete; it was the inevitable result of her political compass. India must resist it. She must vibrate with national life, and then we may talk of the union of the two civilizations.

I must dispose of another objection, this time of my Moderate friends. "You concede," I hear them say, "that freedom is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, the end being self-realisation, self-dependence, self control; why not work out your destiny within the British Empire?" My answer is that so long as India occupies the position of a dependent in the British Empire, so long the task cannot be undertaken. Go into the villages, the heart of India, and see the life that is lived by the average Indian. They are sturdy men and fearless men; they are men of whom any country would be proud; but the degradation that must inevitably follow subjection is writ large on their brow, and their lot is made up of caste troubles, petty squabbles, and endless pursuit of litigation for litigation's sake. Where are now the institutions that made them self-dependent and self contained? Where is the life that enabled them to earn their livelihood and yet left them free to worship the God of their fathers? I assert that once a nation passes into subjection, degeneration must inevitably set in attacking the very life-blood of that nation. Its effect is to be seen not in this sphere or that sphere but in every sphere of the nation's activity. Economically, the British rule has had a disastrous effect on our national well-being. Mr. R. C. Dutt and after him Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya have shown how deliberately the destruction of our national industry, the spinning and weaving industry, was planned. Who can contemplate with equanimity that every year many crores of rupees go out of India without corresponding advantage? Morally, we are becoming a nation of slaves, and have acquired most vices of the slave. We speak the language of the master, and ape his manners: and we rush with alacrity to adopt his institutions while our own institutions lie languishing in the villages. Intellectually, we have become willing victims to the imposition of a foreign culture on us; and the humiliation is complete when we are deliberately breaking away from the past, recognising no virtue in its continuity. "But then," say my Moderate friends, "How can you hope to win freedom until you have elevated the people?" If I am right in my diagnosis that the present condition of India, material, moral and intellectual, is the direct result of the foreign rule in India, then it must follow that so long as our subjection continues, so long there is no hope of recovery. You may, of course, tackle side problems, as we are trying to do. You may infuse such enthusiasm amongst the people as may be of great assistance to you in your political campaigns. But,

believe me, it is the disease that you must fight, and not the symptoms of the disease.

I object then to the perpetuation of British domination as in my opinion it is impossible to find the fulfilment of our nationality, our individuality, our personality so long as that domination continues. In arriving at this conclusion I have entirely ignored the character of the British rule in India. That rule may be good or bad, it may be conceded that it is partly good and partly bad, but my conclusion is based on the view that there is inherent in subjection something which injures national life and hampers its growth and self-fulfilment. Whether within the Empire or outside India must have freedom so that she may realize her individuality and evolve her destiny without help or hindrance from the British people.

What are the methods?

I now come to the question. What are the methods which we ought to adopt in our fight with the Bureaucracy! There are three, and only three methods that I know of:—(1) armed resistance, (2) co-operation with the Bureaucracy in the Councils that have been established under the Government of India Act, and (3) non-violent non-co-operation. The first I must dismiss as beyond the range of practical politics. Even if it were not so, on principle I am opposed to violence. We must then choose between co-operation and non-co-operation.

I confess that in considering the question of co-operation, I am not a little troubled by the fact that some of our leaders who assisted at the birth of political life in India are ranged against us on the question. I therefore propose to consider some of the arguments that are advanced against us by these supporters of the Government of India Act; and in doing so I shall consider, first, whether the freedom of the Indian nation, that is to say, its right to develop its own individuality and evolve its own destiny, has been recognised in the Act; secondly, whether the Act either expressly or by necessary implication gives even the beginnings of responsible Government to the Indian people: and lastly, whether the legislature has any control, effective or otherwise, over the purse.

Government of India Act criticised.

Now the Preamble of the Act is the key to the situation. "Whereas it is the declared policy of Parliament": so the Preamble runs. What is the declared policy of Parliament? To recognise the inherent right of the Indians to responsible government? Not at all. To recognise the inherent right of India to be treated as a free and equal partner of the commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire? Not at all. But, mark the timid concession

to the rights of India, "To provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire." I do not think a more halting concession could ever be made to the rights of a people. Now, is there anything in the Preamble to compel the British Parliament to recognise India, at any time, as a free and equal partner of the British Empire? I think not. "Progressive realization of responsible government in British India"! These are vague words, and they will not, at any time, tax the ingenuity of a British statesman. Omitting the second paragraph and coming to the third, we find "that the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." Mark the word "peoples," not "people," an assertion by the Parliament that India is not one, but many. I, for one, am not prepared to submit to the insult offered to India in the third paragraph of the Preamble, and I feel bound to protest against it. We are quite prepared to undertake the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people (not peoples), and I altogether deny that a foreign Parliament can possibly discharge its responsibilities in relation to a subject nation. I resent the doctrine that the Parliament is to determine the time and manner of each advance, and I say that the whole object of the legislation, as disclosed in the third paragraph of the Preamble, is to perpetuate the domination of the British Parliament, which I cannot for a moment accept. The fourth paragraph holds out a distinct threat: "And whereas the action of Parliament", so it says, "in each matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."—In other words, if we are good boys, and if we satisfy the British Parliament that we have a sense of responsibility, then the British Parliament will consider whether we ought not to have a further instalment of reforms. In other words we are perpetual infants, and the British Parliament is our sole guardian.

Freedom is my birthright.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great respect for the opinion of my political opponents, but I cannot accept the fundamental principle on which the Reform Act is based. I think that we should preserve our self-esteem, whatever the stage of our progress may be. I think that we should solemnly declare in open Congress, that freedom is inherent in every nation and that India has and



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possesses the right to develop her own individuality and to settle her own destiny unhampered by what the British Parliament has decided or may decide for us. I think we should recognize that any power that in any way hampers or embarrasses the self-realization and self-fulfilment of the Indian nation is an enemy of India and must as such be resisted. I am willing to co-operate with England, but on one condition only, that she recognises this inherent right of India. That recognition you will not find anywhere in the Government of India Act, and I, for one, will not be a party to the perpetuation of British domination in India. But my Moderate friends tell me, that though the freedom of the Indian people, in the sense in which I understand the term, has not been recognised in the Act of Parliament, still, if we work the reforms, it will not be in the power of Parliament to withhold that freedom. I do not doubt the wisdom of my friends nor deny their patriotism; but the question, in my opinion, is entirely irrelevant. My position is this, that however willing I may be to enter into a compromise with the English Government in matters of detail, and I am willing to make great sacrifices, I will not enter into any compromise on the question which I hold to be fundamental. Freedom is my birthright, and I demand a recognition of that right, not by instalments nor in compartments, but whole and entire. I do not doubt that victory will be on our side; but supposing we fail, we would at least have preserved inviolate our national self-respect and dignity, we would at any rate have repudiated the insult on which the Government of India Act is based. The difference between the Indian National Congress and the Ministers who are working the Reforms Act seems to me to be fundamental, in that the former has its eye fixed on the ultimate and would reject as essentially false anything that does not recognise the freedom of the Indian people; whereas the latter have their eyes fixed on the departments of which they are in charge, and hope to attain freedom through the successful working of those departments.

The Position of the Indian Ministers

I will now consider whether the Act gives even the beginnings of responsible government to India, and whether the Legislature has any control over the purse. The two questions must be considered together. It is the view of the Moderates in Bengal that out of seven members of the Bengal Government, five are Indians. The view is entirely erroneous. I think I am right in saying that provinces are governed, in relation to Reserved Subjects, by the Governor-in-Council, and in relation to Transferred Subjects, by the Governor acting with Ministers. The statute makes no provision whatever for the joint deliberation by the Governor and his Council and his Ministers sitting together, except in regard to proposals for

taxation and borrowing, and the framing of proposals for expenditure of public money. In regard to the reserved subjects, and these are subjects which are of vital importance to us as a nation in our struggle for political liberty, the Ministers have no voice whatever. I think I am right in saying that they are the dumb spectators of the fight that is now going on between us and the Government to consider whether, in relation to the non-co-operation movement, a repressive policy should or should not be initiated in the country. Their advice would not be sought when the local Government has to consider the question whether Mahatma Gandhi ought or ought not to be arrested. If I am right in my views as to the position of the Ministers in relation to the reserved subjects, then I suggest to my Moderate friends that they are under an entire misapprehension when they say that a majority of the members of the Government are Indians. The truth is that in relation to the reserved subjects the Indian element is in a minority and cannot affect the policy of the Government in the slightest degree, provided the Governor and the English members of the Council combine against it.

I have now to consider the position of the Ministers and the relation between the Ministers and the Legislature in regard to the transferred subjects. My first point is, that it is a mistake to suppose that any "subjects" has been transferred to the Ministers. I concede that certain departments have been transferred, but I maintain that they have been transferred subject to the encumbrances created by a century of bureaucratic rule, and the Ministers have no power whatever to discharge those encumbrances. I will at once make my meaning clear. Now Medical administration is an important department of the State; and so is Public Health. These departments, I understand, have been transferred to the Ministers, and the Minister, provided he has complete control of the "subject," is in a position to confer a lasting benefit on the community. But what is the position? The Minister has no effective control over the officers who run the departments, and no voice whatever in the selection of his own officers. It is a peculiar circumstance in the history of the bureaucratic rule in India that whenever the people have cried for something essential to their existence, the Government has given them expensive administration, expensive offices and expensive buildings instead. The test whether the "subject" has been transferred to the Minister is this: Is the Minister for Health under the law in a position to take up this attitude, "I will recast the whole system under which these departments have hitherto been administered. I will abolish the Indian Medical Service, and employ local agencies who would know how to disinfect a well and what steps to take in the case of an epidemic. I will then have more

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money to spend on the needs of the people?" But, no! This attitude the Act denies to him, and yet it is said that the subject has been transferred to him. One of the Ministers in India described his position in bitter terms in the course of a Council debate. He complained that if he applied to the Medical department or the Sanitary department for doctors to meet an emergency they said to him in reply, "We have no doctors." If he took the responsibility of sending doctors to the affected area, the Medical department said to him: "We do not recognise your doctors, and you must pay them out of your own pocket." When I point out to you that the Minister in question is the Minister in charge of the Medical department and Sanitary department, you will grasp the full significance of the "transfer of subjects" that has taken place under the Act. Well might a Minister exclaim, as one actually did, "Silver and gold have I none, but of such as I have I give unto thee", that is, sympathy. He added that he could only give sympathy because the purse was held by somebody else, that is to say, the Finance Member.

The Control over the Purse.

This brings me to a question of great importance and that is whether the Legislature has any control over the purse. The Moderates maintain the affirmative of the proposition; I maintain the negative. I shall presently refer to the provisions of the Act to support my position; but I have a witness of undoubted position and respectability in my favour whose evidence I should like to place before you. In the course of the general discussion on the Budget in one of the Councils a Minister said as follows: "The two poor men who have been put down here as Ministers are presumed to be clothed with all the powers of Ministers in the House of Commons, and therefore they are called upon to account for everything for which perhaps a Minister in the House of Commons is responsible. The Minister here begins his life by getting a dole of money that is given by those who are in charge of the whole administration." The question is whether the Moderates are right or the Minister in question is right. Both may be wrong; but both cannot be right.

Under the rules framed under the Government of India Act, the framing of proposals for expenditure in regard to Transferred and Reserved Subjects is a matter of agreement between the Members of the Executive Council and the Ministers, but if they do not agree as to the apportionment of funds between Reserved and Transferred departments respectively, the Governor has the power to allocate the revenues and balances of the province between Reserved and Transferred Subjects by specifying the fractional proportions of the revenues and balances which shall be assigned to

each class of subject. What, then, is the position? The Moderates proudly assert that the majority of Members of the Government are Indians. If that were so one would expect the question of apportionment to be decided in accordance with the view of the majority; but that is not done because the entire scheme is based on the distrust of the Ministers. We have, therefore, this result that if the Members and the Ministers are unable to come to an agreement the matter is decided by the Governor who may act either in accordance with his own direction or in accordance with the report of an authority to be appointed by the Governor-General in this behalf on the application of the Governor.

This is the impossible position in which the Minister is placed by the scheme framed under the Act; but what is the position of the Council? Has it any power to say, "We require the funds to be apportioned in the way we suggest and not according to the proposal made by the Government?" Can it say, "We require you to spend so much to fight malaria or so much for primary education"? The Act undoubtedly gives power to the Council to refuse its assent to a demand or to reduce the amount therein referred to either by a reduction of the whole grant by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed. But this is subject to an important proviso, viz. that the local Government shall have power, in relation to any such demand, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to, if the demand relates to a reserved subject, and the Governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject. This, according to the Moderates, is the effective control which the Legislature has over the purse. It has no power whatever to say in what proportion the revenue of the country should be allocated between Reserved and Transferred departments respectively; it has no control whatever over the revenue allocated to the Reserved Subjects. All that it can do is to say to the Ministers, "We refuse our assent to your demand", or, "We reduce the amount referred to in your demand either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed." It is ridiculous to describe the limited control exercisable by the Council in relation to the Transferred Subjects as "an effective control over the purse".

In administrative matters, the position of the Minister is no better. The Act provides that in relation to transferred subjects, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers, unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case



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It may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice. In a dispute between the Minister in charge of the Department of Health and his officer on a question of policy, it is possible for the Governor to support the officer against the Minister. In matters of legislation in relation to the Transferred Subjects there is in theory some power in the legislature, but in practice the finance department, controlled by a member of the Executive Council, would have the last word on the subject; for I can conceive of no legislation which does not involve expenditure of money, and it is the duty of the finance department (of which, be it remembered, the Minister is not a Member) to examine and advise on the scheme of the new expenditure for which it is proposed to make provision in the estimates.

In regard to the whole scheme, it is legitimate to ask, "Does it secure even the elementary rights which every citizen under any civilised Government possesses? Is repressive legislation impossible under the Act, except with the consent of the people? Does it give to the people the right to repeal the repressive legislation which disgraces the Statute book of India? Has a repetition of the Punjab atrocities been made impossible?" I think I am right in saying, that in regard to all these matters the position is exactly the same as it was before the Reform Act.

No Peace with Dishonour.

This, then, is the scheme which is being worked by the Ministers, and we have been solemnly assured by the Moderates that the beginning of Swaraj is to be found in the scheme. Much as I would like to end all unnecessary conflict, I cannot recommend to you the acceptance of the Act as a basis for co-operation with the Government and I will not purchase peace with dishonour, and so long as the Preamble to the Government of India Act stands and our right, our inherent right to regulate our own affairs, develop our own individuality and evolve our own destiny, is not recognised, I must decline to consider any terms of peace.

The only method, therefore, of warfare open to us is non-cooperation, and that is the programme which we adopted at two successive Congresses. We are devoted to the doctrine of non-cooperation, and you will not expect me to discuss its ethics. But there are friendly critics whose doubts we ought to dispel, if it is in our power to do so. They say that the doctrine of non-co-operation is a doctrine of negation, a doctrine of despair; they stand aghast at the narrowness, the exclusiveness which such a doctrine implies; and they draw our attention to the trend of political

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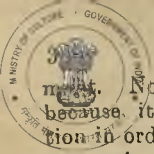
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events in the world, and they ask us whether there is any hope for a nation that is determined to live a life of isolation.

What is Non-co-operation.

I feel bound to answer the questions which have been raised by these critics, and, in doing so, I must ask myself the question, "What is Non-co-operation?" I find it easier to answer the question by considering for a moment what is not non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is not a refusal to co-operate with the English people because they are English people. Non-co-operation does not advocate a policy of separation, a policy of isolation. Indeed in our conflict with the forces of injustice and unrighteousness, we are not forgetting Him, to quote the words of Rabindranath, "Who is without distinction of class or colour, and Who with his varied *Shakti* makes true provision for the inherent need of each and every class." But before we can join the forces of the world in the missionary enterprise to uplift humanity, it is at least necessary that we should find fulfilment in self-realization and self-development; for it is only as a nation that has realised itself that we can hope to be of any service to humanity. Let us consider the matter for a moment. Our philosophy recognises that there is an essential unity behind all diversities, and that the diversities, "*Vaichitrya*" if I may use that expression, constitute the "*Lila*" of the Supreme Reality. The whole object of human endeavour, as I understand it, is to reconcile these endless diversities so as to affirm the Supreme Reality. God's *Lila* requires that every manifestation must have an unhampered growth. Every nation on the face of the earth represents such a manifestation. Like the various flowers in a garden the nations must follow their own laws and work out their own destiny, so that in the end they might each and all contribute to the life and culture of humanity. In order that humanity may be served, the ultimate Unity realized, that essential something which distinguishes one nation from another, which I may describe as the individuality of the nation, must have unfettered growth. This is the essence of the doctrine of nationalism for which men have been ready to lay down their lives. Nationalism is not an aggressive assertion of its individuality, distinct and separate from the other nations, but it is a yearning for self-fulfilment, self-determination and self-realization as a part of the scheme of the universal humanity by which alone humanity can fulfil itself, determine itself and realize itself. Non-co-operation, therefore, though it does not refuse co operation with the English because they are English, will refuse to co-operate with any power or institution which embarrasses in any way the growth of the individuality of the Indian nation or hampers its self-fulfil-



Non-co-operation again does not reject Western culture because it is Western. But it recognises that there must be rejection in order that there may be whole-hearted acceptance. The cry for national education is not a protest against foreign education. But it is a protest against the imposition of foreign culture on India. Subjection is hard to bear, whether it be political or cultural ; and indeed, as history shows, cultural subjection must inevitably follow in the wake of political subjection. Our desire for national education is only an endeavour to establish a continuity with the past and to enthrone our culture in our hearts. The doctrine that we preach does not exclude any light that may come from outside ; but we say to those who care to listen to us, "First light the lamp that lies neglected in your home : look into the past and realise your present position in the light of the past : and then face the world with courage and receive whatever light that may come from outside."

Doctrine of Non-co-operation.

What then is Non-co-operation ? I cannot do better than quote the eloquent words of Mr. Stokes : "It is the refusal to be a party to a preventable evil ; it is the refusal to accept or have any part in injustice ; it is the refusal to acquiesce in wrongs than can be righted, or to submit to a state of affairs which is manifestly inconsistent with the dictates of righteousness. And, as a consequence, it is the refusal to work with those who on grounds of interest or expediency insist upon committing or perpetuating wrong."

But it is argued that the whole doctrine is a doctrine of negation, a doctrine of despair. I agree that in form the doctrine is one of negation, but I maintain that in substance it is one of affirmation. We break in order to build ; we destroy in order to construct ; we reject in order to accept. This is the whole history of human endeavour. If subjection be an evil, then we are bound to non-co-operate with every agency that seeks to perpetuate our subjection. That is a negation ; but it affirms our determination to be free, to win our liberty at any cost. Nor do I agree that the doctrine is one of despair. It is a doctrine of hope and of confidence and of unbounded faith in its efficacy. One has only to look at the faces of the sufferers as they are led to prison to realise that victory is already ours. It is not for nothing that Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, courageous and resourceful, have lived and suffered. It is not for nothing that Lajpat Rai, one of the bravest of spirits that ever faced the sun, flung the order of the Bureaucracy in its face, and marched boldly into the prison that awaited him. It is not for nothing that Motilal Nehru, that prince amongst men, spurned the riches that were his, and defied the order that would enslave him,

realising no pain that the malice of power could invent. Time will not permit me to read to you all the names that are inscribed on the roll of honour; but I must not forget to mention the students who are at once the hope and the glory of the Motherland. I, who have been privileged to watch the current of political life in its very centre, can testify to the wonderful courage and unflinching devotion displayed by the students. Theirs is the inspiration behind the movement, theirs the victory. They are the torch-bearers of the time; they are the pilgrims on the road. If suffering has been their lot, victory is their due.

This, then, is the philosophy on which the non-co-operation movement is based: to defy with absolute constancy the hostile powers that would hamper in any way our growth and self-fulfilment as a nation, to keep its evil always in view, not bating the power, but recognising its evil as an evil and refusing no suffering that the malice of that power can invent. I admit, gentlemen, that the ideal is very high, but I maintain that it is the only method which we can adopt for the early establishment of 'Swaraj.' It requires no wisdom to see that if every one of us withdraws our helping hand from the machine that is relentlessly working to prevent our growth and self-realization as a nation, the machine must of necessity stop its work. We are told, however, that once the machine of government stops its work, we shall be swept away by the forces of disorder and reaction. There is a simple answer to this argument. The non-co-operation movement can never hope to succeed, unless our forces are properly organised, and the ethics of the movement properly understood by the nation. If they are not understood, the question will not arise, for we cannot then hope to carry the struggle to a successful termination; but if they are understood, then the inherent strength of the movement will prevent anarchy and bloodshed. But I cannot disguise from myself the fact that there have been disturbances in Bombay in the course of our propaganda. We must accept responsibility for such disturbances and frankly admit that, to the extent to which there has been violence, intimidation and coercion, we may be said to have failed. But what is the remedy? Surely not to abjure our faith, but to see that the faith is properly understood. Bloodshed and disorder have been associated with every great movement that has taken place—the spread of Christianity, for instance. But is it to be argued, that because in the spread of a New Idea there is danger of disorder and disturbance as it comes into conflict with old ideals and the old view of life, the missionaries must of necessity stay their hand and decline to carry the Light they feel? Such an argument is not worth a moment's consideration. You may argue, if

you like, that our doctrine has not yet been understood by the people. You may argue, if you choose, that our programme ought to be revised in the light of the disturbances which have taken place in Bombay. But the fact that disturbances have in fact taken place in a single small area is no argument against the essential truth of our movement. We must meet the situation with courage and devise means to prevent the recurrence of those disturbances; but I cannot and I will not advise you to stay your hand from the non-cooperation movement. The fact that India has remained calm in spite of the recent arrests shows that the Bombay lesson has gone home. The recent manifestation of courage, endurance and remarkable self-control has, in my opinion, demonstrated the efficacy and the necessity of non-violent non-cooperation. And nothing can stop our onward march if the same spirit is still further developed and retained to the end.

A question to Lord Reading

Ladies and gentlemen, the success of our movement has made a deep impression on the Bureaucracy, if we may judge by the repressive policy which it has initiated and is carrying into effect. I observe that His Excellency the Viceroy objects to the policy being described as "repressive," but I have yet to know that the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act are part of the ordinary Criminal Law of the land. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, these were two of the Acts that were considered by the Committee appointed to examine repressive legislations. It is true that the Committee consisting of an Indian Chairman and six Indian Members out of eight were unable to recommend the repeal of these two Acts. They have only shown what confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. But the fact remains that the Acts were treated as repressive laws and discussed as such. Lord Reading is obviously in error in suggesting, as he has done, that the arrests now being made in Calcutta and in other parts of India are under the ordinary criminal law of the land. His Excellency asserts that there are organised attempts to challenge the law, and he does not understand what purpose is served by flagrant breaches of the law for the purpose of challenging the Govt. and the order to compel arrest. I would, with all respect, put one question to His Excellency. If Japan planted her national flag on Australia and gave Australia such freedom and such constitution as we enjoy under Great Britain, neither more nor less, what would His Excellency's advice be to the Australians, if they were determined to win freedom at all costs? And if Japan promulgated repressive laws without the sanction of the Australians, prohibiting meetings and declaring as unlawful all voluntary associations through which alone the Austra-

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MR C. R. DAS'S ADDRESS

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light could have to work for national regeneration, what would His Excellency's advice be to the Australians, supposing they solemnly agreed to defy such laws and disregard the orders issued under such laws? I venture to think that His Excellency does not understand the situation which has arisen in India; therefore he is puzzled and perplexed. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has adopted the policy of non-co-operation as the only legitimate political weapon available for its use. That is not breaking the law. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has decided to boycott foreign goods, and especially foreign cloth. That is not breaking the law. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has decided to boycott the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. That is not breaking the law. Now, in what way is the Congress to carry on its work except through the voluntary organisations which you have proclaimed under the Indian Criminal law Amendment Act? In striking at these voluntary organisations, you strike at the Congress propaganda which, you are bound to admit, is not unlawful. Why should it puzzle Your Excellency, assuming you credit us with the same amount of patriotism which you have, that we have solemnly resolved to disobey your orders and court imprisonment? I assert that it is you who have broken the law and not we. You have transgressed the law which secures to every subject freedom of speech and action so long as the speech and the action do not offend against the ordinary criminal law of the land. You have transgressed the law which secures to the subject the unrestricted right to hold meetings, so long as these meetings do not degenerate into unlawful assemblies. These are the common law rights of the subject which you have transgressed, and I would remind Your Excellency that it is on the due observance of these elementary rights that the allegiance of the subject depends.

But then, it is said that these associations interfere with the administrations of the law and with the maintenance of law and order. If they do, then the ordinary criminal law is there, and it ought to be sufficient. I have heard of no instance of violence in Calcutta, certainly none was reported to the police. Charges of violence can be investigated, and therefore they were not made. But charges of threat and intimidation are easy to make, because they cannot be investigated. I would ask the authorities one question: Was any case of threat or intimidation reported to the police? Has the local Government found, on enquiry, that quite apart from general allegations which can easily be made, there were specific cases of threat or intimidation practised by the non-co-operators on the "loyalists" of Calcutta? An English Journalist, signing himself as "Nominis Umbra," gave as his opinion to an English paper in Calcutta that the *hartal* was willingly acquiesced in by the people.

We read in "A Ditcher's diary" in *Capital* of the 24th November last: "The people surrendered at discretion, but it was impossible for a careful observer not to see that not only were they for the most part willing victims of new zoolum, but also that they exulted in the discomfiture of the Sirkar." If that be so, then what case is there for the declaration under Sec. 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act? Was the position in Calcutta on the 17th Nov. last worse than the position in England when a big strike is in progress? And is it suggested that there resides any power in the Cabinet of England to put down a strike and prevent picketing? No, gentlemen, the real object of the application of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act is not to protect society against the threats and intimidation of the non-co-operators, but to crush the Congress and the non co-operation movement. It is to such threat that you have to return an answer.

There is another object which the Government has in view: it is to make by threat, intimidation and coercion, the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Calcutta a success. On your behalf I would respectfully lay before His Royal Highness our wishes of good-will to him personally. There is no quarrel between us and the Royal House of England; but he comes here as the ambassador of a Power with whom we have decided not to co-operate; as such we cannot receive him. Also we are in no mood to take part in any rejoicing. We are fighting for our elementary rights freely to live our own life and evolve our own destiny according to our lights. It would be sheer hypocrisy on our part to extend a national welcome to the ambassador of the Power that would deny us our elementary rights. There is, in the refusal to extend a national welcome to His Royal Highness, no disrespect either to him or to the Royal House of England. There is only a determination not to co operate with the Bureaucracy.

Mr. Das's Presidential Address was read out to the Congress by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Having finished reading Mrs. Naidu said:—

This is the message that comes to us from the Great Hero of Bengal who instead of adorning the "Musnad" of the President to-day has battered his individual liberty for national freedom, and this is the message of his wife:

Mrs. Das's Message to the Congress.

"Let every man and woman in India ask himself or herself to day this one supreme question, and this question only: DO I STAND FOR INDIA IN HER PRESENT STRUGGLE?"

Let us search our hearts and directly answer it now or never. We must decide and the responsibility for the decision is ours. The country demands strong and resolute action. If we feel in our heart of hearts that we stand for India in her struggle for freedom then we must act, act, act. We ask for no more. We expect no less. Let therefore every delegate of the Congress be sworn in as a Congress volunteer. Let every man and woman in India to-day offer himself or herself as a Congress volunteer. Let the whole country be mobilised for Congress work. Let all our noble activities be suspended till the struggle in its present form be finished. Men and women of India, act, act, act directly, act while time is yet."

This also is a clarion call because in the service of the nation the voice of men and the voice of women may not be divided, neither may their action, neither may their aspiration, neither may their lives, neither may their destiny, nor their liberty (Applause).

THIS BROUGHT THE FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS TO A CLOSE. THE PRESIDENT ADJOURNED THE CONGRESS TILL THE NEXT DAY.

THE THIRTY SIXTH

Indian National Congress

SECOND DAY—28TH DECEMBER 1921.

The Congress resumed its sitting for the second day on the 28th December at 2 p.m.

After Dr. Ansari had finished reading the telegraphic messages of sympathy, the President requested Mahatma Gandhi to place the Resolution standing in his name before the House. He allotted two hours for its discussion—half an hour to Mahatma Gandhi the mover, 10 minutes to the seconder and 5 minutes to each supporter.

Mahatma Gandhi then climbed the rostrum and moved the following Resolution :—

The Resolution

"Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect,

"And whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government,

"And whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj,

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"This Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and re-affirmed at Nagpur and places on record the final determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation.

"And whereas by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Governments of India and of the various Provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps and forcible prohibition of public and even Committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces,

"And whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their attendance,

"This Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration, to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the Volunteer Organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the Resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last.

"Provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge:—

THE VOLUNTEER'S PLEDGE

"With God as witness I solemnly declare that—

- (1) I wish to be a Member of the National Volunteer Corps.
- (2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.
- (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.
- (4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.
- (5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall, on all possible occasions, seek personal contact with an endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.
- (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers, and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.
- (7) I am prepared to suffer IMPRISONMENT, ASSAULT, or even DEATH for the sake of my religion and my Country without resentment.
- (8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependants.

Call to the Country.

"This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations.

"Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and, in as much as even Committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of Committee meetings, and

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of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets, and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

" This Congress is further of opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried, and therefore advises all Congress workers and others, who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise individual civil disobedience, when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of Non-violence, and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the all India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

"This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon civil disobedience, whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, instructions are to be issued under proper safeguards from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned ; all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

Call to Students

" This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions, and the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of the National Volunteer Corps.

Mahatma Gandhi invested with full powers

" In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress, whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints, until further instructions, Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with full powers of the All India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All India Congress Committee, also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

" This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors, all his aforesaid powers.

" Provided that, nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

Congratulations.

" This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country, and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj."



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MAHATMA GANDHI'S SPEECH

After reading the resolution and explaining it in the vernacular Mahatma Gandhi said :—

Hakim Sahib, brothers and sisters,—It has taken me exactly 35 minutes to read the resolution in English and in Hindustani. I shall hope, if I can at all avoid it, not to take even the 30 minutes that Hakimji Sahib has allotted to me. And I do not propose, if I can help it, to take all that time because I feel that the resolution explains itself. If, at the end of fifteen months' incessant activity, you, the delegates assembled in this Congress, do not know your own minds, I am positive that I cannot possibly carry conviction to you even in a two hours' speech ; and what is more, if I could carry conviction to you to-day because of my speech, I am afraid I would lose all faith in my countrymen, because it would demonstrate their incapacity to observe things and events—it would demonstrate their incapacity to think coherently ; because, I submit, there is absolutely nothing new in this resolution that we have not been doing all this time—that we have not been thinking all this time ; there is absolutely nothing new in this resolution which is at all startling. Those of you who have followed the proceedings from month to month of the Working Committee, of the All India Congress Committee every three months, and have studied their resolutions, can but come to one conclusion, that this resolution is absolutely the natural result of national activities during the past fifteen months ; and if you have at all followed the course, the downward course, that the repressive policy of the Government has been taking, you can only come to the conclusion that the Subjects Committee has rightly come to this resolution ; and that the only answer that a self-respecting nation can return to the Viceregal pronouncements and to the repression that is overtaking this land, is the course mapped out in this resolution.

The bearing of the Resolution

I am not going to take the time of English-knowing friends over the religious subtleties of the pledge that the volunteers have to take. I wish to confine my remarks in Hindustani to that subject. But I want this assembly to understand the bearing of this resolution. This resolution means that we have outgrown the stage of helplessness and dependence upon anybody ; this resolution means that the nation through its representatives is determined to have its own way without the assistance of any single human being on earth and with the help of only God above.

This resolution, whilst it shows the indomitable courage and the determination of the nation to vindicate its rights and to be able to

stand the world in the face, also says in all humility to the Government, 'No matter what you do, no matter how you repress us, we shall one day wring reluctant repentance from you ; and we ask you to think betimes, and take care what you are doing, and see that you do not make 300 millions of India your eternal enemies.'

Door open for Government

This resolution, if the Government sincerely wants an open door, leaves the door wide open for it. If the Moderate friends wish to rally round the standard of the Khilafat, round the standard of the liberties of the Punjab and therefore of India, then this resolution leaves the door wide open for them too. If this Government is sincerely anxious to do justice, if Lord Reading has really come to India to do justice and nothing less,—and we want nothing more,—then I inform him from this platform, with God as my witness, with all the earnestness that I can command, that he has got an open door in this resolution if he means well, but the door is closed in his face if he means ill, no matter how many people go to their graves, no matter what wild career this repression is to go through.

A real Conference of equals

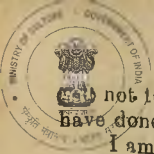
There is every chance for him to hold a Round Table Conference, but it must be a real conference. If he wants a conference at a table, where only equals are to sit and where there is not to be a single beggar, then there is an open door and that door will always remain open. There is nothing in this resolution which any one who has modesty and humility need be ashamed of.

Challenge to authority.

This resolution is not an arrogant challenge to anybody but it is a challenge to the authority that is enthroned on arrogance. It is a challenge to the authority which disregards the considered opinion of millions of thinking human beings. It is a humble and an irrevocable challenge to authority which in order to save itself wants to crush freedom of opinion and freedom of association—the two lungs that are absolutely necessary for a man to breathe the oxygen of liberty ; and if there is any authority in this country that wants to curb the freedom of speech and freedom of association, I want to be able to say in your name, from this platform, that that authority will perish, unless it repents before an India that is steeled with high courage, noble purpose and determination, even if every one of the men and women who choose to call themselves Indians is blotted out of the earth.

No peace at any price

God only knows, if I could possibly have advised you before to go to the Round Table Conference. If I could possibly have advised



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not to undertake this resolution of Civil Disobedience, I would have done so.

I am a man of peace. I believe in peace. But I do not want peace at any price. I do not want the peace that you find in stone; I do not want the peace that you find in the grave; but I do want that peace which you find embedded in the human breast, which is exposed to the arrows of a whole world but which is protected from all harm by the Power of the Almighty God.

I do not want to take any more time of you, delegates. I do not want to insult your intelligence by saying a word more in connection with this resolution (Cheers).

Mr. Patel's Speech

Mr. V. J. Patel in seconding the resolution said that not only did he fully support the resolution, but he agreed with every word that had fallen from the lips of the Mahatma. Never was there such a crisis in the destiny of India under the British as now. Thirty crores of Indians had fallen under British slavery. Lord Reading, who had come to India to give her pure justice, had told them that Swaraj could only be obtained in two ways: one, by means of the sword and the other, by way of gifts or '*bakshish*'. If India wanted Swaraj they were told that they must win it by sword or from the British people as a gift. There was no other way. The resolution only asked for what they had demanded both at Nagpur and Calcutta. He would tell the Government that there was a third way to Swaraj and that was Civil Disobedience and the time had come for them to put it into force. He hoped every Indian heart would be glad to know that it was so. Every one of them, man and woman, must either go to jail or die, or get Swaraj. If they had not the courage to go to Jail or die, he asked them to vote against the resolution. If they thought that without Civil Disobedience, without going to jail, without making themselves ready for death, they could get Swaraj, then they must vote against the resolution. When they voted for the resolution they either consented to go to jail or die. If they were unable to win Swaraj it was better they should disappear from the face of the earth. If they agreed with these things, then let them vote for the resolution.

He wanted to address a word to the Government. Let the Government tell them what they wished to do in this connection.

Indians wanted liberty and full liberty as was mentioned in the proclamations. The only difference between the people and Government was this that Government never kept their promise. Therefore, the Indians would no longer place their faith in any such promise. If the Government mean well, then let them grant Swaraj

to the Indians—now and immediately. He warned the Government against wanton repression. If they suppressed the Congress movement which worked in open daylight there would spring up secret societies as in Bengal. Therefore he warned the Government against repression.

He appealed to the Moderates not to non-co-operate with the Congress but to non-co-operate with a Government which wanted to take away the elementary rights of citizens.

Maulana Abdul Majid in supporting the resolution said that the Congress wanted action not words. Let them stand firmly by the resolution until they had reached their goal. Civil Disobedience was their only weapon and they must make the fullest use of it.

Maulana Suleman Nadir in rising to support the resolution said that this non-violent non-co-operation was not only for India but for the whole world. If they did not make their endeavours in a non-violent manner there would be not only bloodshed but factions between the various communities. Their goal was clear. Whatever provocation might be given them they would never resort to violence.

Srimati Mangala Devi said that India was a land proud of her spiritual culture and she believed that the new force that was created in India would not only benefit her sons but the whole of humanity. She gave her whole-hearted support to the resolution.

Swami Sri Bharati Krishna Teertha Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Shri Sharada Peeth then seconded the resolution and addressed the Congress in English :—

Sisters and Brothers,—It is now one year since we resolved to begin the programme of Non-co-operation in the normal session of the Congress at Nagpur ; and the preamble to that resolution stated that because the Government refused to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and because we were determined to achieve Swaraj within the year, therefore we had no option but to declare non-co-operation with the Government. One year has passed now and it behoves us to think of our duty at the present day and to prolong our fight. It is under these circumstances that we meet to-day. We find that far from redressing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and devising a satisfactory scheme of Swaraj the Government has gone to the extent of declaring unlawful even the activities of the Khilafat and Congress Volunteer Associations. Under these circumstances we have to think of the next step that we should adopt in order to achieve our purpose.

We find, in the second place, that the highest representative in the judicial line of His Majesty the King of England in India



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declared openly or virtually that the whims and orders of petty officials of Government are superior to God's Law—superior to the Imperial Proclamations of three successive Sovereigns of England and also to their own regular laws. On the other hand, we find that every ethical and religious code insists that God's law is superior to man's. What should we do under these circumstances? We can not go back upon our policy of non-co-operation. That is absolutely unthinkable. We began non-co-operation because we wanted the *Khilafat* and the Punjab wrongs to be redressed and the *Swaraj* to be achieved. None of these three things have taken place, and therefore, if we are to be faithful to our pledge taken at Nagpur last year, we should have no justification for going back an inch from the policy of non-co-operation. On the other hand, the repression and injustice having progressed in the opposite direction, it is our duty to think of further steps and not of retracing what we have taken.

And therefore, specially because God's law has been throttled down and man's law prevails, it is our duty to declare, unwillingly though, civil disobedience towards all unrighteous orders. Civil disobedience is an elementary spiritual duty in the face of all unrighteous orders. We, in India, have the example of *Prahlad* who disobeyed the unrighteous orders of his father, the King *Hyronyakashipu*. In the scripture of the Christians—we have in the Old Testament the example of *Daniel* which is also on a par with that of *Prahlad*. It is in all the scriptures of the world, the elementary principle that a man shall not, for any worldly cause whatsoever, whether out of fear or for favour, disobey the law of God—the law which he regards as divine. It is just because of this elementary principle that the Ali brothers and others at Karachi have their loyalty put to the test. It is because of this elementary principle that they cheerfully went to jail. Their whole defence was that the Islamic Law which they regarded as the divine law gave them no alternative but to take their stand upon it and which they did. If we believe, if any person here believes that God's law is superior to man's—that the individual conscience is the final arbiter in matters pertaining to religion and morality, he has no option but to stick to the principle of Civil Disobedience with regard to all unrighteous orders. Therefore it is that the programme of Civil Disobedience has become the duty of the country to adopt.

While I say this with utmost gladness, I am unfortunately in such a position that I cannot honestly say that I see eye to eye with the mover and other speakers on the programme laid before you. Because I believe that Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience, in order to be effective, looking at it merely from an worldly

point of view, depend upon the united co-operation of all the people in the country. If all of us will co-operate amongst ourselves and non-co-operate with the Government, every department, nay, every office of the Government must come, not to a comma—not to a semi-colon or a colon but to a fullstop (Laughter). If we give room for unnecessary controversy inside ourselves our progress will to that extent be weakened. We already have divisions in the camp owing to the Moderates, or co-operators as they are called, holding aloof from us. I may tell you, with reference to the Karachi Case, that if the Moderates had stood side by side with the Nationalists there was no chance of that conviction of the six of the accused there.

Under these circumstances I feel that it is the duty of the Congress not to force upon others, who disagree from us, the view which we earnestly take. I refer to one clause—the first part of the pledge which the programme requires every volunteer to take, that is, with regard to the question of untouchability. I spoke last year at Nagpur on the resolution when this question was taken up and you will remember that resolution called upon the religious people of India to take vigorous steps for the elevation of the depressed classes. Therefore you will acquit me of any intention to go back or to take a reactionary attitude in the matter. But my position is this: Just as we demand the liberty of our conscience for ourselves so we shall give the others the same. And from this point of view too God's law should be placed above man's and this principle should be applied to all equally. I do not say that we have any right to force others to take the same view. So too we should give to others the same liberty. If we have a large number of people who satisfy our requirements in every other respect but do not see eye to eye with us, we have no justification, from this general point of view of principle or of expediency, to coerce them to accept our view on pain of being shut out from all possibility of participation in this national work.

That is why I say that there ought to be a separate resolution in the nature of a recommendation on this subject and it should not be made a restriction.

Similarly we find that the resolution speaks of the wearing of Khadi only to the exclusion of every other kind of cloth. And the Delhi resolution, with regard to Civil Disobedience, requires every civil resister to know how to spin and weave. I have no objection to that. But I do not feel justified in insisting that a person who fulfils all the other recommendations including the one about untouchability but is unable to weave or spin for himself should be debarred from becoming a worker, because he cannot wear Khadi. Shall he therefore unhesitatingly kill a cow if called upon to do so

official order? Shall he obey such order or disobey it? By-
tly, according to the programme, he will not be allowed to
disobey it at any rate under the auspices of the Congress.

These and some other elementary matters regarding liberty of
conscience excepting, I am fully with the resolution. I am for a
complete policy of Non-co-operation and for Civil Disobedience to
all orders of an unrighteous character—the unrighteousness being
determined by the individual conscience under the dictates of
ethical and religious codes to which we are pledged by our religion.

With these words, I would desire that the various parts of the
resolution may be put to the vote, clause by clause, and not put
before the audience as one substantive proposition, which should
either be accepted or rejected. I am unfortunately in the position
that I do not support it entirely nor do I oppose it entirely.

With these words I would ask you to consider the question
carefully and come to a decision as to the redress of the Khilafat and
the Punjab wrongs and the establishment of real Swaraj.

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa said that the Parsi community fully
supported the resolution. It was Dadabhai Naoroji who had first
unfurled the banner of Swaraj at Calcutta, and it was impossible
that the Parsis could lag behind in this struggle for Swaraj.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the great Bengalee Poetess, in further
supporting the resolution said: "Citizens of the India of which
we dream to-day but which we shall achieve to-morrow, you have
heard representatives of all the great religions of India to-day. You
have heard the Moslem, the Hindu and the Sikh. You have heard
the men and the women speak. I speak not as representing
any religion, any province, any sex to-day, but arrogant as it might
seem, in all humility I say, I speak as the Spirit of Free India
(Hear, hear). Therefore, I stand up to offer my support to
this great resolution which has been placed before you, not in the
manner of resolutions of 36 years' experience, of resolutions from
the platform of the National Congress, but which has been thundered
out to you with the voice of a prophet from the mountain top of
vision and of hope. (Cheers). I am not one who cares for Govern-
ments or authorities. I care only for principles and ideals. I am
not one who panders to expediences. I acknowledge and follow
only the wisdom of the ever-living Truth. Therefore, if I stand
before you to speak, it is because I am the voice of your own heart,
the very innermost secret surging voice of your own conscience,
your own aspirations, your own hopes, your own certainty.

A Challenge

What does this resolution say? What does it mean? What
challenge does it affirm? What does it deny? It denies the right

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MRS. NAIDU'S SPEECH

of the most powerful Government on earth to trample on the heart and soul of a living nation. What does it affirm? It affirms, in the words of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, that "Liberty is our Birthright," and we shall have Liberty to-day. What is the challenge thrown to the Government? It says, as Mahatma Gandhi so wonderfully puts it, that the door is open. March with us to that destined goal that we see before us to-day, when you and your children, O Rulers of Britain, might eclipse side by side with us in friendship and comradeship! But unless you realise that it is not by the might of the sword but by the invincible, slender, fragile, silken cord of Love that nations can be bound together, you have no place in our midst.

And what is the answer to repression? The answer is that those dozens of delicately nurtured women who having sent their sons, husbands, and fathers to prison, have come to-day to take their place to carry on the torches, in the words of Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das to the pilgrims on the road, and to build up the edifice of your freedom with their corpse if death be necessary. As soon might you tell the Sun not to rise at dawn as to say to India, "don't move towards your destined freedom"—as soon might you say to the Ganges, "cease to flow"—as to say to the sacred spirit of Indian womanhood, "don't flow towards the sea of Liberty." You might as well say to the Earth, "cease to flower in spring," and to the Stars in the sky at midnight, "don't shine," as to say to the young ones amongst us, "don't join the Volunteer Corps." Do I not know what the younger generation can endure, what it can achieve? During those dreadful few days in Bombay when it seemed that the whole of our work was to be cast in ruins—who was it that saved the situation? Who? Not only the fast of the Saint within his cell but the endurance, the courage, the sacrifice of my young Volunteers—who stood, night and day, fearlessly, blood-shed around them, death about them, disaster around them, but true to their post, the symbol of the Indian Victory. Therefore, I do not share the fear of Shree Shankaracharya nor of any one else who thinks that India will give her divided support to this proposition. There is no division in India to-day, no caste, no tradition of caste.—No tyranny of caste can keep the untouchables from being the comrade and the equals of the twice-born Brahmin in their march to Freedom. (hear, hear). Therefore, in the name of the youngmen of India, the young women of India, the old men and the old women of India, the oldest men and oldest women of India, I pledge the lives, the souls and all of every Indian to this great cause and say: "In this great land may there be peace because we win only through peace. (Continued applause.)"



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After Khawja Abdul Rahaman Ghazi and an Akali Sikh delegate had further supported the resolution, it was put to the meeting and was passed with acclamation, there being only ten dissentients of which one was doubtful.

Changes in the Constitution

Mr. V. J. Patel then read, on behalf of the President, the following minor changes in the working of the constitution. They were carried unanimously.

In Article 4, instead of the age of 21 read the age of 18. At the end of Article 7, add "provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organizations."

At the end of Article 8, add "Members of the All-India Congress Committee shall become ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of the elected and the ex-officio members of the All India Congress Committee in their province from the number of the delegates they are entitled to return."

In Clause 5 of Article 8, remove the brackets after "single transferable vote" and add "or by any other method."

In Clause 2 of Article 10 after "past, present of the Congress" add "if they sign the Congress Creed and are members of any Congress Association." In the same clause after "shall" add "elected President." In Article 25 after "the General Secretaries" add "and 2 Treasurers."

Other Resolutions

Among the other resolutions put from the Chair was one proposing minor changes in the constitution so as to make it incumbent on ex-Presidents to sign the Congress Creed and treating the All-India Congress Committee Members ex-officio delegates of the Congress as under the old constitution.

Another resolution which was put to the vote from the chair was also unanimously carried. It reads as follows :—

"This Congress re-appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Doctor Ansari and Srijut C. Rajagopalachari as the General Secretaries of this Congress for the year 1922, and as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari are now in jail, appoints Sit. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Dr. Rajan respectively to act for them, the former to be the Working Secretary.

"This Congress re-appoints Seth Jamanlal Bajaj and Seth Chotani as the treasurers of the Congress, the former to be the Working Treasurer."

The following further Resolutions were moved from the Chair.

Congratulation to the Sikhs

"This Congress heartily congratulates Shreeaman Bawa Gurudit Singhji, the great organiser of Sri Guru Nanak steamer, who willingly surrendered himself, after seven years' fruitless search by the Government, as a sacrifice for the

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OTHER RESOLUTIONS

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and also congratulates other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights, and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Bawaji's arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the Police and the Military.

An Appeal

"This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principle of non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of national self-respect to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and praise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition, and if Hindus, to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.

The Moplah disturbance

"This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, especially as the N-C-O and the Khilafat preachers were denied access to the affected parts by the District Authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplures the acts done by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar, and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised.

Turks Congratulated

"This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.

A Condemnation

"This Congress deplures the occurrences that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after, and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determination of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent."

The Independence Resolution

The President next announced that Moulana Hasrat Mohani would move a resolution pressing for the change of the Creed of the Congress.

Moulana Hasrat Mohani in proposing his resolution on complete Independence made a long and impassioned speech in Urdu. He said, although they had been promised Swaraj last year, the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs within a year, they

and so far achieved nothing of the sort. Therefore it was useless looking to the programme. If remaining within the British Empire or the British Commonwealth they could not have freedom, he felt that, if necessary, they should not hesitate to go out of it. In the words of Lok. Tilak "liberty was their birth-right," and any Government which denied this elementary right of freedom of speech and freedom of action did not deserve allegiance from the people. Home-Rule on Dominion lines or Colonial Self-Government could not be a substitute to them for their in-born liberty. A Government which could clap into jail such distinguished leaders of the people as Mr. Chitta Ranjan Das, Pandit Matilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and others, had forfeited all claim to respect from the people. And since the end of the year did not bring them Swaraj nothing should prevent them from taking the only course left open to them now, that of winning their freedom free from all foreign control. The resolution reads as follows :—

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj or complete independence free from all foreign control by the People of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."

Mr. R. Venkataram of the *Bombay Chronicle* in seconding the resolution said : I stand before you to-day and second the Resolution that has been moved by Maulana Hasrat Mohani. I know that the Resolution is quite explicit and it does not require many words from me and I do not want to inflict a speech at this stage. I only hope that you will appreciate the need for explicitness and frankness and heartily vote for this Resolution.

Swami Kumarnath (a Bengali Sanyasi) in supporting the resolution said that nothing could satisfy the people at such a time short of complete independence. It was impossible to be under a Government which had adopted such a wholesale repressive policy restricting the actions and liberties of the people and sending to jail such great patriots as Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Das and others. The grant of the Dominion Home Rule could not appease their hunger for complete independence.

Mr. Yakub Ali Khan of U. P. in supporting the resolution said : All that we want is to keep it as an ideal. If we are not in a position to declare our independence at this moment, at least you will allow to have it as an ideal and fulfil it in no time. I should say we would do our level best to achieve it at the shortest possible time. With these few words I support the resolution.

Mr. U. P. Alwar of Andhra in supporting the resolution said that even the lowest animal of creation wanted freedom. Wherever there are men they wanted to be free and when this is so, he said, it is wrong for the Indians to aim to be free and not to be anything

The British Government in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria declared that their only mission was to help India. And that the English had come, as they declare, simply to help us to be independent, and as such what harm is there to declare and to say that our aim is to be free—separate from the British Empire?

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech in Opposition.

Mahatma Gandhi in opposing the resolution said (after having addressed the delegates in Hindi): Friends, I have said only a few words in Hindi in connection with the proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani. All I want to say to you in English is that the levity with which that proposition has been taken by some of you has grieved me. It has grieved me because it shows lack of responsibility. As responsible men and women we should go back to the days of Nagpur and Calcutta and we should remember what we did only an hour ago. An hour ago we passed a resolution which actually contemplates a final settlement of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and transference of the power from the hands of the bureaucracy into the hands of the people by certain definite means. Are you going to rub the whole of that position from your mind by raising a false issue and by throwing a bomb-shell in the midst of the Indian atmosphere? I hope that those of you who have voted for the previous resolution will think fifty times before taking this resolution and voting for it. We shall be charged by the thinking portion of the world that we do not know really where we are. Let us understand too our limitations. Let Hindus and Musalmans have absolute, indissoluble unity. Who is here who can say to-day with confidence: "Yes, Hindu-Muslim Unity has become an indissoluble factor of Indian Nationalism?" Who is here who can tell me that the Parsis and the Sikhs and the Christians and the Jews and the untouchables about whom you heard this afternoon—who will tell me that those very people will not rise against any such idea? Think therefore fifty times before you take a step which will redound not to your credit, not to your advantage, but which may cause you irreparable injury. Let us first of all gather up our strength; let us first of all sound our own depths. Let us not go into waters whose depths we do not know, and this proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani lands you into depths unfathomable. I ask you in all confidence to reject that proposition, if you believe in the proposition that you passed only an hour ago. The proposition now before you rubs off the whole of the effect of the proposition that you passed only a moment ago. Are creeds such simple things like clothes which a man can change at will? For creeds people die, and for creeds people live from age to age. Are you going to change the creed which with all deliberation, and after



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great debate in Nagpur, you accepted? There was no limitation of one year when you accepted that creed. It is an extensive creed, it takes in all, the weakest and the strongest, and you will deny yourselves the privilege of clothing the weakest amongst yourselves with protection if you accept this limited creed of Maulana Hasrat Mohani which does not admit the weakest of your brethren. I therefore ask you in all confidence to reject his proposition.

Maulana Mohani's Reply.

Moulana Hasrat Mohani in replying to the debate said that what he wanted to say was that they should keep independence before themselves as their idea. He did not mean to say that if anything less were given, they should reject it. One year had gone by and their wrongs were not yet redressed, and what guarantee was there that they would ever have the power to do so? He wanted the Congress to have the ideal of complete independence. Lok. Tilak had said that "Swaraj was their birth-right", and he did not see any harm in putting down complete independence as their ideal.

The President in putting the resolution to vote said it was contended that Swaraj which was their ideal had two meanings and Maulana Hasrat Mohani wanted Swaraj to mean complete independence. The resolution was put to vote and was found lost by a majority, a substantial minority having voted for it.

The Session Closed.

This finished the resolutions before the Congress. The President said he wanted to congratulate the Congress on passing the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi. They must understand that in passing the resolution they had shouldered a very great responsibility and he hoped they would not be found wanting in their day of trial. He thanked the Reception Committee and volunteers for all they had done to make the Congress the great success it was.

Thanks to the President.

Mr. C. V. Vijayaraghavachariar then moved a vote of thanks to the President who, he said, had managed the business so very well. Hakimji, he added, was the greatest believer in the Hindu-Muslim unity. Swami Shradhanandji said he had been working with the Hakimji for the last three years in Delhi and they should consider themselves fortunate in having such a gentleman as their President. They both loved each other as dear brothers. The resolution was passed.

A vote of thanks was then proposed to the Reception Committee and was passed. After a very inspiring song by a choir of ladies, the President declared the session closed.



Presidential Address

Delivered by

Moulana Hasrat Mohani

AT THE FOURTEENTH SESSION OF THE

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

AHMEDABAD, 30TH DECEMBER 1921

The Fourteenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Ahmedabad on December 30th, 1921 under the Presidency of Moulana Hasrat Mohani under a specially erected pandal. The attendance was large. Among those present were Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar, Mr. Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mr. Raja Ali, Dr. Ansari and others. Mr. Abbas Tayabji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates traced the history of the Muslim League and concluded that, after the great help of the Hindus on the Khilafat question and after finding that the League and the Congress had the same objects in view, he thought that the League should cease to be a separate and distinct body and that it should merge itself into the Congress.

The President, Moulana Hasrat Mohani then delivered his address. It was from beginning to end a plea for a declaration, on the first January 1922, of an Indian Republic called "the United States of India." He said :—

"Gentlemen, while thanking you for electing me to preside over this session of the All-India Moslem League, I wish to say in all sincerity that the importance of this session of the League in which the fate of Hindustan is to be decided required the choice of a person abler than myself, such as Maulana Mahomed Ali, Dr. Kitchlew or Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, to preside over its deliberations. But unfortunately the Govt. has forcibly taken away the first two gentlemen from amongst us while Moulana Azad expressed his inability to accept the responsibility. Consequently, as the proverb goes, if you do not accept it willingly it will be forced on thee," this great duty was placed on my shoulder. I will try to discharge it to the best of my ability, but success is in the hand of God.

The present condition of the League appears to be very weak indeed ; but this does not in the least derogate from its real importance, for, it was the All-India Muslim League which actually realised the first and the most essential condition of Indian independence,

Hindu-Muslim unity. And now that it has been achieved it is the League to maintain it also. Besides it is on the platform of the League that all sections of political opinion amongst the Mussalmans, extremists or moderates, have so far been and in future will probably be brought together.

Before going into the causes of the weakness of the League it will be better to enumerate its aims and objects. These are.—(1) The attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means; (2) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interest of the Indian Mussalmans; (3) to promote friendship and union between the Mussalmans and other communities of India; (4) to maintain and strengthen the brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries.

India's Ideal

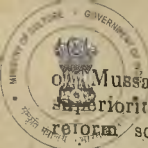
The first of these is also known to be the creed of the Congress. Therefore, so long as the word Swaraj is not defined in consonance with the Muslim desire and the means for its attainment are not amplified, it is only natural that the Muslim interests in the League should be meagre. The third object, which is Hindu-Muslim unity, is the common object both of the League and the Congress. The fourth object, the unity of the Muslim World, which, along with other questions connected with the Khilafat, has been specially taken up by the Khilafat Committee. There remains only the second object, that is, the protection of the special interest of the Mussalmans. As to this, so long as a much greater and more important object, that is, the attainment of Swaraj, still remains unachieved, people should better direct their united efforts against the common enemy than look after their special interests. They will be attended to when time comes for it.

As if these causes were not sufficient in themselves to decrease the Muslim influence in the League, its rules and regulations were unfortunately so framed that while public opinion has developed at a rapid pace, most members of the League have not moved an inch from their first position. As a result, the League remains nothing more than an old calendar. It is very necessary to remove the cause of the weakness of the League and to remove them immediately; for, in proportion as we approach nearer and nearer to the goal of Swaraj the need of the League will be more, because the questions of special Muslim rights will rise again with greater importance when India is free. Our first duty, therefore, should be to reduce the fee for the membership of the League and thus increase its members who will choose their representatives on the League every year. The members of the Council of the Provincial and the All-India Muslim Leagues should be chosen, as is the case with the Congress, every year.

But the most pressing necessity of all is a change in the first object of the League to suit the changed Muslim condition. Every one of us knows that the word Swaraj has been definitely left vague and undefined. The creed of the Congress, the object of it, has been that if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are settled on the lines of our demands then Swaraj within the British Empire will be considered sufficient. Otherwise efforts will be directed towards the attainment of complete independence. But, gentlemen, from the Muslim point of view, it is not enough that we should stand for complete independence alone. It is necessary to decide upon the form that it should take, and, in my opinion, it can only be an Indian Republic on the lines of the United States of America. Besides this, the term "peaceful" which defines and restricts the scope of the legitimate means for the attainment of Swaraj in the Congress creed is opposed to the natural and religious aspirations of the Mussalmans : therefore, in the creed of the League, the words "possible" and "proper" should be substituted for the words "legitimate and peaceful." I will explain the matter in detail. The Mussalmans should understand it clearly that they will derive a two-fold advantage from the establishment of an Indian Republic. Firstly, the general benefit which they will undoubtedly share along with their Indian brethren as citizens of a common State ; secondly, the special advantage which the Mussalmans will derive from it is that with every decline in the prestige and power of the British Empire which to-day is the worst enemy of the Muslim countries, the Muslim world will get breathing time and opportunity to improve its conditions.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Gentlemen, in spite of the present Hindu-Muslim unity there still exists many serious misunderstandings and suspicion between these two great communities of Hindustan, and it is of primary importance that we should grasp the true nature of these misunderstandings. The Hindus have a lurking suspicion that given an opportunity of Mahomedan invasion of India the Mussalmans will at least help their co-religionists in case they invaded to plunder and devastate Hindustan ; and these misunderstandings are so deep-rooted and widespread that so far as my knowledge goes no Indian statesman has escaped it except the late Lokmanya Tilak. On the other hand, the Mussalmans suspect that on the achievement of self-government the Hindus will acquire greater political powers and will use their numerical superiority to crush the Mussalmans. Gentlemen, it is quite clear that these misunderstandings can only be won over by compromise, discussion and mutual understanding, and that a third party should not come between them. The generality



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of Mussalmans with a few exceptions are afraid of the numerical superiority of the Hindus and are absolutely opposed to an ordinary reform scheme as a substitute for complete independence. The primary reason for this is that in a merely reformed, as contrasted with an independent Government, they will be under a double suspicion. First, a subjection to the Government of India which will be common to Hindus and Mussalmans; secondly, a subjection to the Hindu majority which they will have to face in every department of the Government. On the other hand, if the danger of the English power is removed the Mussalmans will only have the Hindu majority to fear and fortunately this fear is such as will be automatically removed with the establishment of the Indian Republic; for, while the Mussalmans as a whole are in a minority in India, yet nature has provided a compensation; the Mussalmans are not in a minority in all the provinces. In some provinces such as Kashmere, the Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam (?) the Mussalmans are more numerous than the Hindus. In the 'United States of India' the Hindu majority in Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces will not be allowed to overstep the limits of moderation against the Mussalmans. Similarly, so long as a completely liberated India does not come in the hands of the Hindus and Mussalmans themselves, the Hindus will be always suspicious that in case of a foreign invasion the Mussalmans will aid their co-religionist invaders. But, on the establishment of the Indian Republic which will be shared in common, Mussalmans will not desire that the power of even a Muslim foreigner should be established over his country. Gentlemen, I have just stated it as a necessary condition of the Hindu-Muslim compromise and that the third party, the English, should not be allowed to step in between us. Otherwise all our affairs will fall into disorder.

The Moplah incident

Its best example is before you in the shape of the Moplah incident. You are probably aware that Hindu India has an open and direct complaint against the Moplahs and an indirect complaint against all of us that the Moplahs are plundering and spoiling their innocent Hindu neighbours. But probably you are not aware that the Moplahs justify their action on the ground, that at such a critical juncture, when they are engaged in a war against the English, their neighbours not only do not help them and observe neutrality but aid and assist the English in every possible way. We can no doubt contend that while they are fighting a defensive war for the sake of their religion and have left their houses, property and belongings and taken refuge in hills and jungles, it is unfair to characterise as plunder their commandeering of the money, provision and other

necessities for their troops, from the English and their supporters. Gentlemen, both are right in their complain, but so far as my investigation goes the cause of this mutual recrimination can be traced to the interference of the third party. It happens thus: whenever any English detachment suddenly appear in their locality and kill the Moplah inhabitants of the place, rumour somehow spreads in the neighbourhood that the Hindu inhabitants of the place had invited the English Army for their protection, with the result that after the departure of the English troops Moplahs or their neighbours do not hesitate to retaliate and consider the money and other belongings of the Hindus as lawful spoils of war taken from those who have aided and abetted the enemy. Where no such events have occurred the Moplahs and the Hindus even now live side by side; the Moplahs do not commit any excesses against the Hindus, while the Hindus do not hesitate in helping the Moplahs to the best of their ability.

The Two Means To Win Swaraj.

I have wandered from my purpose. I meant to emphasise that in the first clause dealing with the aims and objects of the League the word Swaraj should be defined as complete independence in the cause of an Indian Republic. Otherwise, there is a danger that in the presence of a third party self-government within the British Empire instead of being beneficial might actually prove injurious. The second amendment necessary is that the methods for the attainment of Swaraj should be amplified. In place of only "peaceful and legitimate means," "possible and proper" ones should be substituted. Thus, on the one hand, opportunity of joining the League will be given to those who do not honestly believe in non-co-operation alone as the sole path of salvation, and recognising the possibility of other methods adopt them. Also, on the other hand, the amendment will remove the complaint of those who believe that non-co-operation can, under no circumstances, remain peaceful to the last and, while subscribing to the creed of the Congress and the first clause of the section dealing with the object of the League as a matter of policy and expediency, refuse to admit it as a faith for all times and circumstances or to remain non-violent even in intention.

Gentlemen, there are two possible means of replacing one government by another. One, the destruction of the Government by the sword and the establishment of another in its place—a method which has been followed in the world thus far. The second alternative is to sever all connection with the present Government and to set up a better organised Government parallel to it, and improve and develop it till the old order is dissolved and the new takes its place. Friends,—to achieve this object we must immediately get

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 on a separate and permanent foundation our own Courts, Schools, Industries, Army, Police and a National Parliament. Non-violent non-co operation can only help to start the parallel Government but cannot maintain it. The question now is, can such a parallel Government be established through non-violent non-co operation, of course, provided the rival Government does not interfere with its establishment,—a condition which is obviously impossible, because the rival Government will certainly interfere? We might contend that we will proceed on with our work silently and quietly in spite of Government interference as is being done at present.

When Non-violence will be impossible.

A stage will however be reached ultimately when action on peaceful lines will absolutely become impossible, and then we will be forced to admit that a parallel Government can be started but can not continue to last through peaceful means. Examples of Governmental repression are before your eyes. First, it attempted through the Karachi trials to prevent the Mussalmans from openly proclaiming the articles of their faith. When the people, undaunted by this decision of the Government, preached throughout the length and breadth of India that it was unlawful to serve in the Army, the Govt. slowly overlooked these activities fearing lest mere repetition of the Karachi resolution might lead to disaffection in the Army. And, in order to divert the attention of the people from these activities, it suddenly but deliberately declared enrolment of 'volunteers' as unlawful, so that it might get an opportunity of striking at the non-co-operators. Like moths that gather to sacrifice their lives round a lighted candle, the advocates of Civil Disobedience swarmed to break this declaration of Lord Reading and cheerfully went in their thousands to gaol. This is undoubtedly an example of self-sacrifice and self-effacement which well might move Mahatma Gandhi to ecstasy.

But we detect another truth hidden in this demonstration of happiness and joy. It reveals to our eyes the last stage of both the repression of the Govt. and patience of the people. People are no doubt prepared to bear and suffer gladly the hardship of a few days' imprisonment. But, on the declaration of Martial Law, non-violent non-co-operation movement will prove totally insufficient and useless. Amongst the Mussalmans at least, there will hardly be found a man who can have any but one of the two feelings in his heart when faced by the barrel of a gun, either to seek refuge in flight or to take advantage of the law of self-preservation and despatch his adversary to hell. The third alternative, that of cheerfully yielding up one's life to the enemy and considering it to be one real success, will remain confined to Mahatma Gandhi and

points of his adherents and fellow-thinkers. I, on my part, feel that in general the reply to Martial Law will be, what is commonly called, Guerrilla Warfare, or in the words of the Koran "kill them wherever you find them." The responsibility for all this bloodshed will rest on the shoulders of the Govt.

Consequently, as representatives of the Mussalmans, the members of the All-India Muslim League should consider it their duty either to refrain from adopting non-co-operation as their creed or free it from the limitation of keeping it either violent or non-violent. For, it is not in our power to keep non-co-operation peaceful or otherwise. So long as Government confines itself to the use of chains and fetters, non-co-operation can remain peaceful as it is to-day. But if things go further and Government has recourse to gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible.

Why Muslims go one step further.

At this stage, people would like to ask how is it that while the Hindus are content to adopt non-violent non-co-operation as the means for attaining independence, the Mussalmans are anxious to go a step further? The answer is that the liberation of Hindusthan is as much a political duty of Mussalmans as that of a Hindu. Owing to the question of Khilafat it has become a Mussalman's religious duty also.

In this connection I should like to say just one word. The glories of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the conclusion of the recent Franco-Turkish Treaty might credit an idea in some people's minds that the evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks is a certainty and the restoration of Thrace to the Turks, if not certain, is within the bounds of possibility. Consequently, they might entertain the hope that the struggle in the Near East is coming to a close. I want to warn all such people that the claims of the Mussalmans of India are founded more on religious than on political principles. So long as the Jazirat-ul-Arab (including Palestine and Mesopotamia) is not absolutely freed from Non-Muslim influence and so long as the political and military power of the Khilafat-Ul-Mussalman is not fully restored, the Mussalmans of India cannot suspend their activities and efforts.

The Khilafat Demands.

The Muslim demands as regards the Khilafat are these : (1) that in pursuance of the promise of Mr. Lloyd George, Thrace and Smyrna along with the city of Smyrna should remain purely under Turkish control so that the political prestige of the Khilafat-Ul-Mussalman which is essential for the Khilafat should suffer no diminution. (2) All non-Turkish control should be removed from

Constantinople, the shores of Marmora and the Dardanelles, in order that the Khilafat-al-Constantinople may not be under non-Muslim control which is essential for the Khilafat. (3) All naval and military restrictions imposed on the Khalifa should be removed as otherwise he would have no power to enforce the orders of the Khilafat. (4) The Jazirat-Ul-Arab, including Hedjaz, Palestine and Mesopotamia should be free from all Non-Muslim influence and not be under the British mandate as it was the death-bed injunction of the Prophet. It should be noted that in the fourth demand we wish the English to give up their mandate of Mesopot and Palestine and remove their influence from the Hedjaz. As to the question, whether the Arabs will acknowledge the Sherif of Mecca or the Sultan of Turkey as their Khalifa or whether the Arab Govt. of Hedjaz, Mesopot and Palestine will be independent or under the suzerainty of the Khalifa, they will be decided by the Mussalmans. We do not want Non-Muslim advice or assistance.

League-Congress Compact.

In my opinion, gentlemen, the most pressing necessity of Hindusthan is the immediate conclusion of a definite compact between the Congress and the League. The Congress should not enter into any negotiations with the Government concerning Swaraj (1) until the minimum Muslim demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied, (2) on the other hand, the Muslims should definitely bind themselves that even when their demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied, the Mussalmans of India will stand to the last by the side of their Hindu brethren for the attainment and reservation of Indian independence.

Such a compact is all the more necessary because there are signs that the enemies of Indian Independence—and we have to confess with regret that a number of deceitful Indians are working with the foreigners—are concentrating all their efforts to wreck the Hindu-Moslem Unity and create distrust and misunderstanding between the communities. On the one hand, the Mussalmans are being enticed by false hopes with regard to Khilafat questions. On the other, some showy toys of political concessions are being prepared as a gift for the Hindus even before the stipulated period of ten years. It is intended that in their simplicity the Mussalmans should consider the return of Smyrna etc. as the satisfaction of their Khilafat demands and slacken their efforts for the attainment of Swaraj, while the Hindus should be misled into believing a further instalment of reforms as the Swaraj itself or at least its precursor and begin to consider the Khilafat as an irrelevant question.

There can be only one solution for all these problems. Hindus and Mussalmans, after mutual consultation, should have Indian

Independence declared by Mahatma Gandhi, so that in future neither the English might have an opportunity of deceiving nor India of being deceived. After the Declaration of Independence the Congress and the League will have only one object left, that is, the preservation of Swaraj. 1922 is the best date for the purpose, because we would thus have fulfilled the promise that we made to attain Swaraj within this year, and the people of India will have achieved success in the eyes of God and man.

All-India Muslim League

SECOND DAY—31ST DECEMBER 1921.

The Moslem League met at 9 P. M. on 31st Dec. 1921. After it had passed some non-contentious resolutions the President, Moulana Hasrat Mohani made an announcement, amidst applause, that he proposed that the decision of the Subjects Committee rejecting his resolution regarding the attainment of independence and destruction of British Imperialism would be held as final and representing the opinion of the majority in the League, but that in view of the great importance of the subject he would allow a discussion on that resolution without taking any vote.

Mr. Azad Sobhani who had moved the resolution in the Subjects Committee, also moved it in the League. He said he believed in Hindu-Moslem unity as absolutely essential in non-violent non-cooperation as the only way to fight their battle, and Mr. Gandhi was fully deserving the dictatorship which had been invested on him by the Congress, but that he also believed that British Imperialism was the greatest danger to India and the Moslem world and must be destroyed by placing before them an ideal of independence. He was followed by several speakers who supported him in the same vein.

The Hon. Mr. Raza Ali announced that the reason for the ruling of the President was that the League did not want to take a step which the Congress had not taken. He warned them against saying big things without understanding them and reminded the audience that India was at present ready for maintaining liberty even if it was attained. He asked, who would, for instance, be their Commander-in-Chief if the British left to-morrow? (A voice, "Enver Pasha.")

The speaker emphatically declared that he would not tolerate any foreigner. He wanted an Indian Commander-in-Chief.

Among the other resolutions passed by the League was one about the Moplahs, which condemned the Government's excesses and the reported conversion by Moplahs.

The President then closed the Session after a short speech.



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Presidential Address

Delivered by

Mrs. Sorojini Naidu

AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE

ALL INDIA

STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

AHMEDABAD—29TH DECEMBER 1921

The Second Session of the All India Students' Conference met at Ahmedabad on the 29th December 1921, under the Presidency of Srimati Sorojini Naidu.

The audience numbered about three thousand. Representative students of all the Provinces were present.

The following is the full text of Mrs. Sorojini Naidu's Presidential address at the All-India Students' Conference at Ahmedabad :—

My young comrades,—If some fairy God-mother of Destiny were to say to me, "Yet in time now or in the future what is the one supreme wish of your heart, what is the one supreme honour you covet, what would be the crowning glory of all your achievements?—choose." Do you know what I would choose without hesitation, without doubt in my mind? For my opportunity I would choose to mould the mind of the young generation. For the supremest honour of my life, I should ask for the love of the young generation. For the crowning glory and the achievement of my life I should like it written on my epitaph—"She loved the young generation; she trusted the young generation; she worked with the young generation; she won freedom side by side with the young generation of Indians for India." That is the secret desire of my heart. So, you can understand that if I stand before you to-day your chosen President, it seems to me as if the fairy God-mother were already, without my asking it, for almost without my knowing it, conferring upon me the boon of boons. Ever since I could speak articulately, not the language as one finds in the dictionaries of the world, but the language of the heart of youth in which the imagination of youth speaks, no matter in what tongue and in what country, my one thought has been always for the freedom of India; my earliest services in that direction were the companionship of students always. My first entry into public life was as a speaker in the colleges

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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as the chosen guest of the students of the cities of India. speak from larger platforms to larger audiences came much later, but it never brought to me the thrill that I still remember of those little audiences in attentively listening to me with avid faces and those burning eyes looking into future and demanding an answer from the Time Spirit. To-day I stand amongst you once more as the representative of the Spirit of India. You have come from North and South, East and West and the central heart of India,—you who represent many races to-day, many creeds to-day, many sects to-day, all times of civilization, all kinds of traditions, all kinds of conflicts, and yet united by the one burning desire to serve your country, to sever her from bondage, to enthrone her among the States,—you have come together at the call of the nation,—you who have made a response to the voice that have trumpeted forth saying, “Stand forth, you, young generation, and break the shackles of your Mother.” What is the message that I can deliver to you? What is the strength that can be mine that will guide you a-right to-day on the difficult pilgrimage towards freedom? Those of you who were here the other day must be remembering with a thrill the words that I read from Desbandhu Chittaranjan Das’s message in which he speaks of the students. There he says in words that are written in fire :—“Let me not forget the students. They are the inspiration of the movement. They are the torch-bearers on the path to freedom. They are the pilgrims on the road to liberty. If theirs has been the sacrifice, then victory is their due.” This is the message which the chosen President of the National Congress wrote for the students in whom he has faith, in whom his generation has faith. And I, representing his generation, deliver to you the message of his generation and mine, asking that you will fulfil the pledges that we have made to the world, because you, and you alone, are not only the heroes of all our greatness but the fulfillers, the completers of all our imperfections, all our short-comings, all our weaknesses. You are to wipe out the stains upon our generation. You are to blot out with your prayers, with your sacrifices all the stains, the scourges, the follies, the backslidings, the sins of our generation. This is the message that I bring you to-day.

You want to know what India demands of you. Turn over the pages of history of the nations that have found freedom, and you will find in page after page of glory, not the record only of battles fought and won on the open fields and under the stars: no, the most inspiring pages are not there. But the inspiring pages come where name after name of youngmen in their serried ranks fill up the gaps as the soldiers fall, the young serried ranks that surge into

your trenches and with the cry of victory win the liberties of nations. You are in that position to-day. Greece, in her glorious days, could show no more radiant page of achievement. Rome, with all her Imperial purple, has not a passage more glowing than you can show to-day to the world. Nay, the history of your country, the history of such supreme sacrifice, such glorious achievement can show no page more lovely with sacrifice, more burning with the fire of prophetic zeal than you to-day in whose hands the writing and the illuminating of the history of Empires lie. The call to students came last year, but the call came with a rather hesitating voice because still the nation was not aware of its own peril. Nor was it so imminently and urgently aware of its need, its power, its great unity, its strength to sacrifice, its power to endure, its capacity to hurl back to an imperious bureaucracy the challenge of an invincible hope and an invincible resolve. To-day the call is not of an answering voice, the call is rising not from the mountain tops, but from the secret valleys of your own hearts and souls. If the voice of Mahatma Gandhi speaks to you, he is but the flute-call of your own hearts. He is not the Shree Krishna. He is the flute of Shree Krishna that is within your own hearts and souls. So, my young comrades, your duty to day is clear before you. Sacrifice ! Sacrifice ! ! Sacrifice ! ! !

One year ago I did not believe in the wisdom of young men turning their backs upon their colleges, shutting the pages of their text books, denying to themselves the inviolable right and privilege of knowledge and culture. But to-day after the agony of nearly one year's experience of the bitter need of India, the bitter perils of India, I stand up to say, though it hurts me still so to feel, that the young generation must turn its back upon the colleges, must deny to itself its own inalienable heritage of the right to learn, the right to know, the right that enriches the mind and the spirit with the garnered treasures of ages. I, none the less, say that freedom is worthy of even so valuable a sacrifice. Why shall men barter all their wealth to buy one pearl of great price ? Shall men sell their land and kingdoms to satisfy one passionate whim of theirs, and yet the youth of the nation not offer itself up in a glared and flaming sacrifice for the sake of the freedom of India ? In 1914, when the great battle-cloud broke over Europe, when the sky of August was stained blood-red with the menace of war, when the boom of the thundering cannon roared in the great cities of Europe, did I not see youngmen, men after men, in their hundreds of thousands pouring out of their colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, from the London colleges and the Welsh colleges and the Scottish colleges and the Manchester colleges and marching to the music of their own brave

youth to victory or to doom? Is to-day so different from that day that needed the sacrifice of the youth of Europe for the sake of European peace? Is not our plight more tragic. Is not our peril the peril not merely of lands that may be lost, of lives that may be lost, but of the nation's soul, the nation's honour, the nation's right to live among the living nations of the world? Therefore, I ask you, my young friends, you who are to-day the representatives of hundreds and thousands of young men and women all over India, pour forth in your uncounted numbers, pour forth to battle,—not to the battle of those that wade across seas of blood towards victory, but the battle of those who wade only across the blood of their own hearts—not the blood of their enemies' hearts. The difference between our warfare and the warfare of Europe, the warfare of the West, the accepted warfare of the world, is this, that whilst nations of another land win their victory slaying their enemies, we win our victory by slaying only our sins. It is the great battle of self-purification. It is the great battle of self-sacrifice. It is the great battle of self-devotion. If in the years to come when the Swaraj flag flies over our national assemblies, in the summing up of the achievement of the great battle for liberty, we count up the gains and the losses, and among the losses, irreparable, incalculable though they may be, we find that the youth of India has preferred to remain ignorant, bereft of the knowledge, of that wide culture, that noble learning that is the inheritance of the young generations of the world, shall we have time to bemoan that ignorance? Shall we have time to lament that loss? Or shall we not say, 'So against this loss—this loss irreparable, incalculable though it is—it is the one thing which is worth while having, the one thing for which the generations have not sacrificed their all for nothing. There is, on the one hand, a few years of sacrifice, on the other, the imperishable legacy of freedom to a land set free for ever by the sacrifice of the young generations.'

Meaning of the Pledge

I want you all to realize that to-day you are the recruits in the great army of freedom. You are new soldiers in the army of peace. I want you to understand the implications of the remark. I want you to realize in all its manifold bearing, in all the terrible responsibilities, the meaning of the word. What does it mean to be a volunteer? What does it mean to be a non-co-operating student? What does it mean to-day to sign that pledge which you have proclaimed yesterday in tones, solemn and moving, from the lip of the Apostle of freedom? It means this, my young friends—not merely that you will learn to parade and drill and fall into lines and salute your superiors and have ranks in the army and march singing

national songs—these are the details, the outer trappings, the true symbols that count for nothing—but to be a soldier in the army that Mahatma Gandhi leads is to be re-born, pure and flawless, in the flame of sacrifice. It means the cleansing out of every secret sin from the secret recesses of your hearts. It means the purging of every fibre of yours from every evil thought, passion and desire that still might be lurking unsuspected in the crevices of your beings. It means that you pledge yourselves not only to the world that can see the outer things and judge you, but it means that you pledge yourselves to your Self, to the Being seated in the midst of you that you will abstain in thought and word, desire and deed, from every low, evil, vicious, cancerous, leprous sin. That is what I want to impress upon you. That is what I want you to realize. It means the discipline of perfection, the discipline of the mind, the heart, the senses, the desires; not merely the obeying of the captain's orders, but the obeying of the orders of the Captain that is in every man's heart and is called Conscience by many tongues. It means that you will learn so to conquer yourself, your selfish needs, your selfish pride, that you will endure, without retaliation, without resentment, all the indignity, humiliation, suffering, losses, penalties—if necessary, flogging and torturing and death—for the sake of the cause to which you are pledged to-day.

That is really the message I have for you. If you have understood what the pledge stands for, if you have understood why the hand-spun and hand-made outer symbol that is your garment is the true symbol of your inward regeneration, if you have understood that you cannot ask for freedom for yourself, if within one single heart amongst you there still remains that shrinking from your neighbour because he is not born like yourselves within the mantle of the four fold caste—if you have understood all these things, you have understood the meaning and the purpose of Swaraj. But if you have still within you the feeling that there are barriers between Hindu and Hindu within his own caste, between Hindu and Mussalman, between Mussalman and Parsee, between Parsee and Christian, if you will drive ourselves in terms of sects and provinces and castes and divisions, there is no Swaraj for us; there is no Swaraj for the young generation. Therefore my purpose to day is to make clear to you the meaning of that great pledge. But the young generation does not need my interpretation of the Gospel of Freedom. I want you, therefore, I know you will, therefore, join in your hundreds and thousands and become yourselves the young Apostles of your own deliverance. There should be no peril that is too great for you to face, no difficulty so difficult for you to master, no destiny too exalted for you to achieve.

Last Appeal

But, my young friends, my young comrades, oh ! pilgrims on the road to freedom, as said the other pilgrim who is in the half-way house to freedom in the prison of Bengal, I charge you : "Remember the sacred duty that will bow those young shoulders, the terrible burden that will bow those young heads. But, though your backs be broken and your heads be bowed, I charge you, let your hearts be never bowed or burdened. For, no matter how heavy the burden, let your own courage be the torch in your hand ; no matter how deep the path, let your own hope be in the pilgrim's staff in your hand ; no matter how far the goal, let your young strength give you wings to reach the goal. When the goal is reached and you stand high up on the peaks and look back across the difficult way you have come, comrades, remember : let there be nothing that you see on the road you left behind save your own follies and weaknesses and sins and nothing of value, nothing of abiding worth or beauty ; take it all with you for the enriching of the temple, that is, the temple of liberty. March with me to the Temple of Liberty. I carry the standard in my hands, Comrades, march with me till we reach the goal."

Resolutions

After Mrs. Naidu's address the Students' Conference adjourned for a couple of hours during which the Subjects Committee met and carried several resolutions. When the Conference re-assembled, those present included Hakim Ajmal Khan, Swami Shradhanand and Dr. Ansari. The following resolutions were passed :—

- (1) Hoping that in obedience to the mandate of the Congress the students of and above the age of 18 would suspend their educational activities and enrol as volunteers ;
- (2) Protest against the age limit of 18 set by the Congress for those who wanted to be volunteers, and urging that all College students, irrespective of the age limit, be allowed to become volunteers, (this resolution was moved and supported by those College students who were under the age of 18) ;
- (3) Asking all students to learn hand-spinning and hand-weaving and to wear only Khadi-made cloth ;
- (4) Congratulating Lala Lajpat Rai, the first President of their Conference and their fellow students for going to jail in spirit of self-sacrifice ;
- (5) Changing the name of the Conference from the All-India College Students to the Hindi Vidyarthi Mahashava, and amending the constitution so as to create a Working Committee of all members who would act as the executive of the big committee of the Conference.

The next resolution of the Students' Conference wanted the attainment of complete independence as their creed. After a great deal of heated discussion the resolution was lost by a majority of eleven only.



ALL INDIA STUDENTS' CONFERENCE [AHMEDABAD]

Mrs. Naidu's Second Speech

After votes of thanks were given to the President, the delegates, the volunteers, and the Reception Committee, Mrs. Naidu made another speech. She said :—

My young comrades, you are all very tired at the end of a long day's work, but I do not think that any of us here will grudge the hours we have spent together on clearing our own minds as to our own thoughts, intentions and aspirations. The outstanding feelings in my mind to-day, as I spend the hours in contact with young minds that represent India, is that I am proud to be alive to see this material moulded into heroes for the salvation of India. I have spent most of my life amongst students, but never before have I felt so thrilled to realise that the young generation has the independence to think for itself unfrightened by even the presence of Mahatma Gandhi (Cheers). That is really the symbol for which I have been looking. We are not going to get freedom by the worship of personalities, however great or divine. It is only when they represent the principles for which we live and for which we would die that they can command our worship or our admirations or our following. If to-day the country holds Mahatma Gandhi as semi-divine, if not divine, it is not for any other reason than this that he embodies within that frail yet indomitable body an invincible soul of liberty. That is why we are content to follow him to-day because in following him we are following the spirit of liberty. There might be some little doubt left in the minds of some of the delegates to-day, about the ultimate destiny of India. It is true that yesterday in the Congress Hasrat Mohani, the great poet, brought a resolution which was defeated by Mahatma Gandhi, the great Saint. Both were right. Neither was wrong,—Hasrat Mohani asking for the independence of India, Mahatma Gandhi saying, 'wait a little and take your laggard friends with you before you ask for that ultimate independence.' Both are animated by the same desire, the same zeal. Both behold the same vision. Let no man in this Conference feel that because my young friends from Aligarh could not carry their point to-day, it is not the desire of young India to have that ultimate liberty which alone is worth having. I would not let the young generation do such bitter injustice to itself. But I know that those, who did not to-day stand for that resolution, were animated only by the same spirit that made Mahatma Gandhi, in his infinite compassion for the weak, pause and say : "Let us take in the laggard and the lame with us." What is freedom unless it means freedom, and whether the Congress accepted it as a creed or not, it is the invincible, inevitable destiny of every nation to be free in that largest and deepest sense of the word. But freedom does not mean isolation from other nations. It means equal comradeship with the free nations of the world, and that is a great ideal for which we must all work.



Presidential Address

Delivered by

Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer

AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

ALLAHABAD, 28TH DECEMBER 1921

The following are extracts from the long Presidential address delivered by Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer of Madras at the National Liberal Federation held at Allahabad on the 28th. December 1921.

The Political Situation.

It is perhaps a truism to say that the country is now passing through a crisis. Events are moving with bewildering rapidity. The general tension is such as to necessitate a close examination of the position that one has to take up whatever the school of thought may be to which one belongs. In these circumstances, I need make no apology if, in addressing you, I mainly direct my attention to the present situation and to the question whether the party that is opposed to us has fulfilled or is likely to fulfil the legitimate expectations and requirements of the people and the country.

We are all aware of the difficulties to which the members of the party under the distinguished leadership of Mahatma Gandhi are now subjected. It is, therefore, perhaps an ungracious task to examine the principles and the programme of that party. But the highest interest of the country imperatively demands that the present situation should be closely examined with a view to see how far it would be met and improved by further persistence in the policy with which Mr. Gandhi has identified himself. The distinctive features of that movement are the attainment of Swaraj and the righting of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs by the paralysis of the Government by means of non-violent non-co-operation.

Mr. Gandhi's Influence

Mr. Iyer, after dealing with the Non-co-operation movement in its different aspects and trying to shew its impracticability, continued :—

In the recent history of our country no single individual had a greater control over any movement than Mr. Gandhi has over the Non co-operation movement. He is virtually the dictator of the

movement. I use the expression in no offensive sense. My point is that the distinguished author of the movement has been himself unable to definitely settle the programme; and in order to make it acceptable to the people in general,—and I lay special emphasis on this aspect,—he had to incorporate into it items which could not be said to be distinctive of the Non-co-operation movement and which have public sympathy and support independently of that movement, such as, for instance, the problem of untouchability, the drink evil and the Swadeshi movement. It is claimed for the movement that it has a spiritual side and tends to the development of the soul force. It is a problem, however, whether Non-co-operation is the only or the best means of bringing about the development of soul force such as the Mahatma wishes to see effected.

Mr. Gandhi's Sad Experience.

Now the chief merit that is claimed for the movement is that the objects in view are to be attained by absolute non-violence and this contention deserves close examination. We can admit that the movement of 'passive resistance' attained remarkable success and led to striking results in South Africa, but it has to be noted that the conditions there were very different from those obtaining here. Given a personality like Mahatma Gandhi and a comparatively small and compact body of persons such as were the Indian settlers in South Africa, with sufficient opportunities for the Mahatma to come into frequent and intimate contact with the persons asked to adopt 'passive resistance', it is obvious that the movement is deprived of its dangers. But when the principle is asked to be adopted by over 300 millions belonging to different strata of society and of different grades of culture and refinement and living in a vast area and subject to varying influences and beyond the possibility of the personal attention of the Mahatma and his devoted followers, the conditions presented are not such as to inspire confidence that similar results would ensue. As a matter of fact, when the movement was put to the test on anything like a large scale, it has been found again and again to belie the expectations of the author and the promoters of the movement.

What We Should Strive For

I claim that, as a question of practical politics, full Dominion status is what we should strive for. That was what was expressly postulated by the Congress creed before the Nagpur Congress altered it. I shall not, however, lay any great stress on that fact, as it may be said that, however matters might have stood under the old-world conditions, new forces are now asserting themselves justifying or even necessitating a new objective. Full Dominion

status provides for the responsibility of the Legislature to the people and of the Cabinet to the Legislature. It postulates the membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations as an equal partner. The prerogative of the King remains untouched. He is the symbol of the Empire. No doubt, in theory the status of a Dominion is of the subject character, but actual practice has outgrown theory. The resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1917 is suggestive in this connection. After pointing out that the adjustment of the constitutional relations of the Empire is too important to be dealt with during the war, the resolution goes on to state: "They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such re-adjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action founded on consultation as the several Governments may determine."

Speaking on this resolution, General Smuts said: 'The status of the Dominions as equal Nations of the Empire will have to be recognised to a very large extent. The Governments of the Dominions as equal Government of the King in the British Commonwealth will have to be considered far more fully than what is done to day, at any rate, in the theory of the Constitution, if not in practice. That is the most important principle laid down in the second part of this resolution, that there should be a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations. And, to strengthen the point, the resolution goes on to affirm that the existing powers of self-government should not be interfered with. Of course, there is a good deal of feeling or natural and justifiable jealousy in the Dominions as to the rights which they have acquired and which they do not like to be tampered with, and naturally, I think, it is very wise to add this to the resolution, that their existing powers of self-government should not be tampered with.'

It will also be remembered that General Smuts objected to South Africa taking part in the Washington Conference, unless she went, as he said, 'on her own legs,' and not merely on the strength of the invitation of the British Government; and he points out in a recent speech how the protest has been taken up by the British



NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION [ALLAHABAD]

Great, with the result that the Delegates from the Dominions and India has her own Delegate,—attend the Conference not as British Empire Delegates but as Representatives of their Dominions.

Significance of The Dominion Status

Perhaps no better light can be thrown on the full significance of the Dominion Status than what is provided by the recent negotiations of the British Government with Ireland. As you are aware, the agreement, in the nature of a treaty made by the Prime Minister and his co-adjutors as representing the British Government with the Irish Plenipotentiaries, provides that Ireland shall have the constitutional status of a Dominion, and Mr. Lloyd George on expounding the agreement before the House of Commons emphasised the difficulty and danger of defining the Dominion status and crystallising its import. As pointed out that if any attempt were made to encroach upon the rights of Ireland which by the agreement was to have the same status as the Dominions, the Dominions would feel that their own position was thereby jeopardised, and in this lay the guarantee for the security and full freedom of Ireland. This Dominion Status allows of as complete independence and Self-development as is compatible with non secession from the Empire.

It may, therefore, be claimed that the attainment of full Dominion status will allow of our full self-expansion, self-realisation and self-assertion as a nation. I need not dwell on the need or wisdom of maintaining the British connection, if by so doing, we are not in any way retarding the national growth and development. It may be also said that even the most ardent advocates of an Indian republic in the present circumstances of the country do not insist on it as an end in itself, but want it as they feel hopeless that otherwise the wrongs they wish to see remedied will not be set right by the Empire.

India and the League of Nations.

India, too, is coming into her own in the Councils of the Empire. She has become a member of the League of Nations. In the Assembly of the League she has the same vote as the British Empire and she can give an independent vote to be exercised in her interests and by her choice. In the last Imperial Conference held in London, her part was on an equal footing with the self governing Dominions. On questions of Imperial policy requiring common understanding and united action, her voice was given the same weight and consideration as the other parts of the Empire, and the memorable resolution was secured—

The Conference, while re-affirming the resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 that each community of the British Commonwealth should

complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference, accordingly, is of the opinion that in the interest of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth it is desirable that the right of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised.

It was to the lasting discredit of South Africa that her representatives would not join in this resolution, but it serves to emphasise the view that the interests of India will receive due consideration at the hands of the self-governing Dominions as a whole, and as she gains in status and attains a footing of equality with the other Dominions she will be able to completely hold her own. India is also represented at the Washington Conference. It is true that her representative does not stand in the same relation to her than the representatives from the other Dominions did, and that it is not by the vote of the people that he was sent as her representative. But that defect does not take away from, but only accentuates, the full import of the Dominion status. With His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sreenivasa Sastri has passed the case for India with tact and firmness whenever he had the opportunity to do so. He has enhanced the reputation of India amongst the nations of the world and he is entitled to the gratitude of the country.

Council and Growth of Conventions

At this stage I do not propose discussing the measures of responsible government that the country has had under the Reformed Councils. It is pertinent, however, to draw attention to the fact that by the growth of conventions a large measure of responsibility could be secured. Conventions are in consonance with the genius and traditions of the British Constitution, they allow full advantage being taken of the experience gathered from the actual working of institutions. They admit of the easy rectifying of any errors they may have been committed and they do not need the elaborate procedure necessary for having statutory alterations. Already, as you are aware, they are beginning to be established in our Reformed Legislature. The refusal of the Secretary of State for India to interfere with the resolution of the Legislative Assembly on Lord Lytton's Indian Students' Committee is a note-worthy case bearing on this question of conventions.

The Real Fascination of Mr. Gandhi's Movement

I shall not be justified in merely referring to the weaknesses of the Non-co-operation movement. There can be no doubt that the movement has great fascination for the masses and even the classes.



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The movement has come to stay. The appeal to soul-force that has been made, the high moral pedestal that has been held out, the confidence—I had almost said the cock-sureness—with which the goal is promised to be reached, the lightning rapidity with which it is said Swaraj is to be attained, the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi, his saintly life, his transparent selflessness, and the ready and unquestioning submission that he is able to command at the hands of most, if not all, of his followers, all had no doubt their material share in the spread of the movement and contributed largely to deepen its hold on the popular imagination. But when all is said that can be said, it must be admitted that the enthusiasm for it now so much in evidence is not altogether fictitious and it will be found to possess a residuum undoubtedly genuine which will not disappear with the mere march of time or change of leadership. It behoves us, therefore, to refer to the causes that led to the movement.

The Khilafat

The Khilafat question ushered in the movement. You are familiar with the history of the question. It is evident that our Mussalman brethren have great cause for dissatisfaction with the manner in which the British Government have dealt with it. The Government of India are satisfied that the Indian Mussalmans have a just grievance. His Highness the Aga Khan and the Right Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali, to mention only two honoured names, are at one with the rest of the Muslim opinion. Unprejudiced Europeans who possess intimate knowledge of Muhamadan problems and history and who command the detachment necessary for forming correct judgments, like Sir Theodore Morrison, support it. Anglo-Indian opinion, too, is in its favour and the Hindu section of the population of all shades of opinion has consistently supported it. There is no difference amongst the Mussalmans themselves. The Shias and the Sunnis are in agreement. It is not the body known as the Khilafatist alone that feels the wrong. Recently, there was a deputation of the Muslim community that waited on H. E. the Viceroy. It was not composed of political agitators. I will quote one sentence in the address. They say: "We deem it our paramount duty that the mere knowledge of such representation (the representations to the British Government by the Government of India on the Mussalman feeling) is not and cannot be a source of comfort to the Indian Mussalmans in their religious sorrows." It shows that the iron has entered into the soul of even those whose loyalty is unquestionable. The French Government has arrived at a settlement with the Angora Government which appears to be generally acceptable to the Muhamadan world. There is a strong and widespread impression

in a country, and appearances justify it, that the chief obstacle to a settlement of this question, satisfactory to the Indian Mussalmans, is the British Government. It will not do for the Government of India to merely say that they have done their best by making necessary representations to the British Cabinet. The Government of India is an organic unity with the British Government. The fact that they recognise the justice of Mussalman opinion ought to be a reason for enhancing their responsibility in seeing that the Mussalman claims are vindicated. It is difficult to resist the impression that the British Cabinet, or at any rate, Mr. Lloyd George and those who support him, are under the idea that with sufficient pressure brought to bear on the Indian Mussalmans their agitation for the redress of the Khilafat wrong will wane and finally disappear. If that be so they are undoubtedly in error. The sore has already been allowed to fester long and any further delay in healing it will lead to most serious consequences.

The Punjab Wrongs.

The next wrong that led to the movement is the Punjab tragedy. Sir William Vincent has called it an unhappy episode in the history of British India. An indelible stain has been left on the fair fame of Britain, and it will take years, if not decades, before the memory of that tragedy is wiped out from the Indian mind. I share the view that the punishment inflicted on the delinquents was not adequate. The developments would have been altogether different and the situation would have been considerably eased if at the initial stages the Government had the statesmanship to acknowledge the wrong that has been committed, in the same way as the representatives of the people on their part regretted the mob excesses that led to the Government reprisals. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has appealed to the people of India to forget and forgive and the Legislative Assembly has already adopted a resolution after a full discussion of the question. It is time that we cease to cherish and harp on the grievance. Now that the enormity of the wrongs done has been admitted and grief has been expressed therefore in unqualified terms, we would do well to look forward and not backward. With the lapse of time the difficulty of punishing the offenders responsible for the tragedy is increased. It is still possible of course, as indeed has been promised, that the compensation payable to the Indians who suffered should be calculated on a liberal basis. It is also possible for the cases being reconsidered of those who were the recipients of special marks of Government appreciation and favour with a view to decide in the light of the full facts now available how far such recognition was deserved. In the final determination of the above



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consideration of prestige ought not to be allowed to

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Podanur Tragedy

Our care must be to see that it is made impossible that such occurrences should occur. We may now feel certain that this object has been secured. In this connection, reference is made to the Podanur tragedy. A serious blunder has been committed, almost criminal, in the negligence and thoughtlessness that it reveals. Those responsible for the blunder deserve severe punishment and it is expected they will get it. The Committee appointed to report on the matter has not yet submitted its report and it will be premature to further enlarge on the subject. Thanks to local causes, the angle of vision, said to have changed in several other parts of India and particularly in the Government of India, has not perceptibly changed in my province; the bureaucracy has not been visibly weakened in power, nor has *prestige* lost its grip on the administration. But a true regard for facts will not, in any way, justify the placing of the Podanur tragedy on a par with the Punjab tragedy, or the assumption that it reveals the same mentality on the part of the administrators as the Punjab tragedy did.

Liberal Party and Reform Scheme.

As you are aware, the support by the Liberal Party of the Reform Scheme under the new Government of India Act was not due to their acceptance of the view that Indians were unfit for responsible Government in their present condition. They recognised the measure of responsible Government that the Scheme contained, and were prepared that conscientious efforts should be made to work it for all it was worth, so as to dispel the fear of those that were honestly inclined to doubt our fitness for self Government. Co-operation wherever possible and opposition whenever needed has been our motto.

The opinion is general that the Reformed Legislatures have satisfactorily justified the expectations formed of them. Most of the Provincial Governments, if not all, associate the Ministers with the Executive Councillors in their deliberations on the Reserved Subjects, so that the unitary system is in practical operation on a large scale. No less an authority than the President of the Legislative Assembly has viewed most favourably the work of the Legislative Assembly. The case of the Legislative Assembly is specially important as it has to deal with matters affecting All-India Administration, and the Central Government does not possess even the modicum of constitutionally responsible element that the Provincial Governments possess. According to Mr. Whyte the Assembly has been an almost unqualified success and the body has shown a

of corporate sense of responsibility which is its most reassuring feature. According to him, the problem presented by the conjunction of an irremovable executive with a large constitutionally responsible majority would become ripe for treatment long before the ten years prescribed by the Government of India Act for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the working of the system of Government of India are over. You know the resolution ultimately adopted by the Legislative Assembly on this question. I would only refer to a few points. The willingness of the Liberal Party to work the Reformed Councils should not be taken to mean that they were satisfied with the measure of responsible Government that was granted, nor that they do not desire advance.

The experience of the working of the Provincial and Central Legislatures shows that full powers if entrusted to them will only heighten their sense of responsibility except in cases where local and temporary causes may serve as deflecting factors. Now that Dominion status is recognised as the goal, there is no reason why approximation to it should be delayed when once the capacity of the people is proved equal to it. Mr. Montagu seems to have pointed out that the working of the electorate is an important consideration. No doubt it is. There can be no question, however, that the political consciousness of the people as a whole has been deeply awakened and that an intelligent and discriminating interest is taken by the masses on the doings of the Government and the working of popular institutions. India to-day is not the India of even a decade ago. Where the masses are likely to go wrong is when some great injustice is done and the Government, for reasons of its own, is unwilling to acknowledge and repair the wrong. I shall not hazard any remarks of my own as to the directions in which alterations should be made which doubtless will receive your full consideration. Full financial control should be secured to the popular representatives in the Provincial and Central Legislatures, and the question has to be seriously considered whether as regards the Central Government it is necessary to go through the process that the Provinces are now passing through viz., dyarchy, with a view to full responsible government, especially as it will take time to procure the alteration of the statute by the British Parliament.

Temperance Movement Legitimate

The temperance movement is taking the form of total abstinence. It is a great mistake, however, to make it a political movement. The efforts of the Non-co operators in this direction have met with a large measure of success. It is because the movement itself is popular. Prohibition is bound to come whether with or without local option



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half-way resting-house. The excise revenue can not be counted upon. The financial statement for 1921-22 shows that for the whole of the country it is close upon 20 crores. In my province, according to the latest figures, an estimated revenue of 556 lakhs has already shrunk by about 80 lakhs, and I have no doubt that the other provinces are undergoing similar experiences. The Indian Exchequer has lost nearly six crores of rupees a year on account of the anxiety of the Government to reclaim the Chinese from the opium habit, though the object appears to be doubtful of attainment. With this example before them it is not strange that the Indian people should insist that, far from meeting with disapproval, any effort of theirs should have the practical sympathy of the Government.

The loss of revenue is no doubt inevitable and it has to be met, and this question requires very serious consideration where even after retrenchment in expenditure a deficit remains, by relying on the general prosperity of the people who will be benefitted by prohibition. There is nothing in the movement taken to put down drink that is specially the function of the Non-co-operator. Picketting is no doubt practised. It is remarkable,—I am speaking of such experience as I have in my own province,—that it is attended with so little violence; it is a testimony to the preparedness of the people for the movement. There is no doubt of the intimate connection of picketting with the diminution of the excise revenue; those who practise it are objects of persecution by the officers of the Government, and the unpopularity of the administration is of course the consequence. The best course to be adopted is not to identify the movement with the Non-co-operator; not to attach any special importance to the efforts of the Non-co-operator when devoted against drink.

Use of Sections 108 and 144 Unjustified

The powers under section 108 and section 144 of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code have been freely availed of for the purpose of crippling the activities of the Non co-operators. The use of the provisions of section 144 for political purposes is a new policy. From such experience as I possess in my province it may be stated that such use is generally uncalled for. In by far the largest number of cases, the persons whom the order is directed, either to abstain from taking part in a meeting or to cease from picketting or to show cause why he should not find security for keeping the peace, disobey it with the result that the consequential provisions are applied. In most of such cases no defence is entered and the accused prefer the prison to the payment of fine where fine is imposed. There is, I fear, a far too great readiness on the part of the executive officers to take advantage of those provisions of law, a readiness which i

encouraged by the determined attitude of those to whom they are sought to be applied not to make a defence. I venture to think that, in many of these cases, if the prosecution witnesses were duly cross-examined and the accused entered upon their defence or availed themselves of the other facilities open to them under the law, the results of the trials would have been different. But it suits the non-co-operators to act as they are doing ; in fact, it is the very thing that they want. Though I admit that it is very difficult for the executive officers, and particularly the police, to keep a cool head in these trying circumstances, the highest interests of the country and the Government demand that great discrimination should be exercised in the issue of orders under sections 108 and 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code in the launching of proceedings so as to reduce them to a minimum.

Our duty in these circumstances is to help the Government in all their legitimate efforts to uphold peace and order and press upon them the need for great tact and discrimination in the exercise of their ordinary powers under the law. When the Non-co-operator finds that he does not excite attention, the movement will undoubtedly receive a set-back.

I may point out also that no one need be an object of special attention, especially on the part of police officers, simply because he preaches or helps the use of spinning wheel or wears what is called the Gandhi or Swaraj cap or uses Khadder. The spinning wheel as such has no political complexion about it and the Government would easily divorce it from politics by ceasing to have for it the excessive dread that it has at present.

Hartal & H. R. H. The Prince's Visit

Before I close, I have to say a few words on the grave turn that events have taken. I am sure that everyone in the country, not obsessed by the glamour of Non-co-operation, will admit that the proposal to proclaim a Hartal on the days of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is not one conceived in the best interests of the country. Let us admit that His Royal Highness' visit has been planned notwithstanding objections to it in certain quarters. It is inconsistent with traditions of oriental hospitality that an organised attempt should be made to withhold welcome to His Royal Highness for the purpose of evincing the Nations' displeasure towards the Government that has planned the visit. The smallest that could have been expected from any party in such circumstances is to leave each one to follow his own wishes and judgment without putting any pressure on him. Mr. Gandhi fails to recognise that, short of wringing out any reforms at the point of the bayonet in the present circumstances, the statutory

declaration needed for the attainment of complete Swaraj has to come from the British Parliament, and the sword that he would propose is the sword of self-sacrifice. To one of his clear thinking it must be obvious that in proclaiming a hartal on the occasion of the Prince's visit he is touching the most susceptible part in the Englishmen. No wonder therefore that a difficult situation has been thus created. The difficulty has been enhanced by the refusal of Mr. Gandhi to call a truce even if the Government on its part is prepared to call one. The proclaimed objects of Non-co-operation were the righting of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj. Mr. Gandhi himself recognises in his recent statement on Lord Ronaldsbay's speech that "the only conference that can at all avail at this stage is a conference called to deal with the causes of the present discontent, namely the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and Swaraj." If, therefore, a conference is necessary, it is impossible to expect that the results of the conference will be satisfactory unless in a calm atmosphere which obviously is out of the question,—if, on the one hand there is the hartal, and on the other, the unrestricted exercise of the extraordinary powers that the executive possesses under the special laws. It has to be remembered that the Round Table Conference proposed met with the acceptance of all classes of opinion save that of Mr. Gandhi. The nation is entitled to a consideration at his hands especially in view of the admittedly great suffering which it is called upon to undergo. It is therefore most unfortunate that Mr. Gandhi should have made the resolve he did with the result that the proposed conference had to be given up. The question arises what has now to be done? I venture to think that this latest move on the part Mr. Gandhi will go a great way towards alienating the sympathies of those not already committed to Non co operation and the duty will be more largely recognised and acted upon, on the part of the people to uphold peace and order. It may be that the duties of the Government in the situation with which they are faced are difficult to discharge; but if a conflagration is to be avoided it behoves them to observe all the restraint that is possible consistently with the maintenance of order. Care has to be taken that such measures as are enforced are not the outcome of panic and do not degenerate to terrorism or revenge. It has to be recognised that Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants are perfectly sincere in their professions of non-violence. Their endeavours have met with a considerable amount of success. The force cannot be ignored of the challenge that Mr. Gandhi makes, "why have no attempts been made to prove a single case of intimidation?" referring to the event in Calcutta during the last ten days. The course taken by the Government has this element of weakness in it

that it offers a premium to persons anxious to be in the lime light. When some are arrested, more come in. The goal is considered a place of freedom. No heroic measure can be suggested on either side. The arrest of men of great respectability and of unimpeachable character, like Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Matilal Nehru and Babu Bhagawan Das, cannot be contemplated without feelings of the very deepest regret. The extension of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act to several parts of the country has been protested against. The facts so far known do not negative the suggestion that reliance could have been placed on the ordinary law of the land and that the executive need not have called to its aid the extraordinary powers it possesses under the special laws. Speaking of my own province, His Excellency Lord Willingdon acknowledged that the extension of the Criminal Law Amendment act to the Presidency of Madras was as a precautionary measure. It was not suggested that any proved necessity existed justifying its extension. It is questionable whether a hearty welcome could be secured to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by the policy that is now being pursued when it has the effect of filling the gaols with large numbers of persons thus precipitating the very state of affairs that Mr. Gandhi and his followers declared they wished to exist and were eagerly looking forward to. It must be distressing in the extreme to His Royal Highness that on the occasion of his visit a number of persons should be thrown into gaol. In the above circumstances, the best course to be adopted would appear to be to trust to the ordinary law of the land and not to invoke the extraordinary powers that may be taken under the law.

I have done. May it be vouchsafed to us and the country to think correctly and act rightly.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

ALLAHABAD, 29TH DECEMBER 1921

The First Resolution—on Reforms.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer moved the first resolution :—

In view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reform Act, the rapid growth of national consciousness and the strong and growing demand among all sections of the people for a fuller control over their destinies, this Federation strongly urges that :—

- (1) Full autonomy should be introduced in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the various Legislatures, and
- (2) As regards the Central Government, all subjects, except defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs, should be transferred to popular control in the Central Government at the end of the



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first term of the Legislative Assembly, subject to such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests.

In doing so he said :—The Reform Act, which may be said to have introduced the new constitutional era, was passed at the end of 1919. A year was taken to elaborate the rules and procedure under the Reform Act, and the year that is now coming to a close will complete one year of the existence of the various legislatures. It may be said that the one year that is about to expire is too short a period for making a further demand, and that the onus was largely upon those who made that further demand to make out a very strong case for further steps so shortly after the reform has been in operation. But in the first place, the reform that was introduced under the Reform Act fell short of the demand of the people, and in making this claim we are not putting forward something which was not put forward originally, but we are simply reiterating the demand that was originally made (Here, here). It has been said, it is bound to be said, that our experience is not adequate. It may be said that the first period of one year that has gone by is too short, but one thing may be fairly said : that is, that during that period it has not been proved that the working of the Reforms has been a failure. I do not wish to contend that it has been proved to be an undoubted success. This much at least must be conceded without any fear of want of modesty that the working has not been proved to be a failure.

Growth of National Consciousness.

There is another reason for making this further demand. There has been a rapid growth of national consciousness ; there has been a strong and growing demand among all sections of the people for full control over their own destinies. That is an undoubted fact which cannot possibly be disputed, but the mere growth of national consciousness or the mere strength of the demand may not by itself be sufficient to support the case for further concession. We therefore add a further reason that in view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reform Act, we are entitled to ask further concessions.

What is the nature of that experience ? The experience may be either with regard to our capacity for successfully working this reform or with regard to the defects in the machinery or in the constitution which may be revealed in the course of actual working. As regards our capacity for working, I have pointed out that it has not been found that we have been found wanting.

Defects in Existing Machinery.

As regards the question of defect which have been revealed, I would refer to those defects in the working which are likely to best

appear to the Government themselves. So far as practical experience goes, and I can speak only for the Legislative Assembly in which I have been taking part, there has been no lack of desire on the part of the Government to accede to the wishes of the Assembly or to mould the policy according to the wishes of the Legislature. Undoubtedly, we exercise a large influence and an influence growing day by day, and that is a fact to be fully recognised and welcomed. On the other hand, there are certain defects which might have struck any impartial observer of the Assembly. How exactly might matters stand with regard to local Legislative Councils I am not in a position to say, but it is quite probable that the same defects as have been brought to light in the Central Legislature may have been brought to light in the working of the Provincial Councils.

Want of Organisation

One thing that is noticeable above all others in the working of the Central Legislatures is the want of co-ordination and want of organisation among members of the legislature and the waste of time and energy and of effort that are consequent upon that state of things. Resolutions are often proposed, wise and unwise; interpellations are plied with ruthless severity, and the time of the legislature is taken up in all sorts of questions, important or unimportant. So far as the Government is concerned, and so far as the non-official members are concerned, it is not possible for them to regulate the procedure and economise time and direct the energies of the legislature in the most fruitful channels and with maximum of gain and advantage to the community. That can only be achieved by the formation of a political organisation. I know members of Government have often complained that it is not possible for them to say what amount of support they can rely upon in the Assembly or Council of State. Whenever they have to introduce a legislative measure or fiscal measure they have no ideas as to what support they can command. The Government, as you are aware, is now in a minority in the legislature. The official members who are there and the nominated members who are there, all put together do not give them anything like a majority at all. The elected members are in a majority, and in the present state of things, when there is a want of cohesion among various elected members, the Government do not know precisely where they stand and what amount of support they can get. That necessarily interferes with the framing of proposals or with the reaching of definite conclusions with any definite prospect of backing in the Assembly. I need not expatiate on the question as to how far this interferes with the successful working of the legislatures.



Need for Party Organisations

It may perhaps be said that the success of party organisations ought to precede and not succeed the grant of responsible Government. I am not altogether sure of the soundness of that position. It may be quite possible to form party organisations, and I think it our duty to have such organisation so that the members of the legislature may acquire the habit of acting in concert and in consultation with each other and acquire the habit of co-operation, of discipline and of concerted action. On the other hand, it may be said that in the peculiar circumstances of this country, in the absence of any very sharp difference of principles, when the whole of the institution, the Assembly or the Legislature, may be said to be in a state of evolution, the introduction of Responsible Government may help them to be crystallised out of fluid conditions. I think that the grant of Responsible Government may have this effect of precipitating the formation of definite parties which cannot but help the Government to determine its programme, to frame its policy, and to go forth to the Assembly confident in the expectation of support. Whether we shall succeed in forming parties on the lines of the parties in England, or whether our line of development may be towards the formation of groups, or both, it is too remote to forecast. But whatever may be the particular lines of advance, I have no doubt that the introduction of Responsible Government and the principle of responsibility will have the effect of promoting better organisation.

Legislature Fully Representative

Then again, it may be said that the legislatures are not sufficiently representative of the people, and that therefore Responsible Govt. cannot be granted. Of all the criticisms that have been levelled against the present constitution this seems to me to be the unkindest cut of all, proceeding especially from the Govt. and the officials who have been responsible for the framing of this measure. When the Home Member, on the last occasion of the debate in the Assembly, put the question whether the legislature was really representative, I was disposed to say *At tu Brute!* It has been the Government who have been responsible for the franchise and for the rules of working. I am afraid that in judging this matter Government are as impatient as the ardent spirits among us. The latter are eager to copy the latest fads in the political world which have been adopted within the last few years or perhaps within the last few months. The Government is equally impatient to see an electorate as advanced, as educated, and as responsible as the one which exists in the United Kingdom at the present day. Forgetting that when Responsible Government was introduced in the United Kingdom the electorate

there bore a very small proportion to the whole population, forgetting that in the initial stages only a small proportion of the electorate goes to the poll, forgetting their own history they level these criticisms against us and are saying that we are not sufficiently advanced. I emphatically repudiate the charge that our legislatures are not representative. (Hear, hear). I venture to claim that they are as representative as possible in the present position of affairs.

Sense of Responsibility

Then again, it is said, that the sense of responsibility is one which has to be acquired by training, by experience, and by opportunities, that the necessary opportunities have now been provided, and that these opportunities must be utilised to the fullest measure before we can count upon fresh opportunities for further development of this sense of responsibility. Here, again, let me say that I am not among those over-sanguine and over-ardent spirits who say that the sense of responsibility is a thing which we all possess at birth or acquire as a natural endowment. I am one of those who think that the art of Government requires at least as much practical experience, at least as much training, as any other technical education. We all commit serious mistakes in supposing that while all other occupations require training, the art of administration, the art of Government, are things which require no experience. At the same time I do think that the responsibility is cultivated by the furnishing of opportunities for its exercise. The existing constitution has no doubt furnished us with opportunities for the cultivation of the sense of responsibility, but, I think, the more opportunities they furnish the greater will be the development of the sense of responsibility; at any rate, I think the experiment may well be made of making further concessions.

Full Provincial Autonomy

Now we ask for two things. First, take full autonomy in the provinces at the end of the first term. The most important subject among those which are now reserved in the Provincial Governments are the subjects of *Law and Justice*. Naturally, our Government are afraid that subjects of law and justice being vital to the maintenance of law and order and of society, they cannot afford to run the risk of failure in that respect; but I have all along felt that the departments of law and justice may well be entrusted to popular control for this reason that if those departments are not administered with a due sense of responsibility, it will recoil upon us far more than any other section of the community. We shall be quick to realise that we are in a position to suffer from miscarriage of justice or failure of law. Nothing will better bring home to us the sense of responsibility

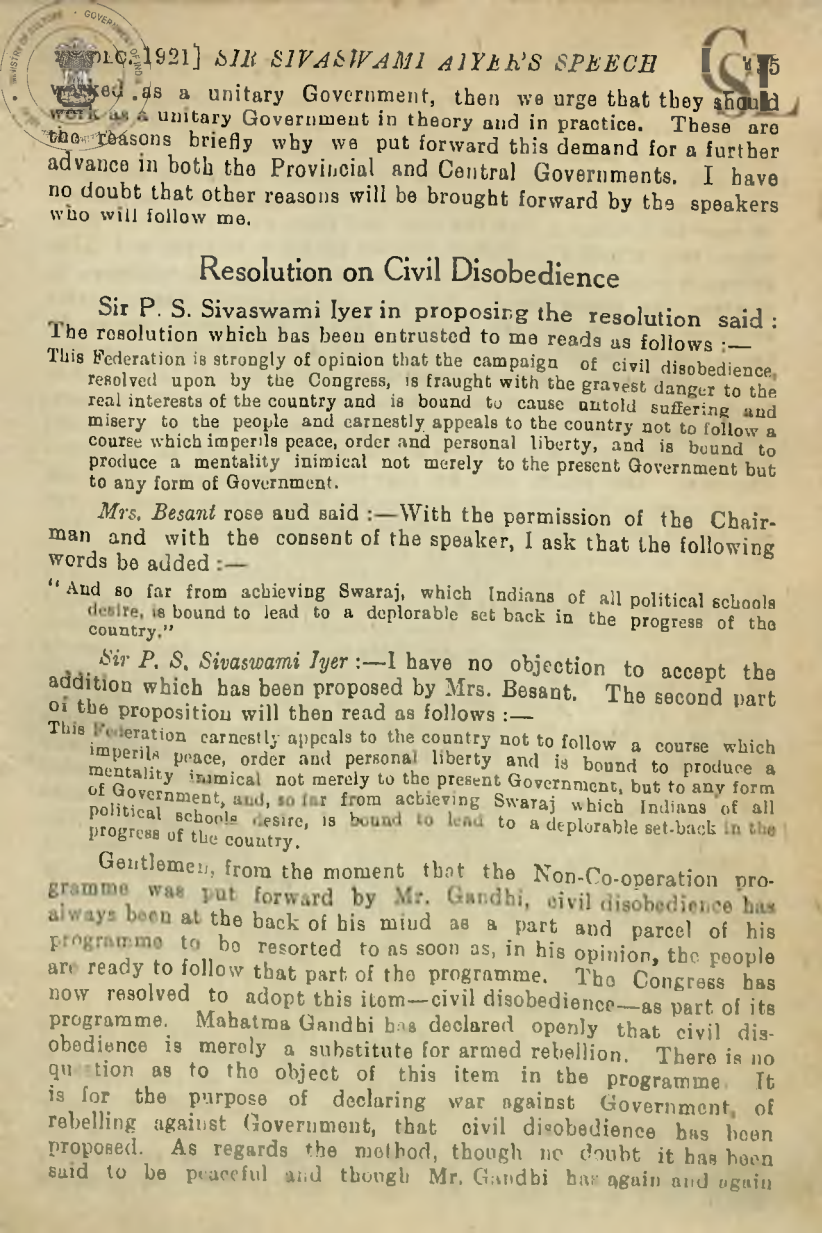


with regard to these departments, and I venture to claim that we are as deeply interested in the preservation of peace and order as any officials or any particular section of the community.

Then, again, the other subject is *Finance*. There is no doubt that there will be strong inducement on the part of representatives of the people not to face the unpopularity or the odium of fiscal measures which throw a burden on the people. But that is a thing which is bound to pass away soon when the people settle down to the working of the constitution and begin to realise that in this world they cannot have anything for nothing and that if they are to secure the blessings of a civilised administration they must pay for it. They will begin to realise that by some means or other they are bound to find the necessary money for the expenditure. I venture to hope that the representatives of the people will not be so dead to a sense of responsibility as to sacrifice considerations of efficiency of administration. For these reasons, Sir, I advocate the grant of full autonomy in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the Provincial Councils.

Responsibility in the Central Government.

As regards the Central Government, what we ask for is that except the special subject of defence—that is, the Army and the Navy, though the Navy is non-existent just now—foreign affairs, relations with Indian States, and ecclesiastical affairs, all other subjects should be transferred to the control of the Legislature. We are aware that there are important interests to be safeguarded and for the purpose of protecting all vested interests we ask that such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all existing vested interests may be provided, and that subject to such safeguards the rest of the subjects may be transferred to popular control. The reasons which I have urged for the introduction of responsibility in Provincial Governments apply with as much force to the case of the Central Government. In fact, it is more of that Government that I have been speaking with anything like personal experience than of local Governments. So far as the Provincial Governments are concerned, it has been claimed by some of the heads of administrations that in accordance with the expectations of the Joint Select Committee, notwithstanding the theoretical division of Government into two halves, the one in charge of reserved subjects and the other in charge of transferred subjects, they have been working the two halves as a unitary Government. If the two halves of the Government have worked together as a unitary Government, then this resolution asks that that procedure should be continued and formally recognised and legalised. If, on the other hand, they have not



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worked as a unitary Government, then we urge that they should work as a unitary Government in theory and in practice. These are the reasons briefly why we put forward this demand for a further advance in both the Provincial and Central Governments. I have no doubt that other reasons will be brought forward by the speakers who will follow me.

Resolution on Civil Disobedience

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer in proposing the resolution said :
The resolution which has been entrusted to me reads as follows :—
This Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of civil disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people and earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty, and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government but to any form of Government.

Mrs. Besant rose and said :—With the permission of the Chairman and with the consent of the speaker, I ask that the following words be added :—
“And so far from achieving Swaraj, which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable set back in the progress of the country.”

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer :—I have no objection to accept the addition which has been proposed by Mrs. Besant. The second part of the proposition will then read as follows :—
This Federation earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government, but to any form of Government, and, so far from achieving Swaraj which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable set-back in the progress of the country.

Gentlemen, from the moment that the Non-Co-operation programme was put forward by Mr. Gandhi, civil disobedience has always been at the back of his mind as a part and parcel of his programme to be resorted to as soon as, in his opinion, the people are ready to follow that part of the programme. The Congress has now resolved to adopt this item—civil disobedience—as part of its programme. Mahatma Gandhi has declared openly that civil disobedience is merely a substitute for armed rebellion. There is no question as to the object of this item in the programme. It is for the purpose of declaring war against Government, of rebelling against Government, that civil disobedience has been proposed. As regards the method, though no doubt it has been said to be peaceful and though Mr. Gandhi has again and again



NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION [ALLIANCE]

insist upon adherence to the policy of non-violence, there can be no doubt that civil disobedience involves the breaking of the law and authority (Hear hear). So far as Non-Co operation is concerned, it need not necessarily involve the breaking of law and authority, but the moment you resolve upon civil disobedience, you are bound to come into collision with the law, and there can be only one result when you provoke a conflict between authority and yourself. The necessary result of this policy will be to defy the Government, to paralyse the Government. All that must necessarily result in great suffering and misery to the people. If you deliberately break the law, the Government cannot keep quiet if it is to deserve the name of a Government. It must enforce law and order, if it is at all to be worthy of the name of Government. And if the Government has to maintain law and order, if it has to maintain its authority, it must necessarily punish those who have been guilty of breach of the law. The result will be that you will be inducing hundreds, if not more, to bring upon themselves the punishment which is the inevitable consequence of a collision with law and authority. Also you will be producing a state of excitement in the country which will not possibly allow them to continue to adhere to the policy of non-violence. It is all very well for Mahatma Gandhi to insist on a policy of non-violence. I have no doubt that so far as he himself is concerned, and so far as many of his leading followers are concerned, they may be able to practise the necessary self-restraint, they may be able to carry out the policy of non-violence. But is it possible for thousands of ordinary people to whom this programme is addressed to adhere to the policy of non-violence in carrying out this programme? I am afraid it will be nothing short of the miraculous to expect the people to adhere strictly to this policy. Whenever there has been an occasion for the people to place themselves in conflict with the authorities, we have found that they have not adhered to the policy of non-violence; they have been guilty of acts of violence. We have had illustrations of it recently in Bombay and elsewhere, and it is not necessary for me to dwell upon the minor illustrations of it that occurred in other places previous to the Bombay riots.

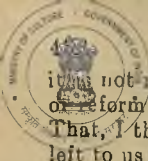
Respect for Law and Authority.

Now the great mistake Mahatma Gandhi commits lies in supposing that all people are saints like himself or can be turned into saints like himself. It is something which we cannot expect of ordinary human nature. You cannot turn a whole humanity into saints. You cannot expect ordinary people to conform to the policy of non-violence in the face of punishment which they themselves have endeavoured their best to deserve or to court. These

omissions, with authority will produce all the consequences which necessarily follow a breach of the law, but there are also other deplorable consequences which will ensue on collision with Government. One feature which has made itself manifest during the last few months is the utter contempt for law and authority and the change in the mentality of the people which has been brought about. You go anywhere you like, and you will find that the people have lost all respect for law and order. It is all very well for you to say that they have lost respect for the present Government, but that they have all respect for law and order. That is a frame of mind which cannot possibly be sedulously cultivated without its being subversive of all law and order. Already we find many unpleasant manifestations of this change of mentality. We find that there is an extreme intolerance of difference of opinion on the part of others. We find that there is great unwillingness to listen to persons who hold a view different from theirs. And we find in various other ways a great disposition among a section of the people, possibly the more vocal section, to terrorise over a much larger section. These are the symptoms which have already manifested themselves. The spirit of obedience to law is one which has not been acquired in a day or two, but has been the result of centuries of experience, centuries of civilisation. It is extremely difficult to build up the law-abiding habit, but it is extremely easy to destroy the law-abiding instinct in them. We have only to turn to the case of Russia where the people have been accustomed for long to obedience to authority. And what has been the result there? We find that instead of proceeding upon constitutional lines the people have been plunged in the horrors of Bolshevism and anarchy, and that is the state of affairs which we wish to be spared from. We want to attain our goal by peaceful evolution which will cause bloodshed and endless misery. We wish to spare our countrymen all the horrors of anarchy. And for what purpose is all this suffering to be endured or undergone? It is said for the purpose of attaining Swaraj. Now if there were no prospects of attaining Swaraj by peaceful means, you may perhaps conceive the possibility of considering other methods. But, on the other hand, I have no doubt that if you only proceed along constitutional lines, if you avail yourselves of the opportunities that have now been placed within our reach, we shall reach the goal of responsible Government in a much shorter time than the day when you might expect to reach such responsible Government by the adoption of violent means.

How to Get Swaraj

Now, it has been said that it is not for the British Government to give us responsible Government, but is for us to take it, and that



it is not necessary that there should be any concession in the name of reform by any outsider, but it is open to us to take it at once. That, I think, is absolutely impossible. There are only two courses left to us by which we could get it—either through Parliament and the British people as His Excellency the Viceroy puts it, or by recourse to revolutionary methods. Now, there has been undoubtedly a change in the angle of vision of the British Government and the British people and of the Government here in India. There is no use in pointing to stray episodes in the administration and say that here is a blot in the administration or there is a blot. I do not hold any brief for the Government, nor am I prepared to take upon myself the task of defending all their measures, whether they are right or wrong. But I do submit this to you:—Has there been any Government which has been free from imperfections, which has been free from blunders? And taking the history of our own country and the doings of the Governments of the past, I ask:—Has there been any Government which has been free from blunders or imperfections or even defects? Now, it surely betrays a lack of common sense and a regard for accuracy to say that this is a 'satanic' Government and that the only salvation of the people lies in uprooting this Government by forcible methods. I am firmly convinced with all the earnestness of my conviction that it is quite possible for us to attain the aim which we all have in view by proceeding on strictly constitutional lines.

Violence or Non-Violence?

To illustrate my remarks as to the improbability of the people to have recourse to peaceful methods, let me just refer to some of the utterances of the Muhammadan followers of Mr. Gandhi. From what we have read in the newspapers, you will see that some of them are really fretting at the restraint imposed upon them by Mr. Gandhi as to recourse to violence. Some of them have put it forward that recourse to violence has been enjoined by their religion, and that the dictates of their religion require them not to observe this pact of non-violence any longer, but require them to resort to any means for the purpose of attaining their object. Now, again, take the utterance of Maulana Muhammad Ali made some months ago. He distinctly stated: 'I am prepared to observe non-violence so long as I am associated with Mahatma Gandhi'. Remember carefully the qualification which he puts in. Remember also the qualification which has been introduced in the formula of the pledge undertaken by many of the 'volunteers'. It says 'so long as the Congress adheres to the policy of non-violence.' All that shows that, if any moment, somebody or other sets the example of violence, or the Congress adopts the policy of violence which, in view of its recent pronounce-

methods of violence. The result of violence will be that our Muhammadan countrymen will certainly have recourse to arms and revolution. I do not know I am doing them an injustice in suggesting that the recollection of the days of Muhammadan ascendancy and the hope of revival of that ascendancy may not be altogether absent from their minds. Look at the way they gloat over a corridor being opened from Turkey to India. It is not an unnatural hypothesis that many among the Muhammadans, especially among the more fanatical section of them, will be inspired by the vision of Pan-Islamism. Just recollect the dangers of all that. It is surely our duty to warn our countrymen against the dangers of this fanaticism and to do all that lies in our powers to induce them not to follow a course which is sure to lead them to disaster and will retard our progress.

The resolution was carried.

Other Resolutions.

Resolutions expressing the sense of loss to the country by the deaths of Mr. R. N. Mudholkar and Sir Rash Behari Ghose, and a resolution according most loyal welcome to the Prince were moved from the Chair and passed.

Indianisation of Commissioned Ranks

Mr. B. S. Kamat moved a resolution urging the Government to give effect immediately to the resolution of the Legislative Assembly in regard to the Indianisation of Commissioned ranks in the Indian Army by starting with the initial recruitment of Indians to 25 per cent of the annual vacancies, and such recruitment by annual increment of not less than five per cent.

Sir K. G. Gupta moved, and other speakers emphasised the fact, that they must be able to defend themselves if they wanted to attain Swaraj. Sir K. G. Gupta added if the British Government was sincere in its professions to grant Swaraj to India, it must Indianise the Army in India.

The resolution was passed.

The New Policy

In the Subjects Committee, Mrs. Annie Besant brought in a resolution favouring the repressive policy of the Government as against non-co-operators, under the Criminal Amendment Act, though admitting that some Local Governments had made mistakes in the application of the Act.

The U. P., Madras, and Punjab delegates solidly opposed Mrs. Annie Besant, whereas opinions were divided in the case of Bengal,



NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION [ALLAHABAD, Allahabad, Bombay, and Poona delegates. Pandit Gokarnnath Misra, Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru, Messrs. A. P. Sen, G. A. Natesan, Sri Sivaswamy Iyer, Messrs. Prakas Nath Sapru, K. P. Kaul, and B. S. Kamat opposed Mrs. Besant, whereas Messrs. Jamnadas, Gadgil, and Telang were among her supporters. In the end, Mrs. Besant was defeated by 23 against 45 votes.

The resolution, as finally accepted by the Subjects Committee, ran as follows :—

1. This Federation fully realises the difficulty of the Government in dealing with the present critical situation, the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of civil disobedience, and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, and it recognises the duty of every patriotic citizen to support the Government in all measures necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. But it views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of indiscriminate arrests and extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating general unrest. It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some local Governments and local authorities have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences, of which the Federation strongly disapprove, and the Federation therefore strongly urges on the Government an immediate re-consideration of its policy in order to ease the present situation.

2. This Federation urges the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee and to withdraw the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act as early as possible, making such amendments of the ordinary law relating to intimidations as may be suitable and necessary for the effective protection of law-abiding citizens.

Guaranteed Railway Companies

Several resolutions were moved from the Chair and carried. A resolution approved of the recommendation of the Chairman and four members of the Railway Committee to entrust the undertaking of Guaranteed Railway Companies when the contracts fall into direct State Management, and trusted that Government would accept that policy.

Moplah Rebellion Condemned

Another resolution condemned the Moplah rebellion, and supported Government measures in that connection and appealed for funds for relief.

Podanur Train Tragedy

A resolution also expressed horror at the Podanur train tragedy, and trusted that those responsible would be brought to book.

Other Resolutions

Resolutions expressing dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the Viceroy's action regarding the Punjab Martial Law prisoners and for suitable punishment of the officers found guilty during the

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Mutual Law administration, urging for the revision of the Turkish Treaty, appreciating the services at the Imperial Conference of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri for obtaining equal status for Indians in the Empire, and welcoming the resolution of the Imperial Conference regarding the status of Indians in the Empire, and trusting the position of Indians in East Africa would be determined in accordance with the policy approved of by the Imperial Conference were also passed.

A resolution calling upon the people to remove sex-disqualification for franchise as Madras and Bombay have done, and another resolution appealing to the Liberal Leagues and other allied organisations to combat Non-co operation by systematic propaganda were also passed.

General Secretaries

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer and Mr. G. A. Natesan were elected General Secretaries of the Federation for the next year.

Next Session at Nagpur

The Federation was invited to meet next year at Nagpur.

President's Concluding Speech

The President, before dissolving the Federation, made a speech in the course of which he said :—

The Work Done

We have met here at a very critical time no doubt. The Liberal Party has been looked forward to as the one party which will give the lead to the country, so far as those who profess Liberalism are concerned. There was, therefore, a most onerous duty cast upon this Federation at this session for them to decide what shall be the lead which we should give to the nation. The amount of difference of opinion that you might have observed both in the Subjects Committee and in the discussion here will show that it was not an easy thing for us to arrive at an agreement. It must be a matter of great satisfaction to every one interested in the progress of Liberalism that at last we have been able to put forward a resolution, by no means unimportant in character, a resolution which secured the unanimous consent of those who took part in the deliberations of this Federation.

Now it is possible for the Federation to say that it has given the lead to the country, that it has shown what methods of work it has to pursue, that it has shown what the primary duties are that devolve upon us. We have shown, in the first place, that the country has arrived at a stage of self-consciousness when it is impossible for it to be satisfied with things as they stand, that we must have provincial autonomy complete, and that so far as the Central Government is concerned, there ought to be a large measure of responsibility in it, only such subjects as are absolutely indispensable, according to the British Government and the British people for the safety of the British Empire, to be reserved. We have made that perfectly clear. We have also made it perfectly clear that these are merely steps to complete Responsible Government. We have also not minced matters when we spoke on the present situation and the

policy that has been adopted with reference to the present situation. You see the resolution has evoked a large amount of discussion and, to some extent, difference of opinion. It is but natural that there should have been this difference of opinion; for, you will remember that there are a number of complicated considerations that have to be brought to bear upon the consideration of this question before one can arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to oneself much more than to others. Now the position stands thus. If it was merely the administration of the ordinary law of the land, sometimes with rigor and sometimes not with rigor, according to the exigencies of the situation, there would not have been this large amount of criticism to which the Government has been subjected, and this wave of indignation that has spread from one end of the country to the other. But the misfortune was this, that in the application of measures which Government has resolved upon to enforce, it invoked the aid, not of the ordinary law of the land, but of certain provisions which have been reserved for extraordinary occasions—provisions which were considered to be necessary in circumstances altogether different from those that are now being dealt with. And no wonder, therefore, particularly when a Committee has sat to consider the question and has recommended the repeal of those provisions as early as possible, that the country felt indignant that such a provision as this should have been enforced at a time when they expected a policy of conciliation to be adopted in respect of them; and this indignation was in no way lessened when it was found that the actual application of the measure had in no way tended to bring about the result which was expected. In these circumstances it is that we find that for the moment perhaps an undue importance is given to this side of the question, forgetting that after all Governments justify their existence only because they are the custodians of law and order. If by one stroke you take them away, the fundamental principles on which Governments are based, even the Government that the Mahatma is proposing for us, even that Government cannot stand for one minute. In these circumstances, we must also sympathise with the Government. It may be that they have made errors, and I believe that the temper of the Government on the whole and particularly of the Government of India is such that they would not hesitate to acknowledge their error, once that error has been properly and prominently pointed out to them.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that you have been asked to accept and that has been accepted almost unanimously, if not unanimously, lays stress upon both the aspects to which I have ventured to draw your attention. It sympathises with the difficulties of the Government, but at the same time it points out that there has been a liability to excesses, not merely a liability to excesses but there have been actually excesses with the result that the country is greatly alarmed at the policy that has been adopted; and we also ask that that policy should be reversed and that measures should be taken by all means, and the Government will have the support of every loyal and patriotic citizen who is able and far-sighted enough to see that it is not the needs of to-morrow or the day-after-to-morrow which have to be looked to, but it is the continuity of progress and the attainment of the goal that have to be secured within a short time as possible. I say that every body who recognises these aims would be the first to support the Government in any measure that may be taken. Only what we insist upon is this. Let it not be harsher than the needs of the situation require. Trust yourself as far as possible to the ordinary law of the land, and if you think that the ordinary law is not sufficient, there are the constituted representatives of the people, constituted by your own constitution, go to them, put the position before them, and get their consent, and then you will have a larger measure of support in the country. That is the meaning of the resolution on the present situation.



On the Bank of a Precipice.

There is one other resolution which I am bound to refer to and that is the resolution which relates to Civil Disobedience. I ask every one of us calmly to consider what it is that he is being asked to do. We are, if I may be permitted to say so, on the brink of a precipice, and that the brink is not less in its danger because of the seductive and attractive manner in which we are attracted to the brink. In the first place, the movement is directed by one whose character is unimpeachable, by one who will take the first place in any society so far as integrity of character, sincerity of purpose, and self-abnegation are concerned. But those are the attributes of saints. These are persons whom we can try to approximate but shall not be able to imitate. But in this hard work-a-day world there are other influences at work. There are the lower strata of society that will also have to be reckoned with. They are people who are not so free from passions and imperfections as Mahatma Gandhi is. He can only tell us what the goal is that we might attain, but he cannot take part in helping us to reach it, for a man situated as he is will always think of the perfect side of the human nature. He will forgive me, and those who sympathise with him will give me, when I say that he has not been able to enter so fully and so correctly into the hearts of ordinary men whom he has asked to follow him.

Attractiveness of Non-violence.

By way of illustrations, I would refer to two or three matters with which I shall close my remarks. One point that Mr. Gandhi has insisted upon is this, there ought to be no violence in bringing about the aims that he has put before the country, and it is more or less the attractiveness of that point that has given him a number of followers. But, as a matter of fact, you will find that the recent resolutions that were adopted at Ahmedabad, the views of the Congress at Ahmedabad, and the utterances of responsible persons at Ahmedabad throw considerable doubt and cause great misgivings as to whether this assurance is to be kept up. You will find in the first place that Mr. Gandhi has stated—I use the words that are quoted in the papers—"either we step into the new year with a full belief in this programme and finish it with lightning speed or we dissolve this compact of non-violence. So, it is a fight to the finish with the Government in our own special manner." Now, ladies and gentlemen, lightning speed is not a thing which you can expect in anything, much less when you want to change constitutions. To say that unless a thing is effected with lightning speed the pact of non-violence would be dissolved, is indeed a most dangerous statement. I would venture to appeal to every one of you whether you belong to the ranks of Liberals or to the ranks of Non-co-operators, to think as to what the policy of following violence means. If you are going to dissolve the pact of non-violence, you may take it that revolution, commotion, blood-shed and all the horrors to which the worst passions of human mind can impel one, all these horrors will be accomplished facts. And we have had recently put before us this policy in all light-heartedness. In these circumstances I would ask you to consider this question carefully.

That is not the only ground for me for saying so. Even the leaders of the movement have now begun to suspect that it is possible that a stage may be reached at which the pact of non-violence could no longer be kept up. I would ask you to consider this and the pledge that volunteers are asked to take. The pledge is as follows:—"With God as witness I solemnly declare that I wish to be a Member of the National Volunteer Corps. So long as I remain a member of the corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be in intent, since I believe that as India is circum-

taught, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj" and so on. Now, ladies and gentlemen, you will all see that it is a very carefully thought-out pledge that has been put before the country. What does it say? This obligation to keep this non-violence is only so long as the volunteer continues to be a member of the corps. It is not a pledge that he gives that he is bound to carry out whatever he may be, whatever might be his avocation and whatever he is called upon to do. The only thing he is to do is to keep up the pledge so long as he continues to be a member of the Volunteer Corps. That merely means that he will get himself trained in the Volunteer Corps, acquire all the virtues which are the characteristics of the Volunteer Corps; but if it be necessary that the volunteers should take to violence all he has to do is to secede from the corps; and then he is at liberty to practise violence. I do not think that can be said to be at all a satisfactory state of affairs.

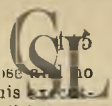
Civil Disobedience must lead to Violence

Then again, I would ask you to note that at the present moment you find the Khilafat Conference, the Muslim League and the Congress, all practically moving with the same object. They are, if I may say so, in unison with one another. Yet you find that in the Congress, the Khilafat Conference, and the Muslim League there is a large body, though for the time being it is a minority, which insists upon no condition of non-violence. That again, I say, points to a state of affairs in the near future which it is not possible for us to contemplate with equanimity. If you consider this aspect of the question, you will find that there can be but one end when civil disobedience is practised on a large scale with the people situated as they are, and I am prepared to say that for a short time—it may be for a few days—they may be able to restrain themselves and may be bound by the pledge of civil disobedience. But when they are asked to practise on a large scale for a number of days, then you will find that it is impossible that it could be practised. And what will be the result except violence on a large scale?

We also find that the masses in India are also appealed to. We are told that there are three hundred million of Indian population who are being downtrodden. And if this three hundred million of the population take part in civil disobedience, what shall be the condition of this country? That is a point that I am sure must appeal to every one who has not already made up his mind irrevocably as to what his course of conduct ought to be.

India's Mission

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we shall be false to ourselves if we overlook this aspect of the matter. India has a mission in the world. It is not for nothing that the Almighty in his wisdom allowed India to live while other nations unlike ourselves have perished. We have a mission to execute in the world. And that mission remains yet unfulfilled. We shall fulfil that mission only when we have risen to our proper place, when we have risen to the fullest capacity that we possess. Unless we are able to do that this mission cannot be achieved. Now, what is that mission? It is a spiritualising mission that India has among the nations of the world, and we have to work upon the mind and character of our sister nations, not so much upon their material resources. Shall we be best enabled to carry out that mission by embarking on a course whose objective, whatever may be said by its authors, cannot but lead to violence? This is a matter that I would ask you to consider. There is another point again tending to the same conclusion which I venture to submit before you, and that is this. We shall take it that we are going to have violence. What is our objective? To obtain Swaraj, Independence. Now, you may depend upon it that it is characteristic of the Britisher that when he is pushed



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that he will do everything in his power to achieve his purpose and no considerations of money, men, or material will stand in the way of his attaining his object. The result will be, whether we will it or not, we shall have to go into war. And that, of necessity, must take time. And after that, there will be the after-effects of war. And when you get Swaraj after all this, it could not be with lightning speed; it must be after a considerable interval of time.

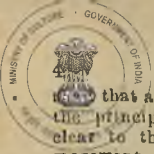
Constitutional Way

What is it that we suggest? We say that in the same period you will get Swaraj, but in a very different manner indeed. We insist upon provincial autonomy being given. You train yourselves and make yourselves fit for it, and depend upon it that once you have shown unmistakable fitness for a thing, it will come to you, probably shortly, but there is absolutely no doubt that you shall get it. Now, what the Liberals put out is this. We have these opportunities. Work them out. Let us not mitigate in any way our efforts for the purpose of attaining all that you think proper. Agitate, agitate only constitutionally, fearlessly, strenuously and unceasingly, and you are sure to attain what you want, but be within the limits of constitutional agitation. I submit, that of the two courses open to us, the one that I have suggested is the better one.

It is not that I wish to suggest for a moment that we are not fit for complete self-government. It is one thing to say that we are fit, but it is another thing to say that the capacity which goes to make up that fitness is being disciplined, put into working order, so that, when self-government is completely gained, we shall take care that we shall not make mistakes, or at least that the number of mistakes we may make shall be as few as possible. Both on principle and policy, and in view of the past civilisation of India and what it is that she is capable of doing, we say that the policy which is put forward by the Liberals is the policy that the country would adopt. It may be that at present we have not got a large following; it is because we have not been able to make attractive promises to the people. We have not done so because of the sense of difficulty of realising those promises.

The Appeal to the Moderates

There is only one other matter that I have to refer to, and that is this. An appeal has been made to the Moderates to join the Non-co-operators. The appeal has been made to us by men for whom we have the highest regard so far as their character is concerned, and they will forgive us if we respectfully tell them that we are not prepared to listen to their appeal and join our hands with them and join their ranks. What is it that we are told? We are told: "It cannot be that everything in our programme cannot find acceptance with you. There is the Swaraj movement; there is the question of eradicating the drink evil; there is the question of untouchability; these are all matters for which we can meet on a common platform. Why do not you join with us and try to advance these causes?" This is a perfectly reasonable way of putting the case. But you will find that the one thing that is demanded of us when we join forces with them is that we should accept the fundamental basis of their action and the principles that guide them in their doings. And I, for one, would hesitate to accept a position which will really commit me to original principles on which the non-co-operation movement is based. In these circumstances we are not in a position to comply with the request which they have made. And they can easily understand the position we are taking. We shall work for the ends we consider proper and necessary. If the ends, some of the ends, happen to be common, so much the better, because you will find here two volumes of forces working for the same ends, and their result would be better



NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION [ALLAHABAD]

is that achieved if there be one volume of forces working. We want the principle of which we profess, the principles we act upon, must be made clear to the world; and therefore, we cannot associate ourselves with any movement which, whatever might be the professions, very sincere no doubt of the leaders thereof, in our humble judgment is sure to end in violence and consequences most disastrous to the permanent good of the country which they and we love alike. In these circumstances, ladies and gentlemen, I believe our party has justified its existence. There has not been as much propaganda as there should have been, and I am sure that the resolution that we have adopted this time will find its echo in the hearts of every one who is in a position to advance the Liberal cause; and we shall have a larger and larger number of persons taking to the propaganda of Liberal principles so that the country will be able to know what it is that we are aiming at, and they will know that we are equally sincere like the Non-co-operators to achieve the end which we all have in view, namely, the attainment of Swaraj as quickly as possible.

They will then see that if there is any difference between the Non-co-operators and us, it is a difference in method, but a difference which is very vital indeed. I have not the slightest hesitation that if we only put forth our efforts steadily as time goes on there will be a progressive accession to our ranks until, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi himself, truth will prevail and the country will find what it is that is best to its interests. I join with Mrs. Das in asking the question. 'Do I stand for India in her present struggle?' A very pertinent question indeed, and it requires a very satisfactory and unmistakable answer. The Liberals are as much for India in this struggle as the Non-co-operators are, so far as their patriotic instincts go, so far as their anxiety to see that the country gets its proper place in the world is concerned. In the object we have in view we are at one with the Non-co-operators, but we take leave to doubt the propriety and the methods that they have suggested. and after having deliberated the question with all the ability, with all the maturity of understanding that we are able to command, we think that the methods that have been suggested are not the correct methods, and we are as such entitled, as they are entitled, to our opinion and to act on this opinion.



CSL

All-India Khilafat Conference

AHMEDABAD—26TH DECEMBER 1921

The All-India Khilafat Conference was held at Ahmedabad, in the Muslim League Pandal, on the 26th December 1921. The attendance, even from circles outside the Moslem faith, was very large, and included almost all the prominent N-C O leaders. Syed Ahmed Ali Ulvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in an urdu speech deploring the present condition of India and the tyrannies she was suffering and asked the Muham-madans whether they could rest content when the *Fatwas* of their Religious Heads were being proscribed by the Government.

The Presidential Address

Hakim Ajmal Khan, President of the All-India Khilafat Conference, delivered his Presidential address in Urdu in which he reviewed the present political situation in the country and discussed the question of the Khilafat in the light of developments in India and the Near East. He began by saying that it was a sheer waste of time to deliver a long presidential speech and that it was futile to dwell on the different phases of the present struggle which are obvious to all. He remarked that since the last Khilafat Conference at Karachi, great changes had taken place in the European diplomacy in the Near East, and other Islamic countries had been repeatedly defeated thus bringing us nearer to our goal. If we devoted our best energies to the work, the final achievement is not far. He pointed out that Islamic Federation in Central Asia, Caucasus, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, and, above all, the regenerated Turkey gave promise of a greater future for Islam. India on the one side and Asia Minor on the other are but two extreme links in a chain of the future Islamic federation, which are gradually but surely joining together all intermediate states in one great system. The present conditions in Europe clearly indicate the great possibility of the emancipation of Asia from the political bondage and economic slavery of the West. In India the work had already begun. He asked his compatriots deeply interested in the events taking place outside India to bear in mind those facts that the success of their efforts in the cause of the Khilafat was bound to help the awakening of India and that the regeneration of Asia was closely bound up with the Khilafat question, in as

much as it was as a matter of fact the fore-runner of a general awakening of Asia. United India could not afford to ignore the developments in the Islamic world, specially because no less than seventy millions belonging to the Islamic faith form part of the Indian nation and had a share in its destiny. Afghanistan, the neighbouring Islamic country touching on our border, was already making efforts to attain complete independence which will certainly check-mate the designs of imperialistic greed and would clear the way for other Asiatic states to rise.

Anglo-Afghan Treaty

Referring to the recent Anglo-Afghan Treaty, the President remarked that it was the first step towards a complete vindication of the natural and political honour of the Afghan. All that could possibly be said against the treaty was that it was perhaps not well-timed and that the Indian people would have approved a further postponement. But, on the whole, the treaty was an admirable and a statesman-like achievement on the part of His Majesty the Amir and his Ministers. The Afghan nation deserves to be congratulated mainly because the treaty was, if any thing, a clear guarantee of a complete independence in the near future. Along with this the recent consolidation of the Islamic States in Azerbaijan, Caucasia and Persia is as significant as the great victory of the Kemalist forces over the Greeks, which completely smashed the British diplomacy in the East and induced France to conclude a separate treaty with Angora, thus undermining the alliance and at the same time giving an impetus to the efforts of those who stood for right and justice.

Near Eastern Question

He described what intense efforts were being made to dissuade France from the Franco-Turk agreement and to spoil prospects of peace, but it was not too much to hope that France would not commit such a mistake because it was well-known that she was absolutely disgusted with the cross-currents of European diplomacy and the sordid machination of Allied foreign officers in her own interests and also in the interest of peace and order, and to dissociate herself from diplomatic intrigues leading to the world's difficulties. Even the French Press declared that it was so very difficult to solve the near Eastern question if only Great Britain would care to help.

The President hoped that, after all, France would not fall a victim to the intrigues of British Imperialism. It was a pity that the British ministers were found lacking in statesmanship and political foresight and relied simply on their diplomacy which only weakened the alliance, so much so, that even Italy with hardly any

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

sympathy for the Turks and always their enemy began to turn round and join hand with the Kemalist. It would not be long before she, too, like France, concluded a separate treaty with Angora. In spite of the British efforts to camouflage the real issue by slightly revising or amending the treaty of Sevres, Great Britain could not afford to ignore the world-wide unrest which had affected adversely the prestige of the British Empire. The world now understood the diplomatic tricks which are the stock in trade of the British Imperialism. The British Ministers used to assert that they were prepared to do justice to the Turks but that they could not take any action alone and were in honour bound to respect the alliance. Now that out of the 3 Allied Powers France had already concluded a separate peace and Italy was actively sympathising with the Turks, who was there to oppose a complete revision of the Treaty of Sevres?

Nationalist movement in India

Turning to questions arising out of the Nationalist movement in India, the President remarked that the present struggle between the bureaucracy and the people of India was a striking demonstration of brute force against moral force. The effect was very significant that was adding to the moral courage of a suffering people who were gaining in strength and vitality with every fresh exhibition of repression by the Government.

Disorder in Bombay

Referring to the recent disorders in Bombay, the President pointed out that they were initiated mainly by a few unscrupulous and ignorant men, who were never connected with the non-cooperation movement. But the sad events of Bombay had a silver lining. It did ones heart good to see that throughout the country the spirit of non-violence, the basic principle of the movement, had found a place in the hearts of the people, and they were found to be sufficiently trained and organised to stand any amount of repression and sufferings without giving way to violence. The true spirit had permeated the masses, and it could now be declared with great confidence that, as far as this movement was concerned the possibility of public disorder or violence hardly existed. This was the greatest guarantee of their ultimate success. Immediately after the disorders in Bombay, the bureaucracy lost its head and Lord Reading failed to grasp the situation. He took a wrong turn and precipitated further difficulties. It was an irony that the very Government who wanted to keep the Prince above politics proved to be the sole cause of placing His Royal Highness in a false and awkward position. The bureaucracy with its stage-managing wanted to utilise the Royal visit in its own way. But, in its profound wisdom, it took a false step, and to the great regret of the people of

India placed the Prince in a vortex of political struggle. They tried to suppress the legitimate feelings of the people and only succeeded in intensifying the movement. Now that a full measure of repression had already been tried and prisons were full, the Viceroy came out with a concession that he was perplexed and could not understand the movement. Even now, he did not realise that the very diagnosis on which he relied was wrong and that therefore the treatment must fail.

The Govt. miserably blundered, when, instead of prosecuting and banishing individual offenders, they declared all associations unlawful. This was a challenge thrown out to all National movements and activities, and Nationalists could not afford to ignore it. They took it up and began to fill up the jails in an absolutely non-violent manner and spirit. It was futile, said the President, to repeat the decisions of what was happening. But it should be pointed out that even the religious tolerance of which the bureaucracy talked so much had exploded. After the Karachi Conference we knew what religious tolerance amounted to. It is, according to the official interpretation, subservient to the considerations of policy and administration. That was all.

The President then summed up with the remark that non-violence and the capacity for suffering were the two essentials. They were the key to success. Every Nationalist should consider it his duty to go to jail and to suffer for the sake of Right and Justice and should religiously observe the basic principle of non-violence.

The Round Table Conference.

Referring to the suggestions about the Round Table Conference and the speech recently delivered by Lord Ronaldsray, the President was disappointed to see that the bureaucratic notions about an unlimited prestige and power were still the guiding factor. He remarked that there were few men in the country indeed who could not be misled by the so-called conciliatory speeches which is full of futile threat and platitudes about law and order. We, too, wanted peace, but only by safe-guarding our citizen rights and national honour.

Referring to the Liberal Party and the Moderates, the President declared that recent political developments were making us all very uneasy and we should not forget that most of those belonging to the Liberal Party were honest Nationalists. Whatever their views, their motives should not be doubted. They had quite a long experience of the Reforms. Apart from those who may have joined the Government for the sake of personal gain, most of the Moderates deserve respectful attention. He said that he had not given up all hope, and believed that sooner or later the Moderates would join

heads with the Nationalists. It was not right to run down honest patriots merely on account of difference of opinion or methods.

Likewise, said the President, we should have no ill-will towards the Police or the Army. They too are not beyond our hope. He next appealed to all Nationalist workers to treat the policemen or soldiers with tolerance and make allowances for their weaknesses and defects.

Regarding the Moplah disorders in Malabar, the President said that he was very much grieved to see that the brave Moplahs transgressed the commandments of Islam by resorting to forcible conversion. But fortunately there were only a few who had committed such misdeeds, the majority of the brave people was goaded into armed rebellion by an extremely high-handed administration. Our sympathies should be with all sufferers, whether Moplahs or Hindus. In this connection he referred to the inhuman atrocities committed there under Martial Law, and the railway van tragedy. Had the Government allowed the Nationalists to enter the disturbed area, much suffering would have been prevented and he thought that peace would have been easily restored.

In the end the President appealed to the Mussalmans of India to carry on the present struggle with increasing energy and fortitude, never forgetting that they must always take their stand on the bed-rock of non-violence and love and truth.

After the Presidential Address a resolution of allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey was passed, all standing.

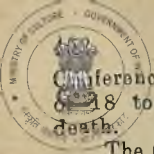
RESOLUTIONS

On Civil Disobedience

The All-India Khilafat Conference resumed its sitting on the same evening to pass resolutions. It was resolved to appeal to all Muslims to enroll as volunteers and civilly disobey orders prohibiting public meetings, by holding such meetings, provided they were certain that there was no possibility of violence.

Before the Conference proceeded to the disobedience resolution, the mother of the Ali Brothers made a short appeal for the Angora Fund as a result of which money to the extent of several thousands was collected on the spot.

Maulvi Abdul Majid Badyuni moved the resolution which declared that, in spite of all their strenuous efforts the British Government had denied justice to the Khilafat and the Punjab. wrongs and had, on the other hand, started a full-fledged repression by imprisoning the leaders and by declaring unlawful the peaceful associations of citizens in order to stifle legitimate and peaceful agitation: the



THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE [AHMEDABAD]

Conference, therefore, called upon all Muslims of and above the age of 18 to join the Volunteer Corps regardless of imprisonment and death.

The Conference also desired that civil disobedience, by way of holding public meetings where they were prohibited, be entered upon, provided the Provincial Congress Committee were satisfied that there was no fear of violence.

Stirring speeches were made in support of this resolution by Messrs. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Abdur Rahman, Madan Sing, Chowdhuri Rambhuj Dutt and Srimati Gangadevi of Farrukhabad and Srimati Jamnabai. Of these the first two speakers confessed that before the present repression was started the Non-co-operators found themselves at their wit's end to find out such an occasion and such a ground upon which civil disobedience could be started throughout the length and breadth of this country, but they were thankful to Lord Reading's administration which through its blunders had offered a splendid and much-sought-for opportunity to fight their battle to the finish with lightning speed. At the same time, the day on which the Government of India decided on declaring the volunteers' associations unlawful, they dugged the grave of their own administration.

The resolution was passed with acclamation.

Congratulations to Kemalists

Another resolution congratulating the Kemalists on their successes was also adopted without discussion.

The Independence Resolution

Before the Conference adjourned at eleven in the night till the next day the President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, announced that the Subjects Committee of the Conference had, on the motion of Mr. Azad Sobhani, supported by Mr. Hasrat Mohani, by a majority resolved to ask all Muhammadaus and other communities to endeavour to destroy British Imperialism and secure complete independence.

The resolution stated that whereas through the persistent policy and attitude of the British Government it cannot be expected that British Imperialism would permit the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the Islamic world to be completely free from the influence and control of non-Muslims, which means that the Khilafat cannot be secured to the extent that the Shariat demands its safety; therefore, in order to secure permanent safety of the Khilafat and the prosperity of India, it is necessary to endeavour to destroy British Imperialism. This Conference holds the view that the only way to make this effort is, for the Muslims, conjointly with other inhabitants of India, to

India completely free, and that this Conference is of opinion that Muslim opinion about Swaraj is the same, that is, complete independence, and it expects that other inhabitants of India would also hold the same point of view.

AHMEDABAD—27TH DECEMBER 1921

On the Conference resuming its sitting on the second day, December 27th 1921, a split was found to have taken place in the camp over the resolution about independence. When Mr. Hasrat Mohani was going to move his resolution declaring as their goal independence and the destruction of British Imperialism, objection was taken to its consideration by a member of the Khilafat Subjects Committee on the ground that according to their constitution no motion which contemplated a change in their creed could be taken as adopted, unless it was voted for in the Subjects Committee by a majority of two-third.

The President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, upheld this objection and ruled the independence motion out of order.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani strongly protested and pointed out that the President had disallowed a similar objection by the same member in the Subjects Committee, while he had allowed it in the open Conference. He said that the President had manœvered to rule his motion out of order in order to stand in their way of declaring from that Conference that their Swaraj meant complete independence.

The Conference then passed resolutions appealing for the Angora Fund, condemning Government atrocities in Malabar, sympathising with the Moplahs in their sufferings and congratulating them on their sacrifices in the cause of religion, and condemning those Moplahs who were responsible for forcible conversion of the Hindus.

After the Conference was over Mr. Hasrat Mohani appealed to the delegates to stay and pass his resolution. About half the number of delegates remained inside the pandal, and on being asked declared that they agreed to complete independence.



CSL

ALL INDIA LADIES' CONFERENCE

AHMEDABAD—30TH DECEMBER 1921

The following is a translation of the Urdu address delivered by the revered mother of Moulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali as president of the All-India Ladies' Conference held in the Congress Pandal immediately after the adjournment of the Indian National Congress ; and attended by 6000 ladies from all over India.

"Sisters and Daughters—In this old age I should have retired to a corner of my house and passed the remaining few days of my life in humble prayers to our Maker. But these are critical times in the history of Islam and of India when even pious recluses must come out of their solitary abodes of meditation and spend their last breath in the service of God and humanity. For, to my mind, no prayers, no meditations are so pleasing to the Almighty God as service rendered to humanity and country. My faith in Him and my love for my Country have emboldened me to accept the honour of presiding over this Conference, and I am deeply grateful to you for the honour. Dear sisters, our first and foremost duty is to be true to God and to be firm in our faiths. A person who is not loyal to God can never be loyal to any Government established by men. Then, there is the need of unity among ourselves. Experience has taught us that without such unity among the various communities inhabiting this country of ours, without hearty and believing co-operation among the Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs and Parsis and all the others communities, we cannot liberate our country or live peaceful and honourable lives. History bears testimony to the fact that, even in the days of the Muslim rules, Hindus and Mussalmans lived in amity, good-will and brotherly attachment. But, since the advent of the British traders into India with their commercial enterprise they have found their success entirely on our dis-union. With the advent of foreign rule our nation is sinking fast into degeneration. We are living lives of ease and indolence, which is secured for us by the vigilant industry of others, and we have been contaminated more with the virtues of Europe. The result is that we soon became indifferent to the laws of God and to the demands of our country. But what God Almighty does not want to perish, no amount of poisoning can kill. The day that the Government gave India the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab massacre,

at the dismemberment of the Khilafat, that day was the day of the awakening and recuperation of India. India has found out that her remedy lies not with unsympathetic British Doctors but with herself, and we are now trying through our own efforts to rid ourselves from various maladies from which we are suffering.

Sisters, we must now look to the present conditions of our country and realise what efforts are being made to save her. Every country is composed of people of different religious faiths. But laws of God have equal binding force on all—men and women alike. A nation consists of men and women, and, whatever duties devolve on men, those are the duties devolve on women, those are the duties from which women are not exempt. It has been the saddest misfortune of India that her women have taken more and more to a life of ease and comfort and aloofness from all patriotic duties. The present day reader of history grows very doubtful whether a Nur Jehan, a Chand-bibi or Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, a Rebunissa, Ahalyabai or a Parbati were born in India. But praise be to God that even in this generation I do find patriotic women of the courage and determination of Mrs. Das, Mrs. Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Ansuyabai, Saraladevi, Begum Mahommed Ali or Begums Ausari, Khwaja Hasrat Mohani, Kitchlew and others of equal importance and reputation for marvellous sacrifice for truth and country, and I feel the satisfaction that the future historian of India will not fail to note the names of such great women as I have mentioned above, along with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders, as the great nation-builders and liberators of India. Dear sisters, you have amongst you Sitas and Zainabis whose husbands have been either martyred or cast into prisons. You have amongst you Fatimas and Kansakas whose dearest sons have cheerfully sacrificed themselves at the altar of 'Dharma' and their country. They all deserve our gratitude.

Domestic Politics.

The fruits of patience are always sweet. God's promises are bound to be fulfilled. We owe some duties to God and our country. We must give up all ideas of personal ease and comfort. We must take a solemn vow that so long as our country and our religion are not freed from foreign domination, so long must we not think of dressing ourselves. We must reduce our necessities of life to barest minimum possible, so much so, that we must be able to make our ends meet with what we should be able to earn by spinning and weaving. In this way we would be able to relieve our men of the anxiety of having to provide for our expensive needs and thus to devote their fullest possible time and energy to carry on their



ALL INDIA LADIES' CONFERENCE [AHMEDABAD]

spiritual struggle to a successful end without worries or disabilities of a domestic nature. Besides, we must work as much as our men to completely fulfil the Khilafat and Congress Programme.

Enlisting as Volunteers

Now, about enlisting yourselves as volunteers, the time has come when every man and woman who has the least faith and self-respect must consider himself as a soldier of the Army of God. Every one of us—Indians, men and women—is a volunteer, whether or not, through expediency or conviction, you may not sign the pledge. I urge you to fear none but God, but at the same time, do not let yourselves be carried away by the impulse of the moment. The situation in our country is very delicate and our duty is likewise no less delicate. Don't be afraid of prisons, but don't, at the same time, forget the responsibilities of your religious and social life. I would advise you not to provoke arrest, but pray, do not shirk it when it comes. It will come as a natural consequence of your courage and fearlessness. You must abide by the injunctions of Koran and the Shastras. Remember, that when all our men are in jail, you will have to keep flying the flag of Liberty.

Resolution.

A resolution was then passed calling upon the Women of India to enrol themselves as Volunteers in obedience to the Congress mandate. It was moved by Swami Satyadev and supported by Mrs. Shamlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Gandhi.



CSL

The All-India Trade Union Congress

JHARIA, NOVEMBER 30TH, 1921.

The All-India Trade Union Congress held its second session (1st. session, 1920, at Bombay under Lala Lajpat Rai—See A. R. 1921) at Jharia, Bengal, on the 30th November last with Mr. Joseph Baptista as the President and Mr. Ramjush Agarwala as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. There was a large attendance of the Colliery and Railway Workers, and representatives of labour from Bombay and Madras also attended.

In the course of his speech Seth T. Ramjush Agarwala, the Chairman of the Reception Committee said :—I am myself an employer of labour, but this association with colliery work for the last 22 years at Jharia furnished me ample opportunity to acquaint myself with the ugly features of the mines labor. The difference between the mine-owners' affluence and the coolies' starvation wages is monstrous. In fact, the unequal struggle for bare existence has been such an oppressive experience that I shall be false to myself if I do not redeem, at least in part, the debt I owe to ill-used labor. To-day, we are no longer leading labor, but are led by it. Labor in Europe is playing for high stakes. It wants to reconstitute society, tear up the present economic system, do away with the private ownership of land and capital, and transfer all property from the individual to the community. Socialism is not new to India. To that end, therefore, the people of India must learn unity. Peasantry and artisans have again to be set on their feet. Strikes have now become a common feature of the Indian Labor movement. Last year, there were altogether 183 strikes in India, involving over three lakhs of workers. Only a small number were completely or partially successful. Strikes have their uses, but should not be entered upon lightly for minor grievances. When you have to fight with the capitalistic Government, you must first make sure of your capacity to offer sustained, organised and peaceful resistance before deciding on strike."

The Presidential Address.

In the course of his Presidential address Mr. Joseph Baptista said, the cupidity of capitalists inflamed trade jealousies and was

really responsible for the subjection of India. The real remedy was to put a brake on that cupidity by fixing the maximum profit of capital by domestic legislation. Without a National Government, he continued, we can not promote international solidarity, without political power we can not solve economic problems. Many friends imagine they can have Swadeshi before Swaraj. This is putting the cart before the horse. We may have Swaraj without Swadeshi, but never Swadeshi without Swaraj. True Swadeshi can only be reached by tariffs, but tariffs means fiscal freedom, which is utterly incompatible with foreign rule. Therefore, we must first seek Swaraj.

The President suggested the early establishment of a Labor Ministry, adding that the comparative indifference of the Government to Labor interests and problems was intolerable, considering that Labor constituted 90 per cent of the population and contributed 80 per cent revenue of the Government. Labor problems demanded an energetic policy and a generous budget, even if half the army had to be disbanded. It was a gigantic problem, but it was chiefly the creation of British Rule and Commerce. The unfavourable position of Labor in India was due to the want of Trade Unions to regulate the moral and material conditions of the workers. It would be the business of the Congress to suggest measures to alleviate matters.

Our ambition, he said, is to make the Congress the "National" organ of Labor. Our policy must be to steer clear of extreme individualism and Bolshevism and follow the golden mean of Fabian Socialism. But the Trade Union Congress cannot dispense with politics. The fact is that at the bottom there is a fear that the masses will wrench from the classes political power by combination. This fear must be greater in India where the power is in the hands of foreigners. Besides, direct action, even for political ends, had been sanctioned by British Labor. There is, therefore, no reason for the Trade Union Congress to boycott politics. Measures for the workers' welfare should include education, sanitation, workmen's compensation, nationalisation of land, railways, coal-mines, jute and tea and the exportation of food-stuffs.

Proceeding, he said: The moment of the Prince's visit is inopportune. When his coming was announced by Lord Reading, I felt he was to be the messenger of Swaraj. He may still be the harbinger of Swaraj. The fact is that the workers of the world have learnt a lesson from the War that no Nation should govern another Nation without its consent. England can now keep India in subjection only by force. But it is as sure as that night follows day that if Mr. Gandhi does not win by soul force, 10,000 secret societies will spring up in India ready for brute force. The Prince has a grand opportunity of immortalising himself as the Prince of



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TRADE UNION CONGRESS

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Resolved by proclaiming *orbi et urbi* what. The right remedy for India is Swaraj.

The Secretary then read messages of sympathy from a number of leading Indian politicians, also from the Workers' Welfare League, London, Scottish Trade Union Congress, Glasgow, Irish Labor Party, Dublin, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, London, the Independent Labor Party and the General Union of Textile Workers, Huddersfield. Mr. J. H. Pattinson, M. L. C., a sympathetic colliery proprietor, attended.

The Swaraj Resolution

The following resolution was adopted :

"This Congress declares that the time has now arrived for the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India."

Mr. Chamanlal who moved the resolution said that the workers were the prop of the Nation. The only obstacles to national freedom were the Indian capitalists who with foreign capitalists exploited the workers. Under Swaraj that would be stopped.

Mr. E. L. Iyer who seconded said the Madras Central Labour Board had a rule under which politics were taboo, but the experience of the past two years showed that policy was wrong.

Mr. B. Miller in supporting said that he represented about one lakh of railway workers, European and Indian, who were all in favour of Swaraj which was the birth-right of the Indian Nation.

Mr. K. Roy Choudhury, M. L. C., who also supported the resolution, but was against introducing politics in trade unions, said that the workers wanted Swaraj to remove penal laws against themselves and generally to remove barbarous social conditions in the country.

Swami Vishwanand, the leader of the Jharia miners who seconded, said that although the miners produced coal-wealth they saw the spectacle to-day of the coal-dealers living luxurious lives while the miners lived in holes and worked without adequate food and clothing. The coal-miners led wretched lives and their pitiable condition needed drastic remedy. He warned the colliery proprietors against the policy of drift which would eventually open the flood-gates of Bolshevism in India.

On the second day, December 1st. 1921, a resolution recommending Indian workmen to adopt Swadeshi and encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving, moved by Shrimati Savitri Devi, a young Gurkha lady, seconded by Doctor Murali Lal of Cawnpore, and supported by three other speakers, was unanimously adopted. Another important resolution was moved as follows :—

The Congress deplores the miserable conditions of life and working of coal-miners of Bihar-Bengal which cry aloud for the following immediate remedial measures : Reduction of hours of work, increase in the rate of wages, education, housing, compensation for injuries, etc. and authorises the Executive Committee to confer with the colliery-owners and managers to adopt effective measures."

The resolution was moved by Swami Darshanand and seconded by Swamy Vishwanand.

Mr. J. H. Pattinson, M. L. C., speaking on this resolution, said : As a representative of the employers of colliery labor, I may state definitely we are entirely in sympathy with labor. Our desire is to see labor well treated, well housed, well looked after. Further, we desire to see the standard of colliery labor raised. We are prepared to grant reasonable labor demands. On the other hand, we are justified, I think, in asking labor to co-operate with us and give us more coal by working six days a week. Further, I propose that the collieries should start schools for miners' children. Also my advice to miners is : Should any colliery proprietor not give you decent houses to live in, leave that colliery and go to a better one. The same remark applies to wages, water supply and general conditions. Another word. Do not drink too much. It will spoil your health and make you so weak that you won't be able to work at all. I don't say give up drink entirely. But drink in moderation. We are entirely in accord with the Trade Union movement for coal-fields and are prepared to afford every assistance. With such an organisation in being disputes and grievances can very easily be settled and a great many cases of misunderstandings, which occurred in the past, will never again arise. Let us work together, Capital and Labor, and do not let us quarrel. I offer you the helping hand and if you accept it you will not regret it.

The Congress re-assembled on the 2nd December and the miners attended in even greater numbers. There was a greater commotion over the action of the capitalist Mine-owners, specially Europeans, who had tried to influence the Government and make them declare the holding of the conference illegal. The first resolution condemned the circular containing the resolutions passed by the Indian Mining Federation and the Indian Mining Association, and uttered a warning that such an attitude, as disclosed by the resolutions, would promulgate bitterest class war between the employers and employees.

The circular in question contained two resolutions, one expressing the opinion that the holding of the Congress in the present disturbed state of labour and general political unrest throughout

It was likely to lead to serious trouble and danger of breach of peace and that the holding of the proposed meeting anywhere within 200 miles of the coal-fields should be prohibited. Another said if the Government would not prohibit the Congress, the joint meeting demanded a full and immediate provision for the protection of life and property of European and Indian residents and employers of labour and for the maintenance of law and order.

In the morning at the meeting of the Executive Committee a deputation of colliery proprietors who are members of the Indian Mining Federation which had issued the circulars arrived and apologised for their action whereupon they made the following declaration :—

"That in view of the scandalous resolution embodied in circular No. 32 of 24th November passed by the Indian Mining Federation without inviting any opinion of the local members, we, the undersigned colliery proprietors, in meeting assembled hereby wholeheartedly sympathise with the All-India Trade Union Congress and urge the Indian Mining Federation to withdraw the resolution or in the alternative the members should submit their resignations."

Mr. J. P. Kesoji Pitambar moved the resolution and was supported by Dr. Kananji and R. Mukadum and others.

This created a tremendous sensation and when the Congress met the first resolution to be moved was as follows —

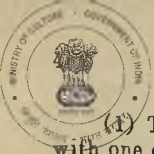
"That this Congress condemns the attitude taken up by the Indian Mining Association, the Indian Mining Federation, and the Chamber of Commerce and warns these bodies that this only precipitates the bitterest of class wars between the employer and the employees."

This was moved by Seth Ramjush Agarwala and passed by a tumultuous enthusiasm.

The Secretary, Indian Mining Federation, on behalf of the colliery proprietors thereupon made amends by stating in the Congress that the Gujarati colliery-owners had that day agreed to grant several concessions to the miners regarding clothing, better-housing, abolition of grog shops, sanitation, primary education, payment of sick-allowance, gratuity compensation for injury etc. This was held as a great triumph for the Congress.

The second resolution of the day condemned the action alleged to have been taken in certain collieries in dismissing some workmen for attending the Congress.

Mr. Miller, speaking on the resolution said that the colliery proprietors who acted in that way ought to be made to apologise to the Congress. Otherwise the only course left to them will be to declare a general strike in which event he (Miller) would gladly take up the miners' leadership.



MEETING OF THE ALL INDIA

Other Resolutions Passed

CLIPART

(1) That a committee of Trade Union Congress be appointed with one official to inform the International Labour Organisation how far the resolutions of the League of Nations Assemblies at Genoa and Washington have been carried into effect by the Government of India.

(2) That this Congress strongly protests against the refusal to ratify the conditions of the Genoa International Labour Conference, as such attitude is calculated to prejudice prospects of Indian Seamen by antagonising European comrades and recommends the adoption of draft conventions relating to hours of work, establish national seamen codes, unemployment insurance for seamen, abolition of Broker and Ghat Sareng system and establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen.

(3) That Indian Nautical Institutes be established in each Indian seaport.

(4) That this Congress sends its message of sympathy to the starving millions in Russia and calls upon the workers of the world to help Russia in her struggle for peace.

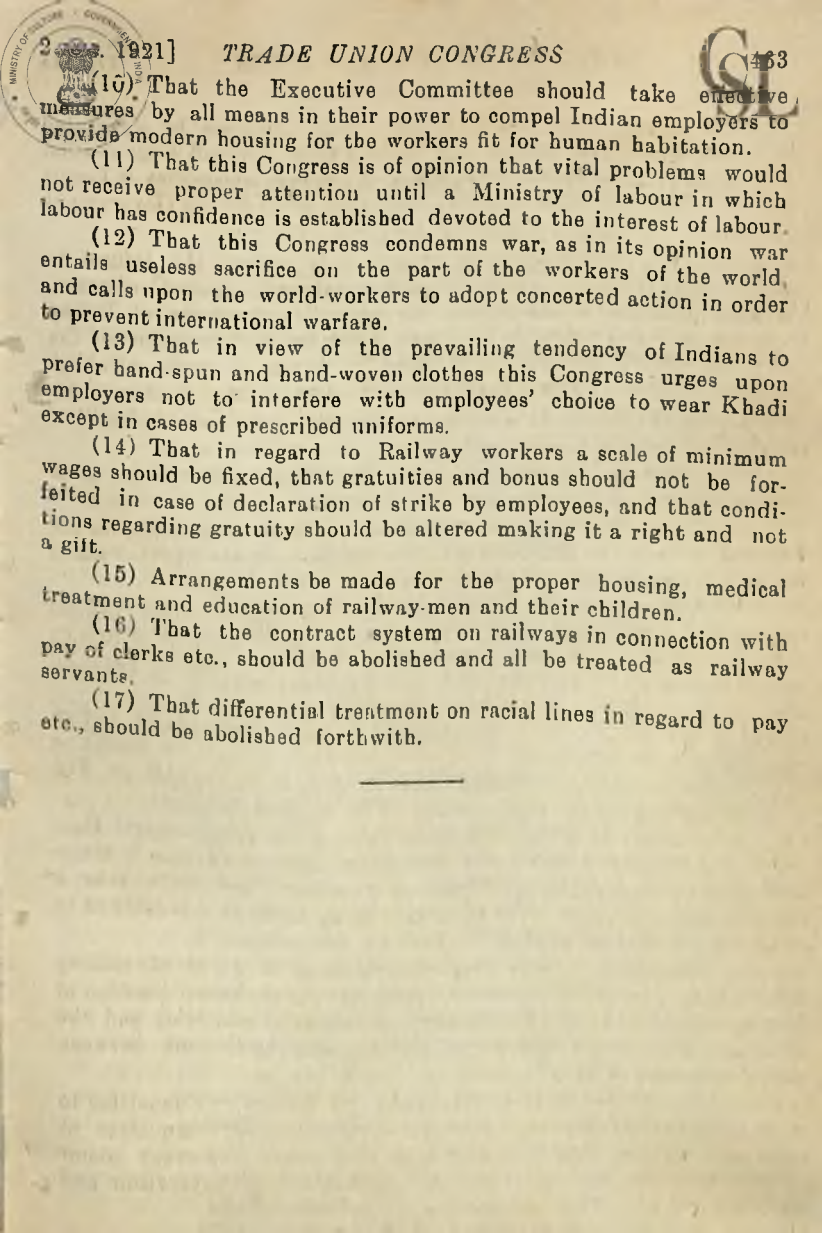
(5) That this Congress requests the Workers' Welfare League for India to ascertain how the state of unemployment of British workers can be speedily remedied by prompt co-operation between workers in India and those of Great Britain and Ireland.

(6) That this Congress extends its fraternal greetings to Indian workers in Fiji and other foreign parts and instructs its executive committee to discover through communication with workers in Fiji what Indian workers can do to help them in their struggle.

(7) That in case of strikes sanctioned by the Trade Union Congress or its executive the affiliated Union must contribute to maintain strikers if the strike extends over a period of more than a month, and for this purpose instructs the executive committee to start special strike insurance fund.

(8) That this Congress resolves in view of the affair of colliery proprietors that a joint committee be formed to discuss question of improvement of the present condition of labour in coal-fields and the question of creating machinery for amicable settlement between proprietors and miners.

(9) That this Congress instructs its Executive Committee to create under its authority powerful local executive committees at Madras, Calcutta, Jharkhand, Jamshedpur, and other important labour centres and conduct the work of organisation or supervision and assistance of exploited workers in all important centres.



(10) That the Executive Committee should take effective measures by all means in their power to compel Indian employers to provide modern housing for the workers fit for human habitation.

(11) That this Congress is of opinion that vital problems would not receive proper attention until a Ministry of labour in which labour has confidence is established devoted to the interest of labour.

(12) That this Congress condemns war, as in its opinion war entails useless sacrifice on the part of the workers of the world, and calls upon the world-workers to adopt concerted action in order to prevent international warfare.

(13) That in view of the prevailing tendency of Indians to prefer hand-spun and hand-woven clothes this Congress urges upon employers not to interfere with employees' choice to wear Khadi except in cases of prescribed uniforms.

(14) That in regard to Railway workers a scale of minimum wages should be fixed, that gratuities and bonus should not be forfeited in case of declaration of strike by employees, and that conditions regarding gratuity should be altered making it a right and not a gift.

(15) Arrangements be made for the proper housing, medical treatment and education of railway-men and their children.

(16) That the contract system on railways in connection with pay of clerks etc., should be abolished and all be treated as railway servants.

(17) That differential treatment on racial lines in regard to pay etc., should be abolished forthwith.



CSL

All-India Police Conference

HOWRAH—28TH DECEMBER 1921

The All-India Police Conference held its first session at Howrah on the 28th. December 1921. About six hundred delegates, mainly Indians and a sprinkling of Anglo-Indians, attended from all parts of India. Mr. C. C. Mukherji, D. S. P. was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Rai Sahab P. C. Biswas, D. S. P. was the President.

The Presidential Address

A halo of romance is attached to tradition of everything and it has a potential value in maintaining its *esprit de corps*. It is a matter of common knowledge that old traditions die hard and a bad reputation long survives the introduction of improvement. The traditional instances of oppression of by-gone ages have still a strong-hold on the prejudice of the people. It is indeed a misfortune to our department that although isolated cases of oppression sometimes occur, as there is black sheep in every department, our services has not gained a bit in the estimation of the public. To outsiders it is very easy to criticise, but those who are in it should realise what courage and honesty, perseverance and patience combined with risk of life are required in the faithful discharge of our duties, with unsympathetic superiors upwards, and exacting critics backwards.

In this connection I would like to discuss the popular misconceptions regarding our service. The learned Members of the Council often say that the difference in pay of members of Police services and other members of analogous services is due to the difference in academical qualifications required for admission into the respective services. We may not be so many B. A.s or M. A.s or so many technical graduates, but we are graduates in our own science, Criminology, which necessarily teaches us something of every science, technical subjects, such as Psychology, Chemistry, Survey, Photography, Toxicology, Botany, Neumasmaties, and what not. We can challenge any other department where such varied knowledge is required. A petty head-constable on Rs. 25 is doing the same thing in a rural part of a country which a coroner with a high salary does in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Besides this, are we not standing like stone-statues at our posts in the scorching sun of Rajputana and the *Loo* of the United Provinces and the Punjab when everybody else is under a fan on in the shade? Are we not patrolling at night in ceaseless down-pour

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of rain or in snow in hilly districts to protect the life and property of the people? Are we not shivering with Malaria in most unhealthy places and consuming a pound of quinine every month under Government orders and doing our duty without a murmur? Are we not conveying patients of infectious diseases to hospital? Are we not removing unclaimed cadavers and disposing of them for the welfare of the public?

Then, what does it matter if we can efficiently discharge these multifarious duties though with lesser educational qualifications in comparison with other departments of the Government? But alas! comrades, not a word of praise for all these unpalatable works either from the honourable Members or the Authorities. Oh! the irony of fate, I would appeal to my countrymen and critics to weigh all these factors into their consideration before they hasten to make any remark off-hand, and not to forget that our service is of a peculiar nature, without any parallel in other sister departments, and as such it requires special consideration.

Let us now see what is the character of our force. The character of the police is said to be the character of the nation. I do not believe it. We are depicted to be anything but scoundrels of the blackest order. We are charged with perjury, forgery, bribery and knavery. Our reports and our diaries are described as "police papers" meaning something incredible. Whilst police officers in other countries are examined in chamber and their evidence is taken as gospel truth, our evidence here is to be accepted with caution. Even the Indian Evidence Act excludes statements made before a police officer from the evidence. How we can remove this stigma is an important problem for solution. The root causes of this black stigma seem to be two; the first, our low pay, and the second, that we identify ourselves with the interest of the prosecution. The remedy of the first rests with the Government and I shall deal with that later on, but the second lies with us alone. We can place the whole truth and the naked truth before the Judge. What does it matter if in the five per cent of the burglary cases or twenty per cent dacoity cases which we are at best able to detect in India the culprits go off unpunished for want of sufficient evidence? The days of 'no conviction—no promotion' having long passed away, why should we simply for fear of frowns of our superiors or for better figures in the administrative reports derogate ourselves to the humiliating character the people give us? We should never forget that honesty is the best policy in life.

If our tradition and character be such as I have said just now, what are our powers and privileges? Comrades, we have unlimited powers, so to say. The First Police Act, under the British Adminis-



ALL INDIA POLICE CONFERENCE [H. V. R. A.]

stitution was enacted in Lord Cornwallis's time. The powers and responsibilities then laid down have been retained word per word in the current Police Act of 1861. Besides, whenever any Act or special law is passed we are vested with additional powers. I am not talking of our powers under the Criminal Procedure Code or the Police Act—we require them. But we have been given additional powers under the Salt Act, Fisheries Act, Opium Act, Excise Act, Forest Act and a number of other Acts. Additional powers mean additional responsibilities and extra labour. But does our remuneration increase with the increase of labour? I should say emphatically—No. There are separate departments for working out all the laws at a great expense on the part of the Government whose legitimate duty is to enforce them. But we are so many sugar-laden asses and we must carry any amount of load on our backs even if we are famished with hunger. If we are to do these additional duties, why should not the Government abolish those departments and utilise the savings for the betterment of our pay and prospect?

Just have a census of our multifarious duties. We are reporters of epidemics, doctors for distributing cholera pills, we are census officers, we are the suppliers of carts and ration to the Military marching out, we are the suppliers of the necessities of touring Government officials, we are the conservancy officers to remove unclaimed dead bodies and what not? And yet, Comrades, we are the lowest paid officers of Government.

But now see how we stand with regard to our privileges. Do you know, gentlemen, what were the pay and privileges of a Police Sub-Inspector in the 18th century? He was known as a Daroga or Thanadar, and his pay was Rs. 25 to Rs. 30. Don't think that was a trifling amount. Rice was then sold at 8 mds. per rupee and now it is sold at Rs. 8 per md. Rupees 25 of the 18th century is equivalent to Rs. 800 now. At that time the pay of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, was only Rs. 200, i. e. eight times of the pay of the Sub-Inspector. Now the Commissioner of Police is getting Rs. 2,250 and the Sub-Inspector Rs. 100 on the average, i. e. he gets 20 times of the Sub-Inspector's pay. The Sub-Inspectors were then gazetted officers and they could not be punished except by the Governor-General. I do not know how and when they lost this privilege and came to be at the mercy of their every-day superiors, but their initial pay remained the same throughout the 19th century and was raised from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 in 1905 and to Rs. 80 only the last year.

I do not know for certain when the rank of Inspectors was created. It was probably in 1861 when the current Police Act was legislated. The 1st and 2nd grade Police Officers are Gazetted Officers. Many of us were gazetted officers as 1st and 2nd grade Inspectors

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for a long time but one fine morning we suddenly came to know that we had been promoted to non-gazetted rank ! Thus you see, gentlemen, that our powers are gradually increasing but our privileges are gradually vanishing. Why should Excise Inspectors and Sub Dy. Collectors, whose services were analogous to those of Inspectors of Police, be gazetted while the Police Inspectors should be non-gazetted ? We were elated with joy when the Government kept our department as a reserved subject. We, foresooth, thought that we would get more pay, more privileges. We have painfully realised that we are, as it were, a flock of goats to be sacrificed at the altar of State necessity. Revenue has fallen short—the subordinate Police should get less pay than others, a retrenchment is necessary to meet the deficit in the finance—it must be done from the Police Department and not from any of the transferred departments.

Let us see what other privileges we have got. We are said to belong to the civil department, but do we get advantages of the Civil Service ? Our duty is entirely of a military nature ; our drill, our punishment drill, confinement to quarters, our discipline in the orderly room, our uniform and sentry duty, our fall-in at bugle sound and alarm bell, our firing on mob rioters, are all of a military nature and yet we are not entitled to the privileges of the military department. The civil part of our service i. e. the part relating to the prevention and detection of crime, combined with the military portion, has made our duties more enormous and responsible than the military. The military are on rare occasions in the field service but we are, as it is, always in it. But do we get any thing akin to the field-allowance or ration or special leave and pension like the military ? We were formerly exempted from the operations of the Arms Act but that privilege has also been withdrawn. Thus, gentlemen, we are entitled to none of the privileges of the military department although, I am afraid, as I have said, our work is of a military nature.

Let us see if we get the privileges of the civil department. You know every civil servant gets a daily allowance whenever he goes beyond 5 miles from the head-quarters and gets mileage when he travels more than 20 miles. Do the Head Constables and Constables who form the integral part of our department get a single pice within the jurisdiction of their respective Thanas though they may be travelling 50 miles at a stretch. Are the Police officers entitled to all the privileges of travelling allowance when they are transferred from one station to another within the same district ? The answer is emphatically in the negative. We have read Art. 999 C. S. R. under which every civil servant gets daily allowance according to the distance travelled by him when he is supplied with



ALL INDIA POLICE CONFERENCE [FOURTH]

conveyance or its propulsion allowance. Our Sub Inspectors are given only the conveyance allowance and not the conveyance, do not get daily allowance nor half mileage. The Railway Police (excluding the Bombay Presidency) gets only the daily allowance for absence of 8 hours, and River Police Officers travelling with passes by steamers do not get any allowance whatever except a nominal fixed travelling allowance quite contrary to the rules applicable to the other civil servants. Is there any justification for their differential treatment? None. So in whatever direction we go in the matter of our pay and prospects, rights and privileges, we find ourselves nowhere.

Do you think, Comrades, that the authorities do not understand that with our pay and privileges we cannot maintain ourselves? Do you ever for a moment believe that the Hon'ble Members in charge of the Police Department do not know,—pardon me for saying so,—that many of the subordinate ranks are led to have recourse to dishonest means for their maintenance? The Hon'ble Members belong to that intelligent race which is ruling half the globe and they have vast experience of Indian affairs and we can not believe that they do not understand the situation. They do, but they will not mend matters as they do not care a fig for the welfare of so many biped animals as we are looked upon by them. We must protest, my Comrades, as vehemently as we can, against these iniquities, handicapped though we are with Police Act V of 1861. Ours is a life and death question. it is no good mincing matter. no good dying of starvation without giving vent to the true feeling.

Gentlemen, comparison is said to be a bad taste. It may be, but there are times when it becomes a necessity. We are destined to toil for 24 hours, night and day. The English Constabulary is said to have six hours day. The coolies of the mills in India have 8 hours day. All other departments of Government have 6 hours day. There are departments where day does not break at all, but our day breaks when we are enlisted and closes when we retire, and we are liable to be penalised if we try to have a moment's rest or leisure. But yet there is absolutely no special concession for leave or pension. On the contrary, we are rather worse than other civil servants. They get leave whenever they require it, but we get it by turn when the necessity is over. An officer applied for three months' privilege leave in March 1901 and he got it in April 1906! *Savan allah!* Is this justice?

If therefore, as I have said, the police service is an essential part of the body-politic, the provincial and subordinate services are its back-bone because it is these services which are required to bear the main strain and burden of work. Let us imagine for a moment the position of a Sub-Inspector in an outlying Thana—vested



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we vast powers and responsibilities, left to work according to his own judgment and discretion on occasions of emergencies, obliged to live among the most insanitary surroundings, deprived of the means of educating his children, of requisitioning for medical aid in cases of illness, a stranger to the local people and yet required to watch the bad characters and control the local crime. In fact, an ideal station house officer must be a person fearlessly devoted to his duties, strictly honest and at the same time discreet and loyal, popular with his superiors and subordinates and the local people, must have an immense amount of energy and initiative, courage and resourcefulness and intelligence. In remote places he is the only representative of the mighty British Raj, of all its power and glory, its reputation and prestige. I challenge any one to point out any other service in which these qualifications to such a degree are required to be displayed in the ordinary daily work of an officer.

If our difficulties are immense, the criticism of a section of the population against the Police service as a whole is indeed disheartening. I would ask these gentlemen to imagine for a moment the state into which the country would be thrown if the force was withdrawn for a day. Imagine, gentlemen, what happens if the subordinate police force ceases to exist for a single day ; the high officials run to treasuries to guard them ; Mr. I. B. Dutt, the promulgator of the Retrenchment Committee in Bengal, armed with a walking stick—M. L. C.'s, like Police Officers not being exempted from the operations of the Arms Act—mounts guard over the Malkhans and Kumar Shib Sekhaheswar arrains his darwans to protect their looms. The public in general have no sleep. Any number of mail robberies and house dacoities are reported ; the prisoners escape from the lock-up ; a few phthisis patriots lying in the beach of Vizagapatam and no philanthropic men found to remove them to hospital ; two victims of cholera lying in Mulchand's Dharma-shala at Lahore, none to remove them, the non-co-operators shout "Allha-ho-Akbar". "Baude Mataram," with greater vehemence causing greater annoyance and nervousness to the authorities ; the Law Courts are closed ; the administrative machinery is completely upset.

Imagine again, gentlemen, what will be the effect if the subordinate police refuse to obey the command of his superior officer for dispersing or firing on a riotous mob. You may laugh at the idea. I too know that such a thing is impossible or at least undesirable. But no one knows how things change. You must not forget that the people of the country are no longer afraid of jail, and this spirit has also been imbibed by the subordinate police. At the same time I can assert that so long as their superior officers retain a grain of influence over them, they will never go astray. We are, however,



ALL INDIA POLICE CONFERENCE [LOWRY]

only suffering, and what will be the consequence if such a step is taken in extreme disappointment? Where will be the prestige of Government? In remote districts, far away from the Fort or the head-quarters of detachments, the subordinate police are the keepers of prestige or the Izzat of the Government. The Government is also aware of this fact, but as we are, as it were, the accursed section of humanity, there is a palpable want of effort, on the part of Government to ameliorate our wretched condition.

Gentlemen, our duties to State and public are much talked of, and let us see how we stand at present regarding them. While I speak of our relation to the State I can boldly assert without fear of contradiction that it is our department that serves the best interests of the Government, and in fact we are the eyes, ears, and limbs of it. We are regarded as next to the Army, and why say next, in some cases more important than that. It is our department which alone stands by it in time of its sore trials, and is faced with all the difficulties and their consequences. This will be quite evident if we look back to the past. Whenever our Government is embarrassed, the help of our service is requisitioned. It is members of our department that fought out anarchism in the past and is combating the non-co-operation movement in the recent political crisis of the country, but with what result? It is members of our department who have shed the best blood in their faithful discharge of duty. Where are Khan Bahadur Shamsul-Alam, Babu Basanto Kumar Chatterjee, Jitendra Mohan Ghosh and Madhu Sudan to-day? There are hundred other comrades of mine who have proved their unflinching loyalty to fight out anarchism even by losing their lives. Let their departed souls now see how shabbily their comrades are being treated to-day with respect to pay and prospects. Let us invoke their departed spirits and let them see how the blood that they had ungrudgingly shed for the cause of Government has benefitted the service, as a whole, and let them say what they think of their sacrifice. If they could make audible speeches, they would perhaps have told you plainly that to die for Government to prove loyalty, will not actually bring any recompense to sufferers, nor in any way help the members of their service, and they would have told you, to do so was a mistake and foolishness. On the other hand, they would have now repented for their fearless and faithful devotion. The survivors would tell us that at the time of need you would receive any amount of patting and British diplomacy would hold out any amount of promises, never to be kept, but when the need will be over you will be treated like cats and dogs; the documents of promises being treated as "old scraps of paper." *This would make us realise the*



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that of the saying that no one gains anything by standing against the national aspirations of the people of the soil.

Next, what about our relation to the public? The sufficiency of the service to a large extent depends on the closeness of touch with the people and the extent to which it can inspire public trust and confidence. For matters of detection or prevention or reporting of crime etc., we are to rely on the evidence of those acquainted with them. In a vast country like India with diverse population, with different traditions and custom, our department, in each province, can by no means sufficiently discharge its duties without the co-operation and sympathy of the people. But to our bad luck we are looked upon with awe and suspicion by the public, and our presence is shunned by them. This apathy of the public is due to many causes and I shall only deal with the underlying causes that have placed our service under such a popular ban.

We are doing our duty as faithfully and as diligently as the police of all other countries in the world are doing. The police of other countries are said to be popular and the police of England are said to be universally popular. But why are we so unpopular? The reason is not far to seek. The police are the agents who maintain the dignity of law. In those countries where laws are made by the people, the police are popular, because they maintain the dignity of the people's law. Here, in India, the laws are made by Government and the people are of opinion that the laws are made to rule them, to control their natural aspirations and not for their benefit. We maintain the dignity of these laws and enforce them. That is one reason why we are so very unpopular.

When I speak of our unpopularity, I cannot refrain from uttering, though unpleasant it may be, that our conduct rules and the attitude of our superiors rather accentuate our estrangement from the public. We cannot freely mix with them, independently invoke their hearty co-operation and sympathy for which there is the greatest need for our duties; if we do so, we are, on flimsiest pretexts, looked upon with suspicion by our superiors, even penalised and our promotions are stopped. I ask, Comrades, who are responsible for this? I can at once say, we have absolutely no fault except that we belong to this unpopular department and it is our superiors and conduct rules that widen this gulf. I need not cite instances to drive this matter home to you, as I am sure, many of you, in your official career, have experienced it, but I would like to draw your attention to a most recent Government order. When the country is passing through a great political crisis since the launching of the non-co-operation movement, Government is taking all precautionary steps to combat it and recent Government circulars have authorised

its servants to address in meetings to explain to the agitated masses the good results of the Reforms Scheme that are sure to come in time. But what about us? We have been strictly forbidden to join any meeting or to make any speech to achieve the same end, which our fellow-brothers in sister services allowed. This single example will be enough to prove the truth of my above statement. Then, why is this differentiation of treatment and these chains and fetters to keep us off the public? Lastly, I can assert as an axiomatic truth that so long as this undesirable relationship exists and the more it is delayed to remedy it, the more our service will suffer in efficiency. It is a matter of some consolation to us that with the inauguration of the Reforms Scheme, the people have begun to realise that it is the laws that are unpopular and not the police and that our only fault is that we are to carry out these unpopular laws. They are now blaming Government more than their dutiful servants, the Police. Thus we can fairly hope that we are not going to remain long as unpopular as we are to-day.

Appeal to Countrymen.

At the same time we should appeal to our countrymen to bear in mind that the police are the servants of the public in the truest sense of the word. You, the public, are to pay for all other services of the Government, be it postal, telegraph or law. Your letter will not be delivered unless you pay for the postage, your message will not be sent unless you pay the usual charges, your petitions and applications in court will not be accepted and heard unless you pay the usual court fees. You pay all these charges ungrudgingly ; but while we, the police, are ever ready to serve at your bidding, watching over your property in your slumbers, protecting your interests in all your daily transactions, still we are treated with animosity, we are looked upon as your tormentors, we are shunned as pests. Gentlemen, it is with a deep sense of mortification I utter these words. It is a fact that the public views us with jaundiced eyes and it should be our duty to cure them of these disease. I would again appeal to my countrymen that they should think of our position very seriously and never forget that we are to serve two masters and to please both. I can tell my countrymen that our strength does not lie so much in the support of the Government as in their hearty co-operation.

Racial equality.

Allow me now, to pass it to another important subject. We are bearing of some time past much of the sweet phrase "Racial Equality." Let us see how far it has affected our services. The expression is very sweet and palatable, as it stands. We do not care how far the public have appreciated it nor do we care if

chapter 33 of the Criminal Procedure Code, relating to the punishment of our ruling race, is abolished or modified. We are concerned with so much as it relates to the Police Department. Since the Queen's Proclamation we have been enjoying, though indifferently, racial equality, and we were being admitted into the Imperial Service without any distinction in respect of pay and privileges till the black year 1905 when for the first time racial inequality crept in our department. The rank of Deputy Superintendents was created and the Inspectors were by a stroke of pen debarred from being promoted to the rank of Assistant Superintendents, and deprived of the right and privilege they have been enjoying since 1793. This is not all. The promoted Superintendent of Police from the subordinate rank was made to accept less pay than his European colleague in the respective grade by Rs. 100. The minimum pay of a European Superintendent of Police was Rs. 700 while that of an Indian Rs. 600. The formula of equality according to the rules of the Indo-English mathematics came to be x plus y equal z , where y was only a paltry sum of Rs. 100. That was all right and things went on in the same way till 1920, when he put into our hands "Delhi-ka-laddu"—the so called Reforms. In the new time-scale the pay of the European cadre of the Imperial Police Service has been raised from Rs. 300—1200, to 450—1700—a 50 per cent increment throughout. I say European cadre because the Indian cadre of that service is being filled up also by Europeans of Indian domicile. We are not interested with the pay and prospect of the former class of officers; we are only interested in Indian Superintendents, who are promoted from Deputy Superintendents and Inspectors. Have they been given an increment of 50 per cent according to the principle of racial equality? Certainly not. They are under the new Reforms, to begin with Rs. 700 only and will throughout their career draw on an average Rs. 200 less. His Excellency the Viceroy has been preaching racial equality since he set his feet on the shores of the Arabian Sea with justice as his hand-maid, and all expected that this racial inequality, existing in our service, would be removed by His Excellency. But alas! gentlemen, the same disappointment comes to us, for, in the last communique enhancing the pay of the Imperial cadre which has been published in His Excellency's time only the European officers who were in service before the introduction of the time-scale of pay have been favoured with the overseas allowances. But let us hope against hope and be optimistic. It might be that the communique referred to above was based on a Despatch from His Excellency's predecessor and he could not give effect to his promise without reference to the Secretary of State. Let us wait and see what His

Insolvency does. So far however there is no iota of racial equality in our service. In the face of three distinct scales of pay for the same office, amongst different races in the police department, can any one assert that there is no racial inequality in this department? If any body still perversely maintain that there is no racial inequality, he must then either be an insane or an unscrupulous politician.

The Inspectors

Next, what about the Inspectors? As I have already told you they have practically no chance of promotion to higher service. During the recent years, however, owing to war vacancies a number of Inspectors were promoted to act as Deputy Superintendents and they were made to bear all the brunt of higher responsibilities, but now that European officers are available they are being asked to vacate their appointments and are being cast aside as worn-out shoes. Such treatment is unbecoming on the part of any Government and I dare say no European service would have tolerated it. While the Government is generous enough to safeguard the officers of the Imperial Service from the loss of any acting allowance to which they become entitled under the temporary exigencies of cadre, in the case of Inspectors of Police, these experienced officers are, after 6 or 7 years' hard trial, told to vacate their posts in favour of untrained outsiders, European and Indian. Not only so, the treatment meted out to them in the matter of their pay has aroused universal discontent and, need I say, unless the grievances are immediately removed by adequate steps, it will not be our fault if the efficiency of the police service deteriorates.

The Sub-Inspectors

Take again the cases of Sub-Inspectors, Assistant Sub-Inspectors, Head Constables and Constables. I have mentioned in a separate place the difficulties and discomforts attending their duties. In the case of Sub-Inspectors, in most of the provinces a scale of pay has been introduced which is almost equal to the rate sanctioned for postal officials in the lower grade. In the matter of travelling allowance, while other Provinces have allowed them the scale admissible under the Civil Service Regulations and while the Bombay Government have conferred on them the privileges of second class officers irrespective of the amount of actual pay, our Bengal Government has even denied them the ordinary privileges which are enjoyed by all subordinate service officers throughout India and has classed them as third class officers. Similarly, in the case of Assistant Sub-Inspectors and Head Constables the pay and allowances granted to them are most disappointing and they have not even got a bare living wages, and I cannot but take some time to present before you



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has the claims of these members in the lower stratum of the service has been disregarded.

In Bengal outsider Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors are both recruited from the same class with similar educational qualification and social status, and the system is that the recruitment is to be made from the persons who are nominated for appointment as Sub-Inspectors but are not finally selected. The system is, in fact, similar to the appointment of Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors, but while in this case the rates of initial pay of the two ranks bear the ratio of 250 to 175, in the case of Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors they are in the ratio of 80 to 25. Leaving aside the comparison with Sub-Inspectors, is Rs. 25 now a days a sufficient living wages for a man possessing the minimum qualification of Matriculation pass? Has such a rate been adopted for any other service with similar qualification and is it not a fact that the duties of Assistant Sub-Inspectors are more arduous, hazardous and responsible than those in any other departments? I need not quote old cases but only the other day in Jessore one of the arms of an Assistant Sub-Inspector has been completely severed by a rioter with one stroke of his 'dao'. An officer is expected to face such risks for a paltry sum of Rs. 25.

I do not quite see the utility of creating and perpetuating a direct rank of Assistant Sub-Inspectors. This is neither beneficial to the members recruited for it, nor to deserving constables possessing good educational qualification and, to speak the truth, the introduction of the non-commissioned rank has been highly prejudicial to the use of constables who are to end their official career in a state of stagnancy without any chance of promotion to the higher rank. I can from my own experience remind the authorities that once you stand in the way of promotion you remove all stimulus to good work. My suggestion is that direct recruitment of Assistant Sub-Inspectors should be stopped so long as there is a single deserving candidate in the rank of constables and similarly the direct recruitment of Sub-Inspectors should be stopped till all suitable Assistant Sub-Inspectors are provided for. It is quite well-known to authorities that there are in the ranks numerous Assistant Sub-Inspectors quite fit for promotion and their names are sent up year after year but are sent back for want of vacancies while outsiders are enlisted to fill them.

The Constables

Lastly, take the case of constables. They are as you all know the more hard-working but the most ill-paid officers of Government. The postal peons get more pay. The coolies working in mills for 8 hours are paid double but the pay of our constables who are to be

Duty for 24 hours is most disappointing. Let us compare their pay and prospects with that of London constables. A constable of the city of London working only for 6 hours a day gets £3 6s. a week, i.e., about 13 times the pay of a constable of our force and even more than the initial pay of our Deputy Superintendents. It is no wonder, therefore, that the London Constabulary are the most popular in the world. Besides how are they housed? They are to live in barracks and no provision is made for them to live with their wives and children. Have they no affection for their wives and children? Have they no hankering for family life? Are they devoid of human sentiments? Are they supposed to be so many Sanyasis or eunachs? They are human beings after all, however poor they may be and most of them come from respectable classes of people. It is, therefore, necessary that arrangements should be immediately made by the authorities so that they can live with their family with suitable pay for their maintenance.

Indianisation of Imperial Services

The Indianization of Imperial services is a subject which has been agitating the public mind ever since the establishment of British Empire in India, and the argument for and against such a measure have by this time been so thoroughly discussed that it is necessary for me to reiterate them here. I shall only touch on the few points that affect us. In the first place, as I have said before, a retrograde policy is being followed ever since the last Police Commission in the matter of promotion of departmental officers to the Imperial rank. It has now been decreed that only one-third of the total vacancies available to India, will be thrown open to departmental men and I have shown what poor chances we shall have under the arrangement to satisfy our legitimate ambitions. The outsiders who will compete for the remaining 2/3 of the appointments cannot possess any better qualification than many of those already in the service, for, were not the direct recruits in the cadre of Deputy Superintendents taken from the best materials this country could produce?

Had the Imperial Police band been open to Indians at the time they enlisted themselves, they would certainly have competed for this rank. Can there be then any justification for shutting out these officers from the appointments, now thrown open to Indians? Have not they in addition to their academic qualifications and social status and respectability already given proof of their capacity to undertake the higher duties of the Police Service? But the irony of the arrangement is that these officers' cases will not receive any consideration for these additional appointments. They are not afraid of any competition with outsiders and many of



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them and many Inspectors applied to be allowed to sit for Competitive Examination, but in Bengal this request has not been accepted on a technical objection to the effect that the Secretary of States' order preclude them from competing for these appointments. If the Secretary of States' orders are in fact so worded, it is the duty of the Government, under whom they serve to point out to him the injustice done to them ; but Government instead of doing this and looking to the interests of those who have given their best to their Service, have taken shelter under a technical objection. I consider it unbecoming of a Government to put forward such flimsy excuses instead of taking steps to remedy the evils of a system, so much prejudicial to the service. We must urge, therefore, with all the vehemence at our command that the order passed by the Bengal Govt. can not be the last word on the subject. They must be withdrawn and all the Provincial Govts should join together in sending an united protest against the unjust order of the Secretary of State, so that so long as there is a single deserving member in the service his interest may be fully safeguarded. Not only so, we must urge that full fifty per cent of the vacancies in Imperial services should be thrown open to us, because we have proved our capacity for higher duties and our employment is cheaper than the employment of officers imported from England. So far as Bengal is concerned, permit me, gentleman, to say that even 15 years ago there was no bar to the promotion of Inspectors to the Imperial cadre, but alas ! the successive stages of the Police reforms have practically closed the doors of their promotion.

I have stated above that a Retrenchment Committee has been formed in Bengal, but I regret that there is no representative in it from the Subordinate and Provincial Services. I dare say that both, owing to their number and their familiarity with every details of work, entitled them to better treatment. This omission betrays an indifference to the interests of our services and I shall still hope that the committee will yet see its mistake and take steps to invite a member from our Association to sit with it and I can assure both Government and the non-official members that they will find our assistance valuable in correctly appreciating the position.

The All India Police Conference resumed its sitting on Thursday the 29th Dec. 1921 when the following resolutions were passed.

Resolutions.

The first resolution regarding the change of rules of British India Police Associations which was moved by Rana Sadh Shamsar



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Jay Bahadur, urged that there should be uniformity of rules in all Provinces.

Rai Sahab Bhabesh Chandra Das moved a resolution according a cordial welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

The third resolution referred to the unsympathetic treatment meted out to invitations to the conference extended to the Commissioners, Magistrates, Inspector-Generals, D. I. G's and members of the Imperial Police Force throughout British India.

The fourth resolution urged that the decisions arrived at the conference regarding pay and allowances of officers from D. S. P's to the rank of constables should supersede all memorials heretofore submitted and that all demands for pay be based on the scales to be drawn up by a consensus of opinion of all officers throughout British India.

The fifth resolution showed the universal wishes of all members of the Association to have officers of the Indian Civil Service as Inspector Generals of Police in different Provinces.

The following resolution was then put from the chair and carried.

"That in the opinion of this conference the scales of pay of different ranks of Subordinate and Provincial Police Services should be uniform throughout British India. Any necessary emoluments that would be required owing to local conditions might be made by grant of local allowances."

Mr. Raghavendra Nath Banerjee moved the following resolution :—

"That in order to create a healthier atmosphere and remove misapprehensions in the minds of the general public regarding the police force, every endeavour should be made by its members to secure mutual confidence, co-operation and good-will by cultivating the spirit of healthy comradeship in our every day dealings with the public."

The next resolution urged Government to increase the cadre of Inspectors by replacing Sub-Inspectors in charge of head quarters and important police stations of all districts and Sub-Inspectors of all Sub-Divisional Courts by Inspectors, and that Inspectors in charge of the kotwalis and big cities of India be replaced by D. S. Police, and in all big reserves D. S. P's be kept in charge.

Another resolution urged that direct recruitment of Sub-Inspectors be stopped until qualified assistant Sub-Inspectors who had been officiating for more than two years were absorbed into the ranks of Sub-Inspectors.

Mr. R. M. Ghoshal next moved a resolution urging the abolition of the system of employing pleaders as Court Inspectors and Public Prosecutors and their replacement by D. S. Police or those promoted from Court Inspectors.

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The following resolution was then put from the chair and carried :—

"That in view of the heavy stress imposed on the existing members of the Police Force owing to the inadequacy of their numbers, the strength of the force should be adequately augmented and should bear a reasonable proportion to the police of the country."

Rana Shamser Jung Bahadur moved the following resolution :—

"That this conference is strongly of opinion that in pursuance of the policy of associating the people of the country to a larger extent with the duties of higher administration as being one of the declared objects of the Reform Scheme, half of the total appointments of the Imperial Police cadre should be filled, as vacancies arise, partly by the promotion of D. S. P's and partly by the recruitment of outsiders (Indians) in the ratio of 75 to 25 per cent, and that for this purpose the recruitment of Europeans for the Imperial Police Service be stopped till the above 50 per cent is reached."

The next resolution urged that the system of promotion in all grades of police force be made to suit their wishes.

Mr. H. K. Gupta, Jessore, moved a resolution referring to the indiscriminate reversion of officers officiating in the rank of D. S. P's serving in that rank for two years and urging that they should be made permanent or provided with additional appointments in the cadre and that direct appointments of D. S. P's be limited to 25 per cent.

The next resolution, "that in view of the system of promotion from Sub-inspectors to Inspectors and Inspectors to D. S. P's being not quite satisfactory, the appointment of a Committee to give fairer scope to all deserving officials is essential and must include two non-police officers" roused discussion.

An amendment that there should be as many non-police officers as police officers was carried by an overwhelming majority.

The following resolution was unanimously carried :—

"That this conference most respectfully requests the Governor-General of India in Council to take immediate steps for the abolition of all distinctions which were originally racial and were believed to be only nominal between the members of the Indian (Imperial) Police and those of the Provincial Police in all matters concerning their status, pay, travelling and daily allowances and promotion to superior ranks in the Police department."

The resolution regarding the fixing of the scale of pay of officers in all ranks was then put before the Conference. This gave rise to a heated debate and the matter was referred to the Subjects Committee for decision.

Excitement in the Camp

Some excitement was caused over the sudden departure of Rai Sabeh Purna Chandra Biswas, the President, in the midst of the



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deliberations on the second day. It was subsequently known that the President was asked to see the Inspector-General of Police. The President, however, returned to the Pandal shortly after 6 o'clock in the evening and took leave of the delegates as he was ordered to start for his head-quarters immediately. The delegates were taken by surprise as the President did not give any reasons and naturally excitement prevailed at the pandal for some time. The Conference, however, decided to send a telegram to the Inspector General of Police to reconsider his decision. The proceedings of the Conference were suspended "*sine die*." The subjects Committee went on with their deliberations.

The Conference subsequently thought it advisable to wait upon the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler with a deputation. The deputation consisting of nine delegates of all Provinces in India accordingly waited upon the Hon'ble Member.

The President had in the mean-time left for Sealdah Station where most of the delegates assembled to give him a hearty send-off. Meanwhile the deputationists arrived at the station with the news that Sir Henry Wheeler very sympathetically considered the matter and asked him to stay on. This caused great jubilation amongst all those present in the platform. Excitement was so great that the delegates got hold of nearly fifty taxis and came to the pandal with the President where hearty cheers were given for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Sir Henry Wheeler, the President and the deputation and deputationists. Immediately an extraordinary meeting was held in which a resolution was passed, thanking the Hon'ble Member in charge for his action and deciding to resume the deliberations of the Conference at 2 P. M.

The Conference re-assembled at 3-30 in the afternoon with Rai Sahab P. C. Biswas, their President, in the chair. Although there was absence of wild excitement evinced in the earlier part of the day, there were some mis-givings in the minds of most of the important delegates who appeared to be still excited over the action taken by the authorities. This matter formed the subject of deliberations in the Subjects Committee which again met, and this deferred the actual deliberations of the Conference some time. The proceedings of the third day's Conference were continued when some more resolutions dealing with pay and allowances of police officers and constables were passed.



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All-India Railwaymen's Conference

BOMBAY—4TH FEBRUARY 1921

The All-India Railwaymen's Conference opened on the 4th Feb. in the Empire Theatre. Delegates of workmen from all over India were present, the hall being quite full. Mr. S. Titus, of the G. I. P. Railway, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates said that in their present unorganised state, Railwaymen could not achieve their goal. But the present meeting, he hoped, will truly lay the foundation of a federation which, avoiding politics, will in time bridge the gulf between capital and labour, on terms of equality and mutual self respect. They did not mean to be undisciplined rabbles, indifferent to those in authority.

Rai Sahab Chandrika Prasad was then elected President and delivered his Address. The President dwelt on the need of an All-India organisation of Railwaymen and referred at great length to the disabilities of Indian railway employees. He said that the present system which had created racial distinction was wrong and it was the duty of all lovers of fair-play to combine and remove all injustices wherever found. He dwelt exhaustively with the conditions of all grades of railway service and referring to Sir Henry Freeland's remark before the Indian Railway Conference Association in October last, that sympathetic touch between officers and men were very desirable, he remarked that this was possible only when there was justice and there existed no distrust or suspicion on the side of those in authority. The President expressed himself in favour of determining at the earliest possible date the contracts of companies entrusted with the working and management of Indian State Railways. The President advised the railway employees when making representations to do so in reasonable spirit and to try their best to maintain harmonious relations with officials and as far as possible to settle the disputes amicably by negotiation and arbitration without resorting to direct action. He trusted that the railway authorities would also be reasonable when considering the grievances of their subordinates. In concluding, he said :—Railways are yours. You have a sacred trust in your hands and you must discharge that trust in a sacred manner. The country pays for railway service and expects service to be rendered in satisfactory manner without undue burden upon the people and without your being unreasonable to those

whom Providence has placed under or above you. To the official, I would say, be reasonable in fixing your own emolument and privileges, show magnanimity of your heart by self-sacrifice, and contentment by the glory of high office which heaven has given you. Curtail your personal wants and do justice to your subordinates.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed at the All-India Railwaymen's Conference on the 5th February 1921 :—

"That the draft constitution of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation prepared by the Reception Committee of the Conference be adopted provisionally as it stands and a committee be appointed to go through it and circulate copies thereof among all different unions and associations asking them to give their opinion within three months after opinions are received. The Committee will have power to accept them if advisable, that the railway administration in India and Burma be requested to encourage the formation of unions of railwaymen on their respective lines as desired in the Versailles Covenant of the League of Nations and such unions should be recognised."

"That all racial discrimination in Railway service should be entirely abolished on all State railways worked by State or Companies and Note 2 in para 20 of Section 230 of State Railway Open Line Code (?) 7 in this connection be withdrawn."

"That in view of the Declaration of His Majesty's Government of 20th August 1917 and the Government of India Act and the Royal Proclamation of 1919 this Conference trusts that the Railway Board would publicly cancel all orders which have been issued to railway administration upon which Mr. T. Ryan made a statement in the course of his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Public Services to the effect that from the military point of view and internal security of the country more reliance is placed on European officers than on Indians."

"That this Conference trusts that the Indian legislature will take early steps to provide necessary legislation fixing the liability of railways for adequate compensation for injury or loss of life in case of accidents to railway servants working on line, at station or in workshops."

"That daily rated staff be brought on to monthly system with equal privileges of that system and all railwaymen to work two hundred and eight hours a month except sedentary staff whose total hours of work in a month should be only 144 Gazetted holidays being reckoned as working hours during the month in which they fall."

"That the work done over and above this should be paid at one and half time between 6 and 18 hours over and at double rate of pay drawn by men between sunset and sunrise and Gazetted holidays."

"That considering the present cost of living and risk and responsibilities involved in railway service, this Conference is of opinion that the minimum salary of railway employees should be in provincial towns Rs. 40, in other large towns Rs. 45, and in other places Rs. 30 plus all local allowances, and minimum pay for clerks Rs. 60 per month plus local allowances."

The All-India Railway Workmen's Conference concluded on the 6th February 1921 and passed the following resolutions.—

(1) That technical schools attached to railway workshops be improved and thrown open to Indians on the same conditions as in the case of Europeans and

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Anglo-Indians. (2) Asking for direct representation in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. (3) That railway administration should provide better housing for workmen and better educational facilities for their children and that the Government of India should appoint a committee to enquire into the present railway labour situation and that the rules regarding payments of gratuity and Provident funds be so altered that strike may not be regarded as misconduct, and also that the Government and railway administrations should treat Provident Fund bonus and gratuities as deferred payments and not as gifts. (4) Recreation clubs be established for Indians and Burmans on the same lines as provided for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. (5) The Conference places on record the valuable services rendered by Mr. S. G. Horniman in the cause of workmen and condemned the action of the Government of India, particularly the Government of Bombay, deporting him without trial. Mr. D. Chamanlal speaking on the resolution said he had heard on good authority that the Governor of Bombay had made up his mind that so long as he was the Governor, Mr. Horniman would not be permitted to return. He asked the delegates if they believed Mr. Horniman had worked for their rights, they should agitate against this unjust Government order. (5) It was further resolved that the Government should amend the present law requiring probate or Letters of Administration for obtaining payment of Provident Fund money over two thousand by relatives of deceased employees. (6) That a deputation of the Conference should wait on the President, Railway Board with its resolution. (7) That the maximum salary of agent or heads of departments should not exceed twenty five times that of the lowest paid servant of the railway administration. (8) The Conference was of opinion that the price of food-stuffs and necessities of life having gone up considerably, all railwaymen's salaries should be increased.



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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF

The European Association

CALCUTTA, 24TH JANUARY 1921

The European Association held their annual meeting in the hall of the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, on Monday 24 Jan. 1921. Mr. George Morgan, President of the Association, occupied the chair and there was a large attendance of members which included several ladies. The President in his address said :—

"Ladies and Gentlemen.—Before presenting to you the annual report and accounts for the year ending 30th September 1920, I should like to mention that your Council telegraphed a welcome to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught on his arrival in India, and I am sure we all hope this visit of His Royal Highness will be taken by India as proof of the good-will of the British people.

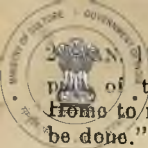
"I also wish to say that your Council looks upon the choice of Lord Reading as the new Viceroy as one which should command confidence. They consider that a man of the unquestionable ability of Lord Reading should be able to put matters in India on a much more satisfactory footing. A strong and capable man is much needed in India just now.

"In presenting to you the annual report and accounts, I am glad to inform you that the membership has increased, not decreased, as, I was warned, would be the case if the subscription was raised to Rs. 10 per annum. But I regret to say the increase is not what it should be. There must be thousands of Europeans in India who ought to be members but who are not, and I ask all Europeans to join at once."

After detailing the financial position of the Association the President continued.—

"As you are all aware I had to devote most of my time at Home to the affairs of the Association and although the work was intensely interesting it could hardly be called a holiday.

"Great Britain has been so distracted since the war that it is a wonder to me the British Press and Public have been able to give as much attention as they have done to Indian affairs. The ignorance and apathy displayed by the British public with regard to India is lamentable, but one must remember that India is only a



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of the British Empire, and it is our duty to help the people at home to realize the position and guide them as to what should be done."

As regards the question of arming all Europeans in India and training them into *Auxilliary Forces*, which had for sometime past been agitating the Europeans and Anglo-Indians in India, the President said :—

"This matter occupied a great deal of our attention last year, and before I went Home in February I was under the impression, after seeing a draft of the (Auxilliary Forces) Bill as revised, that the matter was finished, but soon after my arrival in England I received a cable to the effect that the "Compulsory" idea had been shelved and the Bill was to be brought in on a "Voluntary" basis. Mr. Montagu, who remarked that he was in favour, stated to me that the reason for cutting out the 'Compulsory' part of the Bill was that as the British Delegates at the Peace Conference had tabled a resolution against conscription, the Cabinet could not sanction the Bill being brought in except on a "Voluntary" basis. So far as I know the enrolment has not been entirely satisfactory. It has been mentioned to me that if the four years' period was done away with practically every eligible man would join the Force. At the present juncture it is perfectly certain that everyone should join. I hope Government have sufficient up-to-date guns, rifles etc. all ready, otherwise enrolment will remain unsatisfactory.

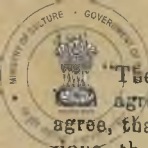
"Also there is the most important question of finance. I warn Government that if the Auxilliary Force is starved in the matter of money, there will never be a satisfactory enrolment.

"In the annual report you will find reference made to the Arms Act. The matter is still engaging our attention and I shall be glad if our branches will bring to our notice any other points they may wish to raise. I take this opportunity of thanking the Sub-Committee for their excellent reports which have been sent up to the Government of India."

Next referring to the political situation in India, Mr. Morgan said :—

"All grades of Indian opinion are agreed that the tragedy of the Punjab is the main reason for their want of faith in the justice of the British at the present time.

"The whole case has been argued "*ad nauseum*" and I do not intend to go over the ground again. Europeans and Indians do not look at matter in the same light, but I want Indians to remember that, whatever their grievance against the Govt. is, brutal murders were committed, and we also have a grievance in that the Govt. failed to protect the life and property which was their first duty.



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The Majority and Minority Reports of the Hunter Commission agreed, and it was about the only point on which they did agree, that had the 75 Military Police at the Kotwali (at Amritsar) done their duty, the situation would probably have been saved. In which case there would have been no Jallianwallah Bagh.

"I leave the matter at that.

"The new Executive Governments and Legislative Councils have now been brought into being, and I here repeat that the Non-Official Community has accepted the position meantime and will do its utmost to give the new Constitution a fair trial. This must not be taken to mean that we consider the Reform Bill to be sound, and are prepared to quietly accept anything that may be done; we reserve to ourselves the right to freely criticise any defects which may become apparent in the working of the Act, but will do our best to point out how these defects may be remedied.

"In this connection I wish to put our position clearly before the Members. We agitated strongly for Communal Representation and we got it; now it is up to us to use the representation given. I need not repeat here that we are all busy men and that public work is throwing an over-increasing burden on the backs of a few members of our Community—a burden which some of us have found more we can bear. We have no leisured class who can devote their time to public work and it seems to me that the Non-official European Community will have to seriously consider whether it would not be advisable to have a political organisation to do the work, with paid representatives on the Councils in places where business and professional men cannot find time to do public work, especially with regard to the Indian Legislative Assembly which meets at Delhi and Simla.

"As regards the idea of "Co-operation," we have decided to watch the new Councils very carefully before committing ourselves in any way, and I think this is a wise decision.

"The National Liberal Federation which is the Official Body of the Moderate Party has just held a Congress in Madras. The President, Mr. Chintamani, has defined the ideal of the Liberal Party as "complete Self-Government in India's internal affairs and absolute equality with the Dominions in inter-imperial and international relations." A very worthy ideal, but Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are very different places to India and the situation is fraught with many difficulties.

Indian Civil Service

"Mr. Montagu has adhered to the original proposal and has now published the conditions of entry for the Indian Civil Service

The percentage of Indian recruitment has been fixed at one-third rising by one and a half per cent annually for ten years up to a maximum of forty eight per cent. We hold that Mr. Montagu fixed these percentages in the erroneous belief that a deduction of 1.5 per cent a year from the British personnel will produce only a mathematically corresponding decline in the British character of the service. What will actually happen is that after a very few years the decline in the British element among recruits for the Indian Civil Service will be, not a steady 1.5 per cent. annually, but a very much larger percentage. The result of this in ten years time can be easily imagined. The Indian Civil Service, as known to British candidates has now been sentenced to death.

Swaraj and Non-co-operation

"The Extremist Party has boycotted the new Councils and by doing so they have proclaimed to the world that constitutional methods have no attraction for them.

"You will have read the reports of the Congress meeting held at Nagpur, and will have seen that the Congress Creed has been changed. The definite aim of the Congress now is to make the Government of this country impossible by what they call non-violent non-co operation in order to obtain "Swaraj" in twelve months. This method they advocate, as they say they are not in a position to do it by any other means at present.

"There seems to be three separate dreams : (1) Mr. Gandhi dreams of "Peace, Perfect Peace," uncontaminated by Western Civilisation. (2) Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali dream of a very different kind of India, outside the British Empire. (3) Mr. C. R. Das dreams of the time when all "European Robbers" will have departed and the whole Government and trade will be in Indian hands.

"Now the question for us to consider :—What views do we hold regarding "Swaraj"? Our view is that Indians should take the first instalment given to them, work it for all they are worth, and prove to the Commission ten years hence, that they are fit to govern. Mr. Chintamani has stated this to be the policy of the "Liberal" party.

"If the Congress demands were acceded to at once, what would they suggest about the British Army? Do they expect to see an Indian Army capable of taking upon itself in twelve months all the administration of Army Headquarters and being able to defend the country from external enemies and maintain internal peace? If they do, they are extraordinarily sanguine.

"What we have guaranteed to India is that we will guide them on the road to complete self-government. We must realise



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But, and if we cannot honestly say that we are prepared to take away the British Army when the final stages of the transition have come, we may as well say so now.

"But when the final stages of the transition have come, what is then to be the position of the European community? Having given up all actual participation of the governing of this country, are we to revert to the old trading days? It looks as if it must be so. We will have to be merchants, trading in India under concessions from the Indian Government, and probably the European community will then be confined to the large Sea-port Towns.

"We asked the Government to define their policy as regards Defence before the passing of the Reform Bill.

"What has the Government done? A Commission has lately been held and the Esher Report published. This would have been done "before" the passing of the Reform Bill. Indians now say that they fail to see how the recommendations of the Commission fall in with the general policy of the granting of complete Self government.

"The Esher Report states that the Indian Army is the instrument of the Government of India by whom it is paid and administered, subject to the general control of the Secretary of State for India and that just as the security of India demands the presence of these British troops, so the fresh military obligations devolving on the Empire as a result of the war, necessitate the employment overseas of a considerable number of Indian troops. Indians do not admit this.

"There is no doubt that we must prepare for the final transition and if there is to be any analogy between the Civil and Military administration, a beginning might be made by offering a few of the Indian regiments entirely with Indians and gradually extending the system, if successful, until the British Army could be completely withdrawn. The Army Head-quarters would also have to be reconstructed. This in my opinion would be a more suitable way of meeting the situation than by merely giving a percentage of King's commissions to Indians.

The Present Position.

"We must remember that the feeling which has arisen and growing steadily in India during the last 14 years is the outcome of our own teaching, and the intensified feeling shown during the past 3 or 4 years has been due in great part to the effects of the world-wide war. We should not resent this feeling but try to satisfy it, having due regard to our position as Trustees of the people of the whole of India.

"Whether it will be possible for India to be part of the British Empire on the same lines as the present self-governing units is a

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

question that cannot be answered at present. It all depends on how the Indians themselves work the new Constitution and whether such a Constitution is suitable to the people of India.

"There is no use attempting to disguise the fact that the present position is full of danger. The atmosphere is charged with electricity. The agrarian disturbances at Rai Bareilly should serve as a warning and I hope our politicians, combining firmness with justice, will be able to steer the Ship of State into calm waters. At the present moment it is the general impression that everything is being allowed to drift. If India is to be saved from revolution and anarchy the Government must be maintained and must take a firm stand.

"I am certain that the Reform Scheme will not prove a solution of the difficulties, and before many years are over Indians will wish they had never heard of it.

"The European Association of India can do a great deal to help the British People to come to a right decision and I ask you to seriously consider the situation and not to brush it lightly aside. The final stages of the Transition may come very much quicker than most of you realise and it behoves us to be prepared."

The Resolution

After the election of new office-bearers and passing some formal resolutions, the only important resolution on the paper was moved by Lieutenant Commander Fraser in the following terms:—

"This meeting unreservedly condemns the attitude of supine acquiescence with lawlessness and incipient anarchy which the Government of India has seen fit to adopt with regard to "Non-co-operation", and calls upon it to carry out the duty which alone entitles it to be called a government, and in particular, to put in force the Indian Penal Code against all persons professing and promulgating the particular form of lawlessness and anarchy called "Non-co-operation", and that a copy of this be sent to the Government of India and the Press."

Mr. Armstrong seconded the motion. There was a lively debate lasting for a considerable period after which votes were taken and it was then found that the House was equally divided. The President gave his casting vote against the motion and it was declared lost.



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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF

The European Association

CALCUTTA, 14TH FEBRUARY 1922

The European Association held their annual meeting this year in the hall of the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, on Tuesday 14th Feb 1922. Mr. George Morgan, President of the Association, having previously resigned Mr. H. W. Carr occupied the chair and there was a large attendance of members which included several ladies. Mr. Carr in reviewing the past year's political situation in his address said :—

On the Reforms.

"The year opened with the inauguration of the new Assembly and Councils under the Reform Scheme, and it is somewhat surprising to note what a large number of Europeans in this country, including some of our own members, in criticising Government have failed to recognise that the old order has passed, and this in spite of the fact that the new order is so much in being that matters vitally affecting Europeans have been under the consideration of the legislature for some months past. I refer particularly to the amendments brought forward to the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to eliminating all racial distinctions. The manner in which it was proposed to achieve this showed the necessity for a careful watch being kept by the Association, who while maintaining a sympathetic attitude towards the logical outcome of the Reforms, cannot fail to recognise that actions based on racial sentiments may lead legislation into channels which would deprive a section of the citizens of this country of their rights, without achieving any substantial benefit to others. The Reform Councils are still on their trial, and there are many grounds for congratulation and hopefulness ; but we cannot be blind to other and less hopeful signs in the half-hearted determination to accept the responsibilities of Government in maintaining order. This phase emphasises the necessity for the steady and quiet development of self-government for India, rather than the rush for Home Rule which is advocated by the more noisy section of the population whose aims, if carried into effect, would throw India into a condition of chaos in a very short time.

"The political situation has been one that has called for several representations from the Association, but we cannot claim that they have produced any very marked results. For a long time now

Government in various centres has been announcing in unmistakable terms its unflinching determination to protect law-abiding citizens and to maintain law and order. The enunciation of sound principles means but little even though often repeated. It is the application of these principles to the problems of our national existence for which we have patiently and anxiously waited, and a resolution will be put to this meeting shortly on the subject. We are not unsympathetic with the difficulties facing Government and we are only too anxious to assist if they will but give us a lead.

"During the year the Home campaign for disseminating information with regard to India's position was brought to a close. The campaign had been adopted for the purpose of counteracting the extremist propaganda which was being vigorously pushed throughout the United Kingdom, and also of awakening Great Britain to the danger of a position which have always been apparent to us out here, but of which she is only now becoming conscious. To assist Great Britain to gain a correct conception of affairs out here seemed a legitimate activity of this Association, but the scheme has had to be closed down through lack of funds; and in view of the fact that it did not meet with the support of all our members, the scheme will not be resuscitated in future without the full consideration and consent of the branches.

"Among the many matters dealt with during the year the question of the military requirements of India, which was discussed by a Committee in June last, was by no means the least important, although an unfortunate incident * when tendering our oral evidence, which has been happily settled, has hidden to some extent the importance of the whole matter. The Council has been strongly opposed to any curtailment of the European garrison in India, for the internal conditions in this country are considerably more dangerous than in the pre-war period, and although modern weapons have increased the efficiency of the garrison, yet we consider more rather than less men are required to give protection to the community from foes without and within. We feel strongly that the Auxiliary Force is only for use in times of emergency and not on any account for the purpose of saving expenditure on forces which are required to garrison the country and keep the frontiers. The Auxiliary Force must be treated, we contend, purely as an ultimate reserve.

* This refers to the slanderous statement made by Major Tyas, Sec. European Association, in his evidence before the Military Requirements Committee on the courage, efficiency and value of the Anglo-Indians and Eurasians as members of the Auxiliary Force. This, however, was subsequently repudiated by Col. Gidney, their President and the Govt. of India.

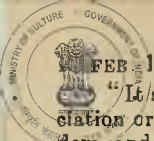


ANNUAL MEETING OF

[CALCUTTA]

"An item of considerable importance to the Association has been the reconstitution of the Council which has been carried through in the past few months. The new Council is to a far greater degree than formerly representative of Branches and it is also reduced to one of more workable dimensions. This should be of great assistance to the efficiency of the Association and tend to the rapidity of action, for at the present time we think our Members in up-country, rather than those in town, require the help of the Association, as it is in the mofussil that the absence of order is more severely felt than in towns where forces available for meeting contingencies are located. With a well-constituted Council, however, and even should we be able to make an early considerable addition to the membership, nothing can be done without money, and when we turn to the accounts we find very disappointing results.

"I may say that at present we are working under the estimates of expenditure, but in addition to the subscriptions from members we also require new members, not only for their financial support but also in order to add to the influence of this Association. In securing new members I quite realise the difficulty, for some say that the Association is doing nothing while others say in effect that it is doing too much pro-European. From what I have seen of the work of the Association I believe both are wrong. The first criticism of doing nothing is answered in the record of work shown in the Quarterly Reviews, but it seems that doing nothing in the estimation of these critics is the only alternative to the Association being continually in the lime-light. I would suggest, however, that the role of the Association is in the main that of a guard over European rights, which does not get active until it sees those rights threatened; even then it does not move on all occasions for, provided other parties are taking the necessary actions, it only has to back them up. In this respect it owes much to the public-spirited action of the Chambers of Commerce. The Chambers cannot, however, do all that is required, for they represent specific interests and it is up to this Association to look after the wide interests not represented in the Chambers. In setting out to do this we come across the others of our critics who say we are too "pro European." They fear that to watch over European interests means we are going to struggle for privileges at the expense of our Indian co-citizens—privileges which are not in tune with the liberal thought of the world at the present day. This is not so, for this Association, while specially serving its members, has neither the intention nor the desire to secure privileges at the expenses of the community generally.



"It seems to me that this Association can unite with any Association or party of liberal thought attempting to establish the freedom and responsibility of the individual, and this unity of action is regardless of race, for I believe that in sympathetic fellowship with the responsible Indian and Anglo-Indian the best interests of this Association are bound up.

"I hope some of those now hanging back from membership with this Association will see things in the same light and will join with us in upholding the British ideal which is liable to partial eclipse in times of racial antagonism, but which it is the peculiar duty of this Association to defend."

The Telegram (Cable ?) to the Premier on Khelafat

Mr. H. B. Turle said that last week the Council of the Association sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister: "Council of European Association respectfully draws attention to fact that attitude of Mahomedans in India towards Britain is profoundly and adversely affected by conviction that Britain alone stands in way of peace with Turkey and that Britain is supporting Greece against Turkey owing to pro Christian influence. Council respectfully but most earnestly urges India's splendid part in war particularly in Eastern theatre demands in framing policy towards Turkey fullest possible deference be accorded Mahomedan religious sentiment which has active sympathy of leading Hindus. Council considers early affirmation that British policy now as always is unbiassed by religious considerations and demonstration thereof by one unmistakable attitude to Turkey with regard to Holy Places essential to success of Empire's mission in Asia." The reason the telegram was sent was that they had recently had the opportunity in the Council of discussing the position in India with one or two leading Mahomedans, and as they understood the situation in India, they were faced with two separate and distinct agitation. The first was the *Swaraj* and the second was the *Khilafat* agitation. With regard to *Swaraj* the Association was entirely and unanimously opposed to any form of *Swaraj* as proposed by Mr. Gandhi and the Extremist leaders in India. It was believed by the general run of Mahomedans throughout India that the only obstacle in the way of peace with Turkey was Great Britain. Whether that was correct or not there was no doubt that was the belief which was very damaging to the success of the Empire in Asia and especially in a country where a majority or a large number of the inhabitants were Mahomedans. They had therefore sent this telegram to the Prime Minister urging an affirmation that British policy was unbiassed by religious sentiment. It was outside the

ordinary scope of the Association, but they felt that the situation was unusual, and that if anything could be done to remove the root of the trouble it was within the scope of the Association just as much as it was within the scope of the Association to prevent the preaching of disloyalty in the mosques towards Great Britain.

Urging Government to Action Against N-C-O.

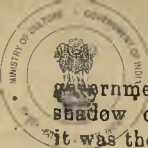
Mr. E. Villiers moved :—"The Association notes the attitude of the Government of India towards the revolutionary movement as revealed in its communique of the 6th of February. It urges on the Government the immediate cessation of its present attitude of continued forbearance with agitators which will alienate in the future, as it has in the past, the sympathies of those who still desire to remain loyal. The Association urges on the Government the imperative necessity of translating its words into deeds and, by a definite and immediate action, of carrying out its elementary duty of maintaining Law and Order and of protecting its servants from murder and violence. The Association is strongly of opinion that, to give effect to the above, definite steps should be taken continually to display in the up-country districts and in the towns such forces as the Government may have at its disposal, and further that, in the case of all those condemned by the law to imprisonment for riotous and seditious acts, such imprisonment should be made effective both as to term and conditions."

In speaking on the resolution Mr. Villiers made a violent speech. He said that they had done with words. They wanted the Government to realise that they had sat quiet for some months seeing a good deal passing before them with forbearance. That, however, did not mean that they were going to sit down to see themselves trampled on "*ad nauseum*" by every self styled apostle of peace. Secondly, the resolution urged on Government the imperative necessity of translating its words into deeds. Words had not stemmed the tide of racial hatred which was threatening the whole of the European community and in fact every loyal member of the community.

Lastly, he would add a word of warning. There might be, and there were, some amongst them who thought that owing to the latest *communique* put forward by Mr. Gandhi with regard to the suspension for the time being at all events of mass civil disobedience, there was no reason why this resolution should now be moved. If there were any of them who thought on these lines, he told them that they were never more mistaken in their lives. This was nothing more or less than a strategic move of an amazingly clever and astute politician. Mr. Gandhi was asking for a crore of volun-

terms and a crore of rupees, and for the time being he was pleased to stop this campaign. If there was need yesterday for this resolution to be moved there was ten thousand times more need for it to be moved that day lest the Government be lulled into a false sense of security and the tiny rimlets of blood which they had seen trickling in the land might swell into a great river of blood and overwhelm every man and woman in this country.

Mr. Langford James in supporting the resolution said that he had made a certain study of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was not a visionary. Mr. Gandhi was a very shrewd politician, possibly the most shrewd among those who had formed themselves into a clique against the British. In December 1920, there was a Congress held at Nagpur. There were three from Bengal, as the representatives of Bengal, Mr. C. R. Das and various other persons all of whom were noted for their anarchical tendencies and their bitter hatred of the British and they put before the Congress a very sound policy. They said: "Let us go into the Councils and create an opposition like the opposition of the Irish members in the House of Commons." Mr. Gandhi, however, absolutely refused to have it because he foresaw that once they went into the Councils, once they recognised that they were going to have something like representative government, some sort of some government on the lines of bureaucracy or democracy, there would be an end to his plans and that was what he was not going to have at any cost. Mr. Gandhi's scheme for non-cooperation was to stand outside the Councils so that he might wreck them. Mr. Gandhi's whole object was to produce chaos and anarchy in the land so that there might be no sort of Government whatever, and then when the whole thing was in the melting pot Mr. Gandhi would have his turn. Secondly, why non violence? Because if one was violent, even the British Government in India took hold of one and probably punished one, and therefore Mr. Gandhi thought it was such an excellent plan all the time to be an advisor of non violence. Nobody would touch him and the Government were side-tracked. To-day Mr. Gandhi stood before them as the most dishonest man in the country. Mr. Gandhi was the advisor of non-violence but was stirring up murder and arson. Mr. Gandhi would have them believe that each time it occurred the tears were running down his face, that he was fasting for a month, that the country must be purged of this dreadful blot. Who believed Mr. Gandhi? Mr. Gandhi could shed his tears after the Bombay massacres, but who had stirred it up? He had no doubt that it was Mr. Gandhi himself. He believed that very possibly the future of this country was bound up in having what he would call a solid entente between the sane and sound Indians who had a stake in the country and desired to see a stable



THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION [CALCUTTA]

Government and the Englishmen who lived here. There was no shadow of doubt that they must have a stable government and that it was the duty of the Government of the country to govern. Government could never govern by sending down such clever *communiqués* from Delhi. Government must take action.

Mr. W. L. Carey said :—The time is one when no doubt the Government of this country and of this province will be glad to have an expression of opinion by the European community in support of their action taken and yet to be taken for the enforcement of law and order and the protection of life and property of loyal and law-abiding subjects and Government servants. They may also be glad to know our opinion that the time has come when they should take more definite action to this end. I support the Resolution, and also especially its demand for adequate protection in up-country places, and the showing of such force as may be necessary there to re-establish a sense of security and to overawe the spirit of lawlessness and manufactured disorder.

Mr. C. O. Remfry moved, Mr. Harry Hobbs seconded, and it was unanimously adopted :—“That this meeting endorses the representation of the Council to the Racial Distinctions Committee with regard to the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code, and while glad to support popular opinion as to equal treatment for Indians and Europeans on the basis of raising the standard of procedure in criminal trials, it emphatically and finally rejects consideration of any settlement which may take away the right of trial by mixed jury as now existing.”

It was unanimously decided by the meeting that the following telegram be at once despatched to Sir William Joynson-Hicks :—“To Hicks, Commons, Westminster. General Meeting European Association, only organised body unofficial Britishers in India, strongly support your motion and deprecate political manoeuvre in Indian Legislative Assembly of 13th defending Secretary of State.”



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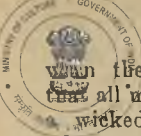
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF The Bengal Chamber of Commerce

CALCUTTA, 28TH FEBRUARY 1922.

At the Annual General meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce which was held on the 28th February at Calcutta Sir Robert Watson Smyth, the President, delivered the following remarkable speech. Some parts of this had, however, to be retracted by him on pressure being applied by the sober and moderate section of the Calcutta public—both European and Indian.

After reviewing the happenings of the past year Sir Robert turned to politics and said :—

"I have always felt that the business-man in Calcutta should, as far as possible, withhold himself from dabbling in politics. It has been my opinion that a business man should stick to his business and confine his political activities to questions which immediately affect or threaten commerce. Of recent years, however, the march of events has been so rapid that it has not been possible for us to stand on one side. Reforms and agitation, side by side, have affected the Government of this country to such an extent that the whole fabric not only of Government but of society also is shaken and threatened, and it therefore behoves every man to take a hand in the game so that he may be prepared to resist aggression and defend his rights. In this connection, I would say once more what has often been said on occasions like this, that the old-fashioned idea that some firms have of restraining their senior man from taking any part in public life must be abandoned if we are not going to run a great risk during the next few years of critical change. The business communities of Calcutta are being attacked. And they will be attacked still more in the future, and it requires the very best men that they can produce to put up an adequate defence. The time when it was sufficient for one or two leading men to take all upon their shoulders has gone. The responsibilities which must be borne by the leaders of the Mercantile community are so great that it is impossible for one or two men to undertake them all, and they must be wisely spread over a large number than has been the case hitherto. There still exists a prejudice amongst some of the great firms against allowing their seniors to do anything but their own business, but I solemnly



when the members of this Chamber that this can not continue and that all must take their share of their burden. It is a selfish and a wicked act for any one firm to be willing enough to take advantage of all the Chamber does for it, but unwilling to allow the attention of their senior to be distracted for a moment by any thought outside making money for the Home partners. If I had my way such a firm should be ostracised, and if they would deliberately take no share in the labours of the Chambers they should have no share in the benefits which membership of the Chamber confers.

"We have now had one year's experience in the working of the new Councils under the Reform Scheme, and I am afraid that the best that can be said on the subject is that the results might have been worse. The Council of State have given us a fairly dignified lead, as might be expected from men of that standing, but their powers are small, and though the sentiments which they have expressed from time to time are moderate in view and in expression, they have not been of any great assistance towards governing India during the past year. The Legislative Assembly from which so much was expected, and by which so much must be done if the Reforms are to be anything but a farce, have been a disappointment. The bulk of their time has been taken up in discussing resolutions, many of a highly controversial and racial character, and the time and ability of the best men in the Assembly, both unofficial and official, have been utilized not in trying to solve the problems of Government but in trying to keep the Extremist within limits, and the wording of resolutions from passing the ordinary bounds of prudence. Weighty legislation, such as the Income-tax Act which would have taken the House of Commons weeks of debate, are passed with comparatively no discussion at all. Government by resolution is a hopeless task, and the length to which this has been carried during the past year makes one's heart sink at the thought of these Assemblies and Councils ever being fit to govern this country. But the Legislative Assembly seem to be extremely pleased with their effects, for with only a few months of experience during which time their actual achievements were nil, they stoutly passed a resolution to the effect that in their opinion they have become so efficient that their ten years of probation should be waived, and that they were now ready to proceed with the next step towards complete self government. Can any resolution be conceived that is more futile than that? Can any better proof be shown than that the Legislative Assembly have not even begun to learn the lessons which the Government of India Act considered 10 years was necessary for them to master?

"The Bengal Legislative Council has been possibly a little better than the Legislative Assembly. They had a severe lesson in the early part of their existence when they rejected the Police vote and found that His Excellency would not restore the grant. It was their first test for finding themselves responsible for their own actions, and they did not like it. They put the grant back on their own petition, and since then have been much more sensible with regard to votes which carry responsibilities with them. But still, for them also the charm of passing resolutions has its fascination, and this culminated in an absurdity at the last session when on one day the Legislative Council passed without difficulty a vote for extra money for the police in order to carry out the Government policy of law and order, and the next day passed a resolution condemning that policy and asking Government to abandon it. And so, gentlemen, the review of the first year's working of our new Assembly and Councils does not give scope for much gratification, but if that had been all we could have looked forward with hope that in years to come wisdom would be learnt by degrees if but slowly. But there is unfortunately something a good deal worse than the passing of foolish resolutions and the like. The Councils, and especially the Assembly, are beginning to realise their power and are beginning to look about to see how they can by legislation work off some their racial and commercial jealousies which have rankled for many years. They have raised two thorny questions: the first being racial equality and the second, what is usually known as the Ilbert Bill controversy. One can deal with the first in rather a calmer manner than with the second.

Racial Prejudice.

"This question of racial equality has been surrounded by a great deal of cant and humbug since the Reform Scheme came into being. Is there really such a thing as racial equality and, if not, can it be produced by legislation? There must be something very strong against this doctrine of racial equality, this hypothesis that one man is as good as another, no matter what his race or his traditions may be. It is not only we, Britishers, resident in India that have this idea of racial inequality. I suppose it is stronger in America than anywhere else. The English settlers in Kenya colony who have never had anything to do with India but only with Indians are on the brink of mutiny on account of it. South Africa, which straightened out her war troubles in a manner that stamped after her people as being imbued with the greatest common sense and breadth of vision, will not recognise it. Australia with all its labour Governments will have none of it. The history of India for the last 200 years can hardly be quoted as a proof of any racial equality and

the Indian Army at the present day is a good instance of what is meant. The Indian Army, with its White officers is a magnificent fighting machine. But what would be the value of a Sikh or Pathan regiment officered by Bengali Babus, or a Goorkha Regiment officered by Ooryas? The man who talks about racial equality in India or anywhere else is either a humbug, or is talking with his tongue in his cheek. And yet one of the chief outcomes of the Reforms is this steady demand based on racial equality for what is called Indianizing the services. I notice that there is no great ambition to replace Europeans by Indians in the Army or Navy, but in all other services the demand is to exclude Europeans in future recruitment, and select Indians regardless of the effect in efficiency and regardless of the suitability of the candidates by race or tradition or training. This is bad enough but it is a legitimate ambition which will probably be killed by experience.

"There is, however, a darker and more dangerous side to this question. Racial equality is being made use of as a stalking horse for other things. It is being made use of as a means whereby old commercial jealousies may be satisfied, and as a means whereby privileges can be removed which will lay us open, bound and helpless, to a most vindictive form of legal attack. I mean the false charge at which the Asiatic is an acknowledged expert. Commercial jealousy is being appeased by the attempt to legislate Indians into commercial positions for which they are not qualified, and which they would never attain by open competition. Here, of course, are many exceptions. The great commercial magnates of Bombay have fought us at our own game and in many instances beaten us and this form of legislation has no attraction for them; but in Bengal and other parts of India where the plane of Indian commercial intelligence and morality is undoubtedly lower than in Bombay, this form of legislation has great attractions, and herein lies the danger. You cannot make an honest Director or Managing Agent by legislation out of a man who, according to Western ideas, is not commercially honest. You cannot make a Public Board function properly by pitchforking on to it a lot of useless or untrustworthy members, simply because they are Indians. But that is the trend of Indian thought to-day, and that form of thought will before long find expression in attempts at legislation. This must be fought from the very beginning. The way is being paved by a sort of campaign of calumny against British methods of business, and accusations of racial prejudice are being levied against us. Thank goodness, we are all too level-headed to bother about these sort of things, but Indian merchants who stoop to this form of abuse must take warning that they cannot

has it both ways. We cannot go on being friends with them if they openly and publicly abuse us. We are all willing to be commercial friends, and we are all too good business men to pay more for what we buy, or take less for what we sell in order to keep an Indian from doing business. It often happens, of course, that an European firm refuses to do business with an Indian firm, but the reason is not one of racial prejudice; it is one of commercial morality, and when an Indian firm has lost its credit, as some of them have done recently, they must expect to lose the custom of honest men as well.

The Ilbert Bill controversy.

"The second danger ahead of us is the attack that is being made on our privileges and our liberties, better known as the Ilbert Bill controversy. There are possibly none of us here who remember the Ilbert Bill uproar in the early eighties, but there are some of us who came to India not long afterwards when the echoes of that trouble were still ringing in the air. That the Legislative Assembly should have roused all these old passions again within the first year of its existence, is, to say the least of it, a great error in tactics. At the back of our minds, those of us, I mean, who openly declared for the Reforms, and promised to make them as much of a success as we could, there was always an uneasy feeling that we might be prejudicing our own rights, but I do not think that any of us ever thought that the attack would come at once within the first few months of the constitution of the Reformed Assembly. It shows us that the danger is real, and it shows us that we have got to stick together, as it may be a fight for our very existence. I will not go any length into this subject as the matter is being considered by a very strong Committee. If this Committee can come to a compromise that is likely to last and which will be acceptable to us, nobody will be more pleased than I am; but we must be prepared for the worst, although we hope for the best. There is, I feel convinced, a certain amount of bluff on the part of many Indians over this matter. It is a question of twisting the lion's tail, as has been done so often by the continental Powers, and the usual process is to go on twisting, keeping a sharp eye on the other end of the lion to see how far it is safe to go before he begins to bite. My advice to you, therefore, when the result of this Committee comes out, unless it is favourable, is to show your teeth as soon as possible. I have been asked what we can do, or what we are going to do. My answer is that we are going to do everything that lies within our power. I am not, of course, going to give our plans away prematurely, nor am I going

to indulge in threats, but I can assure the Legislative Assembly that if they pursue this course they are taking on a good deal more than they probably bargain for. In addition to what we can do out here, the public at home are at last rousing themselves to some interest in India and they are beginning to see that law and order here is not as certain as it should be, and the lives and liberties of their kith and kin are not as safe as they ought to be. Now will be the time to rouse British public opinion against any attack on our legal rights, and I feel convinced that our case is good enough to raise a storm, that it will sweep any proposed legislation before it, even if the Reforms have to go too.

"But this thing I say unhesitatingly, that no matter what may happen at Delhi, the Europeans of India will not stand any encroachment on the legal rights that we have found necessary in years past, and which we are convinced will be still more necessary in the future. This is not a question of reform or reaction. It is not a question of justice or injustice. It is a far greater question than that. It is a question of rights and liberty. It is a question of life and death. Let but this safeguard be taken from us, and not one of us will be safe from a charge of any foul crime up to murder with the certainty of a conviction.

"We will await the report of the Committee in the hope that they will recommend some acceptable compromise, but if that hope is not realised then action must be taken at once. I shall not be here to offer you my services as a leader which I would otherwise gladly do, but I would like to make this suggestion which, if the occasion arises, your new Committee may consider for what it is worth. In my opinion, the matter should be dealt with, not by the Chamber, but by the European Association; and they should appoint a special committee to deal with this matter only, and to this special committee the Chamber should give the services to take this matter seriously.

"The activities of many classes of Indians, some acting constitutionally and many acting unconstitutionally, seem to me to be aiming at one thing, and one thing only, which is to make matters so impossible for us Britishers in India that we will get out. But let them be well assured that we will not get out. The spirit of the old merchant adventurers, the ancestors of many of us here to-day, is by no means dead. Are we going to be juggled out of our birth-right by a parcel of lawyer politicians? Are we going to relinquish the heritage which our fathers won with the blood of some of the best men that ever came out of Britain? Are we going to sit quietly and submissively by to accept from any Legislative Assembly or from any organisation of Mr. Gaudhi, what is vulgarly known as the order of the boot? I think not. Or, if we do, I shall be entirely mistaken in my countrymen.



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Part II

CSL

Chronicle of Events

India in Parliament & Abroad 1921

January 1921

In England the Press was very active on Indian affairs, especially on the change of Viceroyalty and on the Nagpur Congress proceedings.

4th. Violent agitation in England led by the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Telegraph* to enforce repression in India in reply to the Nagpur Congress Resolutions. The *Post* led an agitation against the suggestion of Lord Reading as Viceroy recalling his connection with the notorious Marconi deal, and said that the I.C.S would revolt at such a standard of honesty. Tory papers followed suit.

8th. Sir Michael O'Dwyer started a campaign in the British Press for immediate repression in India and a personal vendetta against Messrs Gandhi, Lajpat Rai, Ali Brothers and Chintamani. The *Globe* and the *Telegraph* opened their columns to Anglo-Indian pensioners of India who demanded all round repression in India.

9th. Appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy of India announced.

25th. The Prince of Wales unveiling a war memorial to the Indian Dead at Brighton said that they had given their lives in a quarrel of which it was enough for them to know that the enemy were the foes of their *Sahibs* and their King-Emperor !

February 1921

15th. Parliament opened by the King in State. In the Commons Mr. Davidson M. P. in moving an address in reply to the King's Speech said that the House shared His Majesty's hope that the new Reforms inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught would bring political peace to India. Similar references in the Lords.

17th. Tory Papers in England under the lead of the *Morning Post* denounced the appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal as a Minister.

23rd. In the H. of Coms. Mr. Montagu was exasperatingly heckled by several M. P.'s on the question of appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal, who was maliciously described as a rebel and a convict, as a Minister in the Punjab Govt. The Speaker had to intervene and to stop further questions.



INDIA IN PARLIAMENT & ABROAD

Questions were also asked on the reduction of the British element in the Indian Army and expression was given to the fear that British strength was being dangerously reduced in India which was in the throes of a revolution.

24th. In the H. of Commons the anti-Indian die-hards led by Viscount Curzon initiated a heated discussion over the Speaker's ruling of the last day *re* Lala Harkishen Lal's Case.

March 1921

1st. In the H. of Commons a point of order was raised on the question whether members of Parliament could not criticise the action of Indian Officers, such as Lala Harkishen Lal, in the House. The Speaker gave his ruling that members should not interfere in the case of the administration of Transferred Subjects in India.

2nd. In the H. of Commons questions were asked regarding the pay and pension of the I. C. S. and regarding their protection from the alleged hostile action of the new Indian Ministers and their Councils.

Before a meeting of Parliamentarians under the Duke of Northumberland a bogus report was presented which included a reference by the O'Dwyer gang to an Indian Society which was alleged to be promoting murder and rebellion in India !

In the H. of Lords Lord Sydenham gave an alarmist view of the Army reductions in India which if carried out, he said, would spell disaster to the Empire !

3rd. Lord Reading, entertained to Dinner by the Royal Colonial Institute with Mr. Montagu as president, said in reference to his new appointment as Viceroy : 'It was a great idea to ask him who sat in the mighty seat of British Justice to go to India for the reason that he represented Justice in Great Britain.'

Oxford University Union after a full dress debate passed by 88 votes to 76 : 'That this House would welcome the immediate grant of the status of self-governing Dominion to India.'

5th. Manchester Chamber of Commerce sent representation to Mr. Montagu condemning cotton import duties in India.

8th. In the H. of Lords, Lord Lytton moved the Second Reading of the Govt. of Burma Bill which was postponed on Lord Amptill's motion that the matter was premature. Lord Sydenham raised the question of Parliament's power to review the administration of Transferred Subjects in India and elicited an assurance from Lord Lytton, the Under Secretary, that they could.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

13th. The *Morning Post* announced the formation of the India Emergency Committee composed of O'Dwyer, Dyer, Joynson-Hicks, Lords Sydenham & Amptill and other Die-hards, ostensibly to circulate informations about India but really to do anti-Indian propaganda work.

11th. Mr. Montagu received at the India Office the Indian Moslem Delegation to the Near East Conference.

12th. Lord Reading entertained at a farewell luncheon at Savoy Hotel by Indians in London. The Aga Khan presided. Lord Reading declared that he was going to India determined to do his utmost and believing that Indians would try at the outset to give faith to him until they found that he was undeserving of it.

Mr. Llyod George received at Downing Street the Indian Moslem Delegation who urged modification of the Treaty of Sevres.

17th. India Emergency Committee held a large inauguration meeting under Lord Amptill in Cannon Street Hotel to denounce Mr. Montagu and his Reforms in India.

23rd. Influential deputation of Lancashire M.P.'s and Cotton magnates waited upon Mr. Montagu to protest against Indian cotton duties and tried to influence him against fiscal autonomy being granted to India. Mr. Montagu declined to interfere.

April 1921

8th. Mr. Montagu replying to a deputation of pensioned officers of the uncovenanted service asking for an increase of pension said that he had gone a long way already but promised to reconsider.

12th. In the Commons the question of Kenya Indians was raised in interpellation when Col. Wedgwood declared that the Colonial Office was antagonistic to the Indian claim of equality in Kenya. Lord Winterton declared that the whole black population of Kenya was against giving further rights to Indians.

20th. Lord Lytton in the H. of Lords announced that the Burma Reform question had been left to the Joint Committee for report.

22nd. Sir Edward Grigg gave a lecture at the Royal Society of Arts on the "Common Services of British and Indian people to the world" and said that the time was not yet ripe when Indian unity and security could be maintained without the moral fibre of the British. Lord Chelmsford said that his experience of the Reformed Legislatures had been wonderful and he was confident that this great adventure was going to be a wonderful success.

29th. Mr. Montagu wrote to Mr. Chotani of the Khilafat Deputation expressing appreciation of its services and made a long statement of British policy towards the Turks.



INDIA IN PARLIAMENT & ABROAD

May 1921

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3rd. Nairobi Round Table Conference between members of the Indian community and the European Convention was opened under Governor Sir Edward Northey to arrive at a settlement on the claim of equality put forward by the Indian settlers.

4th. Lord Sydenham in the H. of Lords called attention to the dire peril to British Rule in India owing to reductions in the Indian Army. A long debate followed in which Lords Chelmsford and Lytton spoke against the motion which was withdrawn.

Nairobi Round Table Conference ended in a fiasco.

11th. At the annual dinner of the Newspaper Society of England, Field Marshall Wilson declared that India was a 'specifically British possession' which must be retained as such by force of arms.

13th. Mr. Montagu appointed a committee under Lord Lytton to report on the Indian Students question in the United Kingdom.

24th. In reply to Colonel Wedgwood in the H. of Commons Mr. Montagu gave the amounts of large pensions that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and Mr. Smith still draw from India.

25th. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry delivered an address on the "present political situation in India" at the Indian Students' Hostel and was fusilladed by interruptions and cries from the Indian students as he spoke against non-co-operation and supported Govt. action.

31st. In the H. of Commons Viscount Curzon put in an interpellation regarding Gandhi, using the insulting epithet "an individual called Gandhi" in this connection.

Debate in the H. of Lords raised by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu on defending the N. W. Frontier in India and preserving "our damaged prestige in our Eastern Empire." Lords Sydenham, Chelmsford, and Lytton made long speeches.

June 1921

1st. Parliamentary Joint Committee recommended the Govt of India Act to be extended to Burma at once.

7th. In the H. of Commons Mr. Montagu was heckled by questions *re* Gandhi Reading interview. Col. Yate again raised the question of reduction in the Indian Army.

8th. Burma Reforms Bill as drafted by the Joint Committee came up before the Lords for the second reading and passed.

14th. Sir Frederick Hall suggested in the H. of Commons deportation of Mr. Andrews, whom he described as "the so-called gentleman", in connection with his activities *re* Chandpur Gurkha outrage.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

6th. Imperial Conference of Premiers of British Empire opened at London by Mr. Lloyd George who referred to India in glowing terms and invited her representatives, the Maharao of Cutch and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, to participate in the discussions on equal terms.

21st. Mr. Sastri addressed the Imperial Conference on behalf of India and put forth the plea of equality of status for Indians.

24th. At the Empire Parliamentary Dinner Lord Birkenhead announced that he had arranged to send a Parliamentary Delegation to greet the new Legislatures of India.

28th. Burma Reforms Bill passed by the Lords.

July 1921

7th. Debate in the H. of Lords on Indian unrest raised by Lord Sydenham who asked what steps Govt. was taking to protect lives and properties of Europeans. Lord Lytton made a long statement.

At a meeting of the Imperial Conference the status of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies was discussed fully. The Maharao of Cutch opened the discussion and Mr. Sastri took a leading part.

12th. Mr. Waddington asked in the House of Commons about the huge profits which he alleged the Indian Cotton Mills have earned; he wanted to deprecate the new imposition of Indian Cotton Duties.

In the H. of Commons Mr. Montagu was heckled by the Diehards about the Indian Service Men and their dissatisfaction with the Montagu Reforms. Mr. Montagu promised to issue a communique on the subject shortly.

18th. Mr. Montagu in reply to enquiries made a statement in the H. of Commons regarding the Madras strikes which followed from the Buckingham and Karnatic Mills lock-out.

Col. Hurst drew attention in the H. of Commons to the huge loss sustained by India by the exchange muddle of 1920. Mr. Montagu made a statement on the sale of reverse councils.

19th. In reply to a question Mr. Montagu gave an account in the H. of Commons of the late Aligarh Riot of 1921.

27th. The Maharao of Kutch and Mr. Sastri were presented with the Freedom of London at Guildhall at a brilliant gathering: and entertained to a luncheon at the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor in the Chair. Mr. Sastri made very eloquent speeches in his best style.

August 1921

1st. A committee of Leading Manufacturers in England sent circular to M. P's. with a view to rally them in opposition to the



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Indian custom duties and declared that Mr. Montagu was responsible from first to last for the tariff difficulties between England and India.

Tilak Anniversary Day held in London at Woburn Place with Mr. M. H. Kidwai in the Chair, and also to celebrate the inauguration of N-C-O in India.

2nd. Protest against Jt. Parliamentary Com. recommendations on Kenya Indians issued over the names of Lord Sydenham, Sir C. Townshend, and Sir Joynson-Hicks saying: "we cannot imagine that any British Govt. would give them equal franchise with the White men and in fact by so doing convert the Indian Colony into a British Dependency."

5th. Imperial Conference Resolution on the status of Indians in the Dominions and other parts of the Empire was issued officially and published in the Press.

Genl. Smuts opined to a Press correspondent that Indians should emigrate to Mesopotamia rather than to South Africa.

A European mass meeting at Nairobi passed strong resolutions against giving any civic rights to Indians in Kenya.

9th. Col. Hurst in the H. of Commons enquired why the reverse councils were sold privately during the last exchange muddle. Mr. Montagu explained the position.

Colonial Secretary received a private informal deputation of East Africa Indians consisting of Messrs. Jeevanjee and Varma of Kenya and Messrs. P. Thakurdas and Ramchandra Rao of India. Mr. Churchill declined to hear Mr. Jeevanjee in detail. Immediately after this Mr. Churchill interviewed the European deputation.

13th. Imperial Ind. Citizenship Assoc. wired to the Sec. of State and Govt. of India the frantic anti-Indian campaign started by the Kenya Europeans to force the hands of the Govt. to assign an inferior status to Indians.

17th. At a Savoy Hotel Luncheon Mr. Chotani said that he and his colleagues of the Khilafat Deputation were returning to India completely disappointed. They found that the Germans were not the only Europeans who treated treaties as scraps of paper.

18th. Mr. Montagu in reply to a question in the H. of Commons made a long statement on the military operations in the N. W. Frontier against the Waziris.

19th. Lancashire Deputation waited upon Lancashire M. P's. over the Indian Cotton Duties. Mr. Montagu who was present regretted that his arguments addressed to them months ago had not made an impression.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

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The Lytton Students Enquiry committee boycotted by the majority of London Indian students.

September 1921

5th. League of Nation's Assembly met at Geneva and was attended by the Maharao of Cutch and the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri as Indian Delegates.

20th. Foreign Office, United Kingdom, addressed protest to the Soviet Govt. alleging revolutionary intrigues against British interest in Asia, particularly helping Indian revolutionaries, in contravention of the Anglo-Soviet Commercial Treaty.

October 1921

4th. Mr. Montagu wrote to Lord Lytton intimating the Indian Assembly's refusal to vote the grant on the students enquiry Committee.

6th. Lord Lytton as President of the students enquiry committee replied to Mr. Montagu giving an account of the work already done by his committee.

8th. Litvinoff of the Soviet Foreign Office in reply to British note of 20th. September denied all the charges categorically and complained of unfriendly attitude of the British.

10th. Sir Edward Northey, Kenya Governor, in opening the Kenya Council appealed to parties for truce on the Indian question.

17th. Governor of Kenya announced *interim* arrangement to nominate one Indian to the Executive Council and four to the Legislative Council.

25th. In reply to several questions in the H. of Commons Mr Montagu made a statement of the trouble arising from the Moplah Rebellion, promising to give fuller details later.

Lord Sydenham raised a debate in the H. of Lords on the political situation in India. Lord Curzon made a long reply deprecating the attitude of Sydenham in raising the question just on the eve of the Prince of Wales' departure for India. A long debate ensued in which Lords Ampthill, Middleton, Chelmsford, Lytton and others took part.

The International Labour Conference of the League of Nations opened at Geneva under Lord Burnham as president.

26th. In the International Labour Conference Mr. Joshi, the Indian Labour delegate, spoke in support of a proposition to limit



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the work of agricultural labourers and to protect them like industrial labourers.

CSL

November 1921

1st. In the H. of Commons Sir Charles Yate enquired the reasons for the repeal of the Indian Press Act and Repressive Acts. Mr. Montagu made a long statement on the subject. A day was demanded by the Die-hards for the discussion of Indian Unrest ; this was refused by the Leader of the House.

3rd. At the International Labour Conf. Mr. Joshi urged the necessity for tackling the question of primary education and literacy of wage-earners in all countries.

8th. In the H. of Commons Sir C. Yate put a question regarding Trade Unions in India which he described merely as "Strike Committees" and therefore unlawful. In reply to further questions Mr. Montagu promised to supply further informations on the Moplah outbreak.

9th. Sir C. Yate asked in the H. of Commons whether Govt. servants in India were wearing Gandhi-caps and thus openly flouting Govt. Mr. Montagu in reply said that some of the Provincial Governments have taken steps in the matter.

In regard to a demand of the Die-hards for a day to discuss the affairs of India the Leader of the House refused to comply.

In the International Labour Conference Mr. Joshi, the Indian labour delegate, speaking on the Secretary General's report asked for an explanation as to how different nationalities are represented on the staff of its office and why agency offices are not opened in Asiatic countries.

December 1921

14th. Kenya Indian leaders summoned to trial for refusing to pay income tax following the passive resistance movement. Defence was that the tax was illegal being imposed without the peoples' consent.

15th. In the Commons Col. Wedgwood enquired *re* the treatment of Indian leaders sent to jail. Mr. Montagu gave an evasive reply.

20th. In reply to Mr. Ben Spoor in the Commons Mr. Montagu declared that there was nothing in India which should be described as repression. It was merely keeping law and order.

21st. Genl. Smuts addressing the Natal S. A. Congress counselled Indians to avoid trying for settlement of the Indian question which might do them no good and might do the Empire harm, and advised them to be repatriated to India.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

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India in Parliament & Abroad 1922

January 1922

12th. Sir M. O'Dwyer once more hit out his jeremiads about India at the Overseas Club meeting where he pompously spoke on "Our Imperial Responsibilities in India" which was to save the Indian masses from the so-called intelligentsia !

27th. Speaking at the East African Dinner in London Mr. Churchill made a notorious reactionary pronouncement, denying that democratic institutions can grow in Eastern countries and emphasising that Kenya was characteristically a White colony.

February 1922

2nd. Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor, in the course of a speech said about 'formidable movements' in India : 'it is not inconceivable that we may have once again to prove that the British Empire retains the hard fibre which brought it that Empire.'

7th. Parliament opened by the King. In the debate on the address Genl. Page Croft said that Govt. must make it clear that they intended to rule India. Lord Curzon referred to India as 'that great Dependency' and threatened whole-sale repression to check the Indian unrest.

9th. Mr. Montagu speaking at the 1920 liberal club threatened further repression in India but contested Mr. Churchill's dictum that democracy was impossible in India and his anti-Indian foreign policy as regards the status of Indians Abroad.

10th. Sir Joynson-Hicks' motion of censure on Mr. Montagu drew forth a very lively debate in the Commons during which the die-hard party indulged in an inferno of abuse of Montagu and India.

21st. Sir M. O'Dwyer addressing a meeting under Sydenham gave a horrifying account of unrest in India ; he attributed all trouble to the weakness of the Govt. of India and explained how the rebellion in the Punjab under his regime had been put out by Genl. Dyer in 4 days ! Gandhi, Montagu and the Govt. of India were equally responsible ; the former was a dangerous hypocrite whose continued immunity was a menace to public peace.

March 1922

4th. Mr. Montagu in a speech at Lisbon said that the policy of granting self Govt. to India would be carried through inspite of difficulties.

Mr. Montagu was suddenly forced to resign. In the Commons news was received with prolonged cheers and unseemly hilarity by the die-hards and Unionists. Mr. Chamberlain explained that the resignation was due to a breach of cabinet discipline in Mr. Montagu's publishing a Govt. of India telegram on the Turkish question without cabinet authority.

11th. Speaking to his constituents at Cambridge Mr. Montagu exposed the tactics of the Premier and explained that in order to get the support of the conservatives to his tottering ministry, Mr. Lloyd George had presented the Die-hards with his head on a charger. A stormy controversy raged in England on this subject on this and the following days.

13th. In the Commons Mr. Montagu's resignation was the subject of another heated controversy.

14th. Lord Curzon made an impassioned speech in the Lords defending himself against Mr. Montagu's allegations.

17th. In a speech at Thatford Mr. Montagu gave his reply to Lord Curzon's statements in the Lords.

22nd. Replying to Sir C. Yate in the Commons Earl Winterton said that the question of disallowing the repeal of Indian Press Act would be considered when the measure was passed by the Indian assembly.

The *Times* thundered at the Indian Assembly for refusing certain grants and hinted that the Reforms may be withdrawn if such conduct was persisted in.

27th. In the Commons there was a long discussion on the Consolidated Fund Bill when Col. Wedgwood, and Mr. Ben Spoor strongly attacked the repressive policy of Govt. in India. Earl Winterton made his reply.

29th. Deputation of Lancashire M.P.'s waited upon Earl Winterton and made strong representation against Indian Cotton duties.

In the Commons Earl Winterton moved for power to raise £50 millions Indian Loan.

April 1922

6th. Third reading of the Indian Loan Bill in the Commons passed.

10th. White paper issued on the N-C-O movement.

11th. East India Loan Bill passed in the Lords.

In the Commons Sir C. Yate attempted to obtain a reconsideration of the case of the punished Punjab Officials of 1919. Mr.



CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

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Chamberlain replied sympathetically but refused to reopen the question.

13th. Indian Loans Act received Royal Assent.

May 1922

16th. Joint Parliamentary Committee met in the Lords to hear and examine Viscount Peel on various Indian matters.

23rd. In the Commons replying to Colonel Yate Lord Winterton refused to consider more fully the I. C. S. Pension Rules.

24th. In the House of Lords, Lord Sydenham again raised the question of the punished Punjab Officials of 1919 and asked a reprieve. There was a long debate in which Lord Chelmsford made his first Parliamentary speech after retirement from India.

June 1922

12th. Burma Reform Rules passed in the House of Commons after a long debate lasting for five hours during which numerous amendments were proposed but all defeated.

15th. India Office Estimates introduced in the House Commons; long debate on the Indian administration followed.

July 1922

4th. In the Commons during the Colonial office estimates debate the Colonial Secretary spoke on Kenya which he said was exclusively being retained for White settlers.

5th. New Civil Service Pension Rules issued by the Sec. of State.

19th. Second Report of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian affairs issued.

26th. Indian Princes in England gave a friendly dinner to Mr. Montagu. Bikaner paid a tribute to Mr Montagu's services to and genuine affection for India.

August 1922

2nd. I.C.S. Debate in the House of Commons. Mr. Lloyd George made his notorious 'steel-frame' speech denouncing political movements in India and forecasting more repression.

4th. Sir Hamilton Grant addressing the Oxford Liberal League condemned the repressive policy in India.

8th. C. P. & Berar Civil Service Association memorialized the Sec. of State against the O'Donnell Circular.



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14th. Press campaign in England, led by the *Morning Post*, started against the famous O'Donnell circular.

22nd. Annual Conference of United Kingdom Textile-workers at Blackpool passed resolution against Indian Textile Duties.

September 1922

8th. Speaking before the British Association at Hull Lord Meston said that Imperial Citizenship should be extended to India at once.

9th. A meeting of the Executive Council of Kenya presided over by Sir Robert Coryndon discussed the final term of settlement of Indian question. Common franchise on education test was adopted and a small district in the Highlands was reserved for the Indians.

19th. H. H. Jamsaheb of Nawanager speaking before the League of Nations' Assembly said that the great bulk of Indian population did not consider opium a harmful drug and spoke against the suppression of opium cultivation in India.

20th. At the League of Nations' Assembly Sir Sivaswami Iyer attacked General Smuts for the policy adopted by the South African Govt. in administering the mandated territory of the German South West Africa.

On the question of protecting Minorities, the Maharaja of Nawanager speaking before the League of Nations' Assembly appealed to South African delegates to regularise the position of the Indian minority in South Africa.

28th. A Committee of the League of Nations passed resolution on apportioning the League's cost among its various members—India's share being 1,440,000 Gold Francs.

October 1922

9th. The *Morning Post* in a leading article emphasised the pension grievance of the I. C., S. and said that now that Mr. Montagu was gone they looked with some hope to the India office on this matter.

15th. Report of the Indian Students Committee presided over by Lord Lytton was published.

16th. Details of the scheme for the reconstitution of the Indian Army reserve of officers on the lines recommended by the Esher Committee was announced.

20th. Mr. Lloyd George and his cabinet resigned. Mr. Bonar Law became the new Premier.



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India in Parliament 1921

Early in the year an agitation was carried on in England by the Tory Die-hards of the Sydenham party to discredit the operation of the Montagu reforms in India. The proceedings of the National Congress at Nagpur in 1920, especially its change of creed, were watched with anxiety, and an alarm was raised that India was fast turning bolshevist. The visit of the Duke of Connaught and the progress of the boycott movement that dogged his steps arrested universal attention in England. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the martial law officers of the Punjab, since disgraced and retired, filled the Tory papers with malicious writings about India and indulged in a personal vendetta against Mr. Montagu and his Indian supporters. All trouble in India was fathered upon Mr. Montagu. Further, the conciliatory mood towards India which till then pervaded the British cabinet irritated these watch-dogs of bureaucratic power beyond measure and when the name of Lord Reading was suggested for the viceroyalty, they almost lost their senses. The Jewish bogey was raised, and it was seriously suggested that British interests in the East was being bartered away to a Jewish clique. Mr. Montagu was a Jew, Sir William Meyer was a Jew, the Commander-in-Chief was a Jew, and then another Jew was to be installed at the Indian Pontificate ! So many Jews together to manage the affairs of India, especially in view of the Jewish gold and intrigue which was running the Russian Soviet, was looked upon with suspicion, and the Greek millionaire who pulled the legs of Mr. Lloyd George from behind the scenes was supposed to have a hand in this matter. Objection was also raised on the score of the well-known Moslem antipathy to the Jew that Lord Reading's appointment would do violence to Moslem feeling in India. In the Parliament itself all these jeremiads could not be carried but Mr. Montagu was continuously heckled in the most unseemly manner by the Tory Die-hards.

The Opening of Parliament.

Parliament opened on the 15th Feb. In the House of Commons Mr. Davison moving an address to the Throne said amongst other things : "Thanks of the country are due to the Duke of Connaught who on His Majesty's behalf has inaugurated the New Council in India. In undertaking this important task he has once again shown that unselfish devotion to duty of which the beloved Royal Family daily has given evidence. (Cheers.) The House of Commons would

some His Majesty's hope that these changes will bring progress and political peace in their train."

Sir Luke Fildes, seconding, declared that the whole House and the Empire would be delighted if success attended the efforts of the New Councils. He thought it would be well to remember the great services given to India and the Empire in the by-gone days by the body of men remarkable for their earnestness and efficiency, namely, the Indian Civil Service. They had fought pestilence and famine and had done great administrative work with one unselfish idea of doing their best for the great Indian Empire.

Mr. Asquith referring to India said he could only say without any distinction of party that Great Britain had looked with the greatest good-will and most sanguine expectations to the great new adventure there. For himself, and he was sure he was re-echoing everybody's opinion, he thought it of the very greatest advantage to the Empire that the early critical stages of that adventure should be presided over by a man of the sagacity, experience and popular sympathies of Lord Reading.

Mr. Lloyd George in reply to a suggestion for establishing a committee to co-ordinate the Army, Navy and the Air-forces of the Empire, said: When we were in trouble the Empire helped us. Over a million men came from India voluntarily and vast numbers from other parts but that was a spasmodic effort. The solidarity of the Empire was a guarantee against further shedding of blood since the sword would never have been drawn had the planners of the war known what the British Empire would do.

This was no occasion to express any but the sweetest sentiments. Soon however the House had a taste of the die hard attitude on India as given below.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—23 FEBRUARY 1921

Lala Harkishan Lal's Case.

Sir W. Davison asked the Sec of State whether he is aware that Mr. Harkishan Lal, who was convicted on a charge of conspiracy to wage war and of abetting the waging of war against the King, was sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture of property and was subsequently pardoned as an act of clemency, has now been selected by the Governor of the Punjab as one of his two Indian Ministers who will be charged with the administration of public works, education, excise, commerce and industry, local Government, etc.; whether in the discharge of this office he will have control over large numbers of British and Indian officials, and will exercise great patronage with wide financial powers; whether the Sec. of State is aware of the bitter feeling which this appoint-

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ON LALA HARKISHEN LAL

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ment has caused among His Majesty's loyal subjects, both British and Indian; whether he has personally approved of the appointment of a recently convicted rebel to such a prominent position of trust under the Crown: and what steps he proposes to take in the matter?

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Sec. of State for India whether Harkishan Lal, who was committed as a rebel in the rebellion of 1919, has been appointed as a minister in the Punjab; whether since his release he has continued to take part in rebel agitation; whether in his new appointment he will have a very large number of loyal subjects of the Crown, both British and Indian, under his jurisdiction; and whether, as such an appointment is an insult to all loyalists throughout the Empire, it can be reconsidered?

Mr. Montagu:—Under the Government of India Act Ministers are appointed by the Governors of Governors' provinces, hold office at the pleasure of the Governor, and are responsible to the Legislative Councils who vote their salaries. The Joint Select Committee advised that the Ministers selected by the Governors should be elected members of the Legislative Council enjoying its confidence and capable of leading it. In these circumstances I would submit to the House that the proper place to consider the title of Ministers to the confidence of the Legislature is the Provincial Councils.

Sir W. Davison:—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware, and is it not a fact, that the action of the Governor is subject to the superintendence, direction, and control of the Sec. of State?

Mr. Montagu: No, that is not quite true. It is subject to the superintendence, direction, and control of the Secretary of State, except—I am quoting from memory—as provided in this Act, and under this Act the question of the appointment of Ministers is laid by Statute on the Governor.

Sir W. Davison: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this action of showing favour to rebels is driving many loyal subjects into the hands of the extremists?

Viscount Curzon: Is it a fact that this man is a convicted rebel, and that he holds jurisdiction over a large number of Europeans?

Mr. Speaker: That does not seem to be a matter for this Parliament. It is a matter for the Legislative Council.

Viscount Curzon: Will the right hon. Gentleman exercise his influence with the leader of the House to secure the release of the hon. Member for East Leyton (Mr. Malone)?

Sir W. Davison: Is it not a matter for this House to know whether a man responsible for the Government of India who has been



appointed to high office by the Crown is a convicted rebel? That we are entitled to that information.

Mr. Speaker: The House having given practically Home Rule, or something in the nature of Home Rule, to these Councils the less it interferes with the Councils the better.

Sir H. Craik: Was the nomination made by the Governor of the Punjab without any suggestion from Home or from the Government of India?

Mr. Montagu: Of course it was. The Governor is specially charged by Statute to make his own nominations. I never knew of the appointment until sometime after it was made.

Dr. Murray: Was not General Smuts a rebel at one time?

Sir W. Joynson Hicks: As your ruling, Sir, is important, may I ask if the question of law and order and India was handed over to the Councils, or were not only certain specified subjects handed over to them by this House? Is it not the case that this House retain control of every other subject other than those directly handed over?

Mr. Montagu: May I point out that this gentleman who has given rise to this discussion is a Minister who has charge of those very Transferred Subjects, and that if the Legislature does not think him a man worthy of his confidence it has its remedy, and if the Punjab does not think the Legislature worthy of its confidence it has its remedy.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: I was not discussing this case. I was asking as to the things that were reserved.

Mr. Speaker: This is the only case that I am discussing. This is not the time to deal with hypothetical cases. What I said arose entirely out of the answer given by the Sec. of State for India.

Sir H. Craik: Can the system which the Government have instituted in India be described as one of Home Rule? On the contrary, is it not a system which is described by the new-fangled word "diarchy," or divided rule, with common responsibility of this House and the Legislative Council?

The Speaker: The words "Home Rule" were used, not in a technical sense, but in a general sense. Certain subjects have been transferred wholly to these Legislative Councils, and it is with regard to those only that I used the expression.

Sir W. Davison: As this matter is one of great importance, may I ask whether the Members of this House cannot get information from the Sec. of State for India as to certain action which may have been taken by the Governor or some of his Ministers? Are we not entitled to ask that question?

Mr. Speaker: It depends on the information which is asked for. When the question appears on the Paper, I will consider it.

Next day, Feb. 24th. there was a long debate over the Speaker's ruling. Viscount Curzon led the attack. The following is the full text of the debate.

Viscount Curzon :—I desire to ask you, Sir (the Speaker), a question with regard to the ruling given yesterday on a question in reference to India. I asked a question with reference to a certain man in India, and whether certain statements made about him were correct. You replied that it did not seem to be a matter for Parliament but one for the Legislative Council. The Hon'ble Member for South Kensington (Sir W. Davidson) then asked :

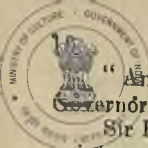
'Is it not a matter for this House to know whether a man responsible for the Government of India, who has been appointed to high office under the Crown, is a convicted rebel? I submit that we are entitled to that information.'

You said that the House having practically given Home Rule, or something in the nature of Home Rule, to these councils, the less it interfered with the councils the better. When a country has been given Home Rule, are we to understand that no further questions may be asked about the details of administration in that country?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : May I call your attention to a section of the Act passed the year before last? Section 4 enacts that the Governor of a Governor's Province may, by notifications, appoint ministers, not being members of his executive, and so on. The Governor of this Province was an officer appointed by the Crown, and for the appointment of that officer the Secretary of State is clearly responsible. I submit that under the terms of that section, this minister having been appointed by the Governor of the Province who was appointed by the Secretary of State here, we are entitled to ask the question of the Secretary of State as to the conduct of his own appointment.

Mr. Ormsby Gore : Is it not also laid down that the Ministers so appointed are responsible to the Local Legislature and removable by the Provincial Council. If that be so, would not a deadlock be reached at once if Ministers were appointed to an Indian Province and had not the confidence of the Provincial Assembly of that province? Therefore, is it not impossible for two Legislative Chambers to attempt to share such responsibility, and will it not have to be made quite clear whether the Indian Ministers are responsible to the Provincial Councils or to this House? It must be one or the other : both cannot possibly exercise the responsibility.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : My hon'ble friend has not quoted the section, which goes on to say :



"Any Ministers so appointed shall hold office during his (the Governor's) pleasure."

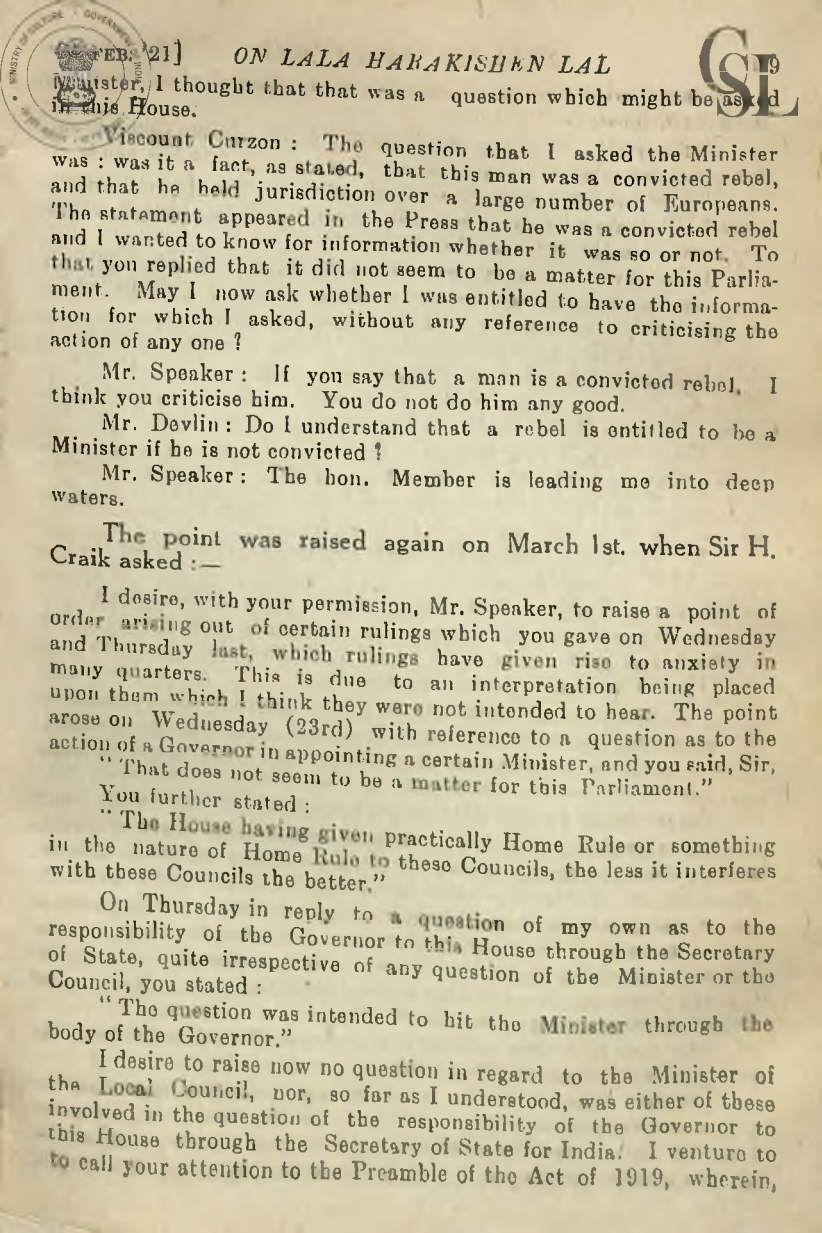
Sir H. Craik : Might I, as a member of the Joint Committee, point out that the nomination of these Ministers is in the hands of the Governor, but we were repeatedly assured that the Governor would be responsible to the Secretary of State. That is quite independent of the methods that may be used by the Assembly for removing such Ministers. The original appointment of the Ministers is in the hands of the Governor, and the Governor is responsible to the Secretary of State who is answerable to this House.

Mr. Speaker : The noble Lord asked me a general question ; and I said, in reply, the legal phrase, "*Dolus latet in generalibus.*" I will not answer it in general terms. I will only say that it must depend in each case upon the events into which it is desired to enquire, and upon the questions which are put. We are now commencing a new era in India, and it appeared to me yesterday, and still appears to me to-day, that it would be extremely undesirable if this House were to attempt to undertake the function of controlling or criticising the Ministers who are responsible to the newly created legislative bodies. After all, the Ministers, however chosen, however selected, are the Ministers of those legislative bodies. They presumably have their confidence, their salaries are voted by them. Talk of dyarchy ! It would indeed be dyarchy if we supervised those Ministers as well as the legislative councils to whom they are responsible ! For that reason I think that we had far better begin to abstaining from asking questions and criticising the Ministers who have been duly selected by the Governor, under the statutory powers which this House has given him for that purpose.

Sir H. Craik : On the point of order, may I say, with great respect, that the question raised was not in regard to any criticism of the action of the Minister who is now responsible to the Assembly in India. A question was raised with regard to the action of the Governor who is subject to the Secretary of State. The question had relation not to the action of the Minister, but solely to the action of the Governor in appointing the Minister and we contend that the Governor, in so doing, was responsible to the Secretary of State, and, through him, to this House.

Mr. Speaker : The question was intended to hit the Minister through the body of the Governor.

Sir W. Davison : My question was : was it a fact that the Governor had appointed to a Ministry in the Punjab a gentleman who had been convicted of rebellion against the Crown ; and, as the Governor was appointed on the recommendation of the Prime



FEB. 21] ON LALA HARAKISHEN LAL

Minister, I thought that that was a question which might be asked in this House.

Viscount Curzon : The question that I asked the Minister was : was it a fact, as stated, that this man was a convicted rebel, and that he held jurisdiction over a large number of Europeans. The statement appeared in the Press that he was a convicted rebel and I wanted to know for information whether it was so or not. To that you replied that it did not seem to be a matter for this Parliament. May I now ask whether I was entitled to have the information for which I asked, without any reference to criticising the action of any one ?

Mr. Speaker : If you say that a man is a convicted rebel, I think you criticise him. You do not do him any good.

Mr. Devlin : Do I understand that a rebel is entitled to be a Minister if he is not convicted ?

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Member is leading me into deep waters.

The point was raised again on March 1st. when Sir H. Craik asked :—

I desire, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, to raise a point of order arising out of certain rulings which you gave on Wednesday and Thursday last, which rulings have given rise to anxiety in many quarters. This is due to an interpretation being placed upon them which I think they were not intended to hear. The point arose on Wednesday (23rd) with reference to a question as to the action of a Governor in appointing a certain Minister, and you said, Sir,

"That does not seem to be a matter for this Parliament."

You further stated :

"The House having given practically Home Rule or something in the nature of Home Rule to these Councils, the less it interferes with these Councils the better."

On Thursday in reply to a question of my own as to the responsibility of the Governor to this House through the Secretary of State, quite irrespective of any question of the Minister or the Council, you stated :

"The question was intended to hit the Minister through the body of the Governor."

I desire to raise now no question in regard to the Minister of the Local Council, nor, so far as I understood, was either of these involved in the question of the responsibility of the Governor to this House through the Secretary of State for India. I venture to call your attention to the Preamble of the Act of 1919, wherein,



INDIA IN PARLIAMENT

[H. OF COMS.]

reference to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in British India, it is stated :

Progressive in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages" and further :

"The time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament upon whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples."

I would further call your attention to the fact that the appointment of the Minister rests solely with the Governor, and that under the Act and in accordance with the strong recommendation from the Joint Committee, responsibility to this House through the Secretary of State is strongly affirmed, and any rules restricting such responsibility must be approved by Parliament under Section 33 of the Act. I desire, therefore, to ask you whether we are right in assuming that nothing in your rulings of last week should be understood as limiting the power of Parliament to supervise the action of officers acting in India under the Secretary of State, or the right of members of this House to raise questions as to such action.

Mr. Speaker : I thank the right hon'ble gentleman for having been kind enough to postpone from yesterday to to-day the raising of this point of order. That has given me more time to look into the matter and refresh my memory by reading again the Preamble to the Act of 1919. The more I look at it the more I am convinced that I was right. The last paragraph says :

"And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities..."

If, therefore, this House was of opinion that it was desirable to give the Provinces of India the largest possible measure of independence of the Government of India, 'a fortiori', it is desirable that those provinces should be given a large measure of independence of the Imperial Parliament. That was my reading and that is my reasoning upon the Preamble. I have also looked at the Act again. I have come to the conclusion that, having started upon this new departure of granting a measure of self-government to the Provinces of India, it is highly undesirable that this House should interfere in any way with the control by those provincial legislatures of their own affairs. The Ministers who are selected by the Provincial Governors are selected under the Act of Parliament by the Governors, but the Ministers are responsible to the Legislative Councils of those Provinces, and even if this House were to pass some censure,

either direct or indirect, upon such a Minister, it would be futile. Therefore, it is very undesirable that it should be done or that any step should be taken which would lead up to it.

It seems, therefore, to me that, taking the broad view of the situation, Parliament intended to transfer to these Provinces of India complete control, subject, possibly, to the action of the Indian Legislature, of the transferred subjects and those are the only ones I am referring to. For that purpose the Governors of Provinces are empowered to select Ministers who will be responsible to the Provincial Legislative Council. Therefore, to permit criticism of the character or conduct of the Governors in the matter of transferred subjects appears to me to nullify the intentions of the Act. I have also come to the following conclusion. If it is desired to condemn the action of any Governor in a matter not transferred, it is open to a member to make a motion of a character similar to that which is made in the case of the Governor-General of India or the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. That, I think, replies to the last part of the hon. member's point of order as to the power of this House to supervise the action of the officers acting under the Secretary of State.

Sir H. Craik : With all respect to your ruling, may I point out that I intended, and I thought I had conveyed my meaning, to confine my point solely to the question, not of the case of Ministers dealing with transferred subjects but of the action of the officers responsible through the Secretary of State to this House in their general administrative acts. I was not referring to the transferred subjects at all. The appointment of those Ministers is not a transferred subject. It is a matter for which the Governors are responsible, as I understand, to this House ; but I gather from the last words that fell from you that you leave to members the right to raise questions as to the action of such officers ?

Mr. Speaker : That is so. I accept the view of the right hon. gentleman, but upon the question of transferred subjects I still hold that there is no right of interference by this House.

Lord Hugh Cecil : Of course we recognise that it is for the Chair to determine questions of order, but I do not quite understand how this is a question of order. It may or may not be desirable to interfere with transferred subjects, but it is for the House to consider the question ; it is not a matter for the Chair.

Mr. Speaker : The noble Lord, I think, was not here when questions were put last week which raised the point of order. That is why I was brought in.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks : May I ask, in view of the judgment which you have now delivered, that the action of the Governor may be criticised whether an appointment by a Governor of A or



is not an act coming directly under your ruling, seeing that the Governor is responsible to the Secretary of State for his action? We do not want to ask the views of yourself or of any other member as to the acts of individual Ministers, but may we not, under your ruling, ask whether a Governor has appointed A or B as a Minister?

Mr. Speaker: I thought that I had answered that question. As a result of my construction of the Act it places him in the same position as the Governor General. If criticism be desired, a motion should be put down in the ordinary way and discussed in this House.

Sir J. D. Rees: Will not the difficulties of the Indian Governors, which are already sufficient, be immensely increased if the House is to discuss and criticise their appointments of Ministers?

Mr. Speaker: I am much obliged to the hon. Baronet for his support.

Mr. Ronald McNeill: Are not the restrictions and rules with regard to the putting of questions in this House definitely laid down in the Manual of Procedure which is in the hands of all Members, and would it not be more desirable that the Standing Orders on which those rules are based should be altered to meet these growing requirements than that the existing rules should be extended, however desirable it may be, by the exercise and discretion of the Chair? It would give much more certain guidance to hon. members and, in view of the growing importance of the relations between the Imperial Parliament and subordinate Parliaments, this is a matter which may come up in the future in many respects.

Mr. Speaker: There are no Standing Orders applicable to the present case, but there is no reason, if the House thinks fit, why it should not introduce such a Standing Order as the hon. gentleman suggests.

Mr. Ormsby Gore: Is it correct to use the words "subordinate Parliaments" for the Legislatures of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia? Is not that one of the things most resented in the Commonwealth and is it not much more desirable, if we are going to frame a new Standing Order dealing with the powers of this House to question all these various Legislatures of the Empire, that the word "subordinate" should be carefully kept out in each case?

Lieut. Colonel Archer Shee: Is it not the fact that India is a self-governing dominion?

Mr. Speaker: We are getting rather far from the point from which we started.



21] BURMA REFORMS IN THE LORDS
BURMA REFORMS IN THE LORDS
HOUSE OF LORDS—8TH MARCH 1921

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Early in March 1921 the Burma Reforms Bill came before Parliament. In the House of Lords, on March 8, 1921, Lord Lytton moved the second reading of the Government of Burma Bill which, he said, constituted Burma a Governor's Province within the meaning of the Government of India Act. The text of the Bill is given below :—

A Bill for applying to Burma the provisions of the Government of India Act with respect to Governor's provinces and for purposes connected therewith.

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows :—

(1) Section 46 of the Government of India Act (which makes provision as to the mode of the Government in Governor's provinces) shall have effect as though Burma were included amongst the Provinces specified in subsection (1) thereof and all the provisions of that Act which relate to Governors' Provinces shall apply to the Province of Burma accordingly :

Provided that (A) Sub-Section (2) of Section 72 (A) of that Act which relates amongst other things to the proportion of elected members in the Governor's Legislative Councils shall, in its application to Burma, have effect as though 60 percent were substituted for 70 percent, and (B) the number of members of the Legislative Council of Burma shall be ninety-two and the first schedule of the Government of India Act shall have effect accordingly, and (C) the maximum annual salary of the Governor of Burma shall be Rs. 190,000 and the maximum annual salary of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma shall be Rs. 48,000 and the second schedule to the Government of India Act shall have effect accordingly.

(2) Sub-Section (1) of Section 53 of the Government of India Act is hereby repealed.

(3) (1) This Act may be cited as the Government of Burma Act 1921.

(4) Sub-Sections (2) and (5) of Section 47 of the Government of India Act 1919 (which relate respectively to the date of the commencement and the removal of certain difficulties) shall apply to this Act as they apply to that Act as though herein set out and expressly made applicable to the subject-matter of this Act.

If the Bill were enacted, a committee was to proceed to Burma to make enquiries locally and to issue recommendations with regard to the division of the functions of Government and the distribution of franchise in a similar manner to the case of India subject to the rules which might be based on the report of that committee. The Bill when enacted would establish the principle of Dyarchy, the number of elected members would be sixty instead of seventy per cent, because there was in Burma a large mixture of distinctive races which differentiated it to some extent from India, and in order to secure adequate representation for these without the necessity for establishing a community of franchise communities, they proposed to have a larger number of nominated members than in

India. In deference to very strong pressure from the Government of India a clause had been inserted in the first draft bill making the title of the Viceroy in future the Governor-General of India and Burma in order to mark the fact that Burma was distinct from India, but on further consideration this clause was dropped. The Government however was very anxious to find if there was any possible way of meeting Burmese sentiments in this connection and, if the bill were referred to a Joint Committee, the committee would be asked to try to find means of making this distinction.

Lord Lytton pointed out that Burma could have been constituted a Governor's Province without an Act of Parliament merely by the authority already vested in the Sec. of State under existing legislation, but unfortunately there was difference of opinion between the Government of India and Mr. Montagu with regard to the Constitution which should be established in Burma, and Mr. Montagu had decided to allow Parliament to decide. The Government of India had been invited to reconsider their proposals but could not agree to the proposal to apply the principle of Dyarchy to Burma or to make it a Governor's Province. In transmitting a resolution of the Legislative Council of Burma the Government of Burma had made significant admission. Lord Lytton said that as a result of the Joint Select Committee's recommendations in 1919 and Mr. Montagu's announcement in 1920 it was no longer possible to differentiate Burma very materially from the Indian Provinces. Although the opinion in Burma itself undoubtedly favoured the policy embodied in the Bill, the Government of India did not agree.

Lord Lytton emphasised that the bill, which two years ago represented the opinion of the advanced section in Burma, now represented the opinion of the Moderates. The Government could have over-riden the Government of India and instructed them to apply the Act by notification, but instead Mr. Montagu properly decided to submit the whole case to Parliament. He asked the Lords to allow the bill to go before a standing joint committee on Indian affairs and to let the committee investigate the whole matter including the alternative proposals of the Government of India. The committee would have all relevant documents and would be able if they wished to hear evidence from the Government of India and from representatives of Burma, and after they had fully investigated the matter they would report to Parliament and the bill would return to the Lords with the recommendations of the committee.

Lord Sydenham moved the rejection of the bill declaring that it came to the House against the wishes of the Government of India, the Government of Burma and the opinion of the greatest experts

of Burma. We should wait to see, said he, how diarchy was going to work out in India.

Lord Ampthill declared that abrogation of the functions of Parliament to the committee would be the most dangerous constitutional innovation and moved an adjournment of the debate until the correspondence between the Government of Burma, the Government of India and Mr. Montagu had been laid on the table. He objected to diarchy and said that they should see what the Indians thought of dyarchy before applying it to Burma.

Lord Selbourne agreed that the question of Self-Government for Burma might usefully be threshed out by a joint committee but he pointed out that the bill committed them to the principle that Burma should remain part of the Indian System. That was extraordinarily important. When the joint committee considered the Government of India bill he had received a definite impression that Burma ought not to be part of the Indian System, but ought to be made a separate Government because the conditions in Burma were wholly different from those in India. He supported Lord Ampthill's motion because they ought to know why the question had been prejudged.

Lord Lytton replying said there was nothing in the bill with regard to Burma remaining a part of the Indian System. Nothing in the bill proposed to alter that. Possibly the select committee would recommend the separation of Burma from India, but whether Burma separated or not they must still deal with its Constitution. The whole question was what was the best machinery or form of Government to achieve the ultimate goal of Self-Government. The House would be better able to decide when they had before them not only the despatches which would be published but all documents and evidence that would be submitted to the joint committee. He would be quite willing that papers should be published to enable them to form opinion on the issues between the Government of India and Mr. Montagu but he begged them not to delay in submitting the bill to the select committee because further delay was unsafe and unwise. The Government was convinced that the time had come when intention must be shown to fulfil the pledge of Self-Government for Burma.

Replying to Lord Sydenham Lord Lytton indicated that if the bill were rejected Mr. Montagu would have no alternative but to proceed under the Government of India Act with his policy in his own way. Lord Sydenham thereupon withdrew the motion of rejection. Lord Ampthill's motion was carried by 36 votes to 31.



THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE The India Emergency Committee

CSL

Other matters connected with India were also debated in the Lords on the same day. Lord Lytton, as the spokesman of the India Office, assured the House that Parliament had the right to review the administration of the transferred subjects by the Indian Minister, but toned down his remarks by saying that Parliament must exercise self-restraint in interfering with the administrative discretion of the local Government in India in regard to subjects that were not reserved. The Sydenham gang, however, went in for a considerable heckling of the Under-Secy, and question after question was put about the lot of British officials serving under Indian Ministers and their right to appeal from the Ministers' decision.

Not content with their obstructionist tactics in Parliament the Die-hard party, led by the redoubtable O'Dwyer and Lords Sydenham and Amptill, started a propagandist party of their own and named it the India Emergency Committee. In a manifesto that they issued they said :—

For some time past accurate information of the general position and trend of events in India has not been obtainable in this country. Occasional letters of warning from individuals with first-hand knowledge have appeared in the Press; but for the most part the real facts are ignored or misrepresented.

The Government of India having gradually lost control of the situation during the last three years has now ceased effectively to maintain law and order. Isolated groups of Europeans are being boycotted and assaulted; English girls are publicly insulted in the streets of the leading cities; serious faction fights between Indians take place unchecked and contribute to the growing disorder; continual strikes are fostered by Home Rules in railway workshops and among industrial and transport workers, the lower ranks of Government employees, and the menial urban population; threats are openly hurled against European commerce and trade enterprise. In several places a sinister combination for disorderly ends has been formed under the auspices of agitators between college and school students and the truculent riff-raffs of the Bazaars, and schools and colleges have in consequence been closed.

The Montagu reforms are spurned by the extremists who are frankly Bolshevist in their attitude towards the British Government, styling the latter "The Empire of Sin"; while unity of the Provincial Governments is rendered impossible by the presence of an expensive galaxy of Indian Ministers, who, where they have not shown themselves definitely hostile, are wholly lukewarm in their support of the British administration.

The Public Services are disheartened by lack of support and by the paralysis of the Central Government; true Indian loyalists are openly harassed and boycotted by the revolutionary party and are denied protection: while, according to the latest ruling of the Speaker, Parliament is apparently debarred from imposing any effective check upon a general surrender to our enemies in India.

In order to draw attention to the danger of the present situation in India and to explain more fully its salient features, an Emergency Committee has been formed which will conduct an extensive campaign to draw attention to the grave peril that threaten our Eastern Empire. In this connection a public meeting is to be held at the Cannon-street Hotel, London, on



8 MAR. 21]

THE CANNON STREET MEETING

CSL

Thursday, 17th March, at 2-15 p. m. Lord Amptill will take the chair. And the speakers will include Lord Sydenham, Sir William Joynson-Hicks. Sir Charles McLeod, Colonel Applin and others.

Charles McLeod
Sydenham
W. Joynson-Hicks

Michael O'Dwyer
Amptill

J. C. Shorrocks
R. V. K. Applin
Stanley Machin

The India Emergency Committee, 64 Victoria-Street, Westminster, March 9th.

Accordingly, on March 17th, 1921 a large meeting was held in the Cannon Street Hotel to protest against Mr. Montagu's policy in India. An overflow meeting was held in the adjoining Pillar Hall where Col. Applin took the Chair. Lord Amptill, the president, and Lord Sydenham denounced Mr. Montagu and all those connected with his policy, in their usual bullying language; the policy of the Secretary of State was intelligible only if he were a member of a Bolshevik Govt. ! General Dyer had saved India ! Mr. Mahomed Ali was the King's enemy ! Gandhi had declared that he preferred Bolshevik to British rule ! The agitators had followed the Duke of Connaught as he toured in India and had proclaimed that the King was powerless ! Such were the burden of the speeches of these self-styled well-wishers of the Indian people !

The climax however was reached when that hero of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, rose to speak. He gave a lurid description of what was happening or what he thought was happening in India, the processions and hartals, the agitation set on foot by Gandhi, the way in which the Indian Govt. was licking the boots of the extremists, and it was amazing that a country which had defeated the Kaiser should have sunk so low ! And so on. Finally, amidst wild scenes of exultation the following resolution was passed.

"This meeting desires to impress on His Majesty's Government the grave nature of the situation which has arisen in India, imperilling the lives and interests of His Majesty's loyal subjects, both British and Indian, owing to the failure of His Majesty's Government to deal promptly and effectively with seditious agitation, and asserts the right of Parliament and the British public to be kept fully informed of the facts and of the measures which are being adopted for the restoration of confidence and tranquility in India".

It is only necessary to add that the formation of this vigilant emergency committee was viewed with alarm by most Englishmen in India as being calculated further to make things difficult for them in India. The European elected members of the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, accordingly, sent a message of protest to which Lord Amptill curtly replied : 'Mind your own business.'



CSL

Lancashire Deputation to Mr. Montagu

INDIA OFFICE—23RD MARCH 1921

By far the most important affair in England about India early in 1921 was the great agitation carried on against the fiscal autonomy which India was slowly going to secure for herself. A very strong and influential deputation of Capital and Labour of Lancashire interested in the Cotton trade waited on Mr. Montagu to press their opposition to the new Indian customs duties on cotton goods. They tried to argue, and then to threaten the Secretary of State, that the new fiscal arrangements in India must go as they meant loss to their trade. The tone in which the speeches were made, and their phraseology—especially those of the labour members, showed how very determined they were to regain their fiscal dictatorial powers over India. Very elaborate arrangements to receive the deputation were made in the Council Chamber at the India Office. It was headed by Sir William Barton, M. P., who introduced the deputation and consisted of more than 100 members representing the industrial, commercial and financial interests of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire—the wealthiest and the most influential countries of England.

Sir William Barton, who has the singular knack of saying hard things in a very pleasant way, accused Mr. Montagu of sacrificing Lancashire, which depends so much on Indian custom, to placate Indian politicians who favoured the cotton duties in order to benefit mill owners in India. It had not been dictated by considerations of revenue, he said. It was protective. It was inequitable towards the Indian consumer.

Mr. Tom Garnett, the representative of the Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association of Manchester, sketched the history of the cotton duties from 1895 to 1917, in order to make out that Lancashire had been wronged by the raising of the cotton duty without also raising the excise. He gave Mr. Montagu to understand that in 1917 an undertaking had been given to Lancashire that no further increase in cotton duties would be allowed in India without prior consultation with Lancashire. The new duty, Mr. Garnett declared, will not be paid by Lancashire, but will be passed on to the Indian consumer, who will suffer. India is Lancashire's greatest customer because Lancashire can supply cotton goods better than anybody else. Lancashire did not ask for any preference. But he immediately afterwards told Mr. Montagu and his

colleagues that if he wants more revenue he must raise the excise duty. The cotton industry in Lancashire was, he added, a great national and Imperial asset. The duties which he had sanctioned were dealing a blow to the revival of this trade, which was passing through the greatest crisis that he, with his 50 years' experience, could recall. If panic arises in Lancashire it will spread elsewhere, because the ramifications of the cotton trade extend very far. Lancashire, he said, was not greedy and indifferent. It was generous and public-spirited. Though the Civil War in America had hit it hard, yet so keen was it upon the abolition of slavery that it did not side with the Southern States. Presumably Mr. Montagu was to infer from that passage that he was aiding and abetting Indians bent upon destroying this idealistic Lancashire!

Mr. Garnett concluded by reminding the Secretary of State not to forget that so long as Parliament remain responsible, to any degree, for the administration of Indian affairs, Lancashire will not submit to India putting on protective duties to harm Lancashire trade.

Mr. Smethurst, representing the Master Cotton Spinners of Manchester, quoting figures, some of them compiled by Sir William Meyer, sought to prove that the Indian cotton industry was a thriving industry, and had been steadily driving Lancashire out of the Indian market. Bombay mill-owners, he contented, were rolling in wealth. The dividends had gone up from about 5 per cent in 1914 to almost 45 per cent in 1920. Such an industry needed no protection. He affected to laugh at public opinion in India, but confessed that sentiment in the Indian legislature favoured protection. Whenever India has the opportunity, he declared, she would go plump protectionist. And he called upon His Majesty's Government to protect Lancashire against that disaster. The note on which he concluded his speech was that Lancashire will give the Government no peace until its demand was conceded.

Mr. Grant, representing the Dyers, Bleachers and Finishers of Manchester, told Mr. Montagu and his colleagues that what disadvantageously affected Lancashire also disadvantageously affected the numerous industries not only in England but in the contiguous countries as well, because those industries depended upon the product of Lancashire's spindles and looms. Following the lead given by the previous speaker, he scoffed at public opinion in India, said that the franchise was very limited, and the demand for the new duties was not a demand from the people of India, but on the contrary was made at the behest of the Indian mill-owners. Constitutionally, he informed Mr. Montagu, His Majesty's Government had full control over Indian finances, and

he appealed to him to protect the export trade of England which was at the mercy of Indian protectionists.

Then came the first Labour speaker, Mr. Robinson, a rather short, square man who emphatically stated that in the matter of Indian cotton duties, the operatives were in entire agreement with the employers, and would work shoulder to shoulder with the masters. Over 200,000 operatives in Lancashire were without work and in receipt of doles. Since they had returned from the war they had not had an hour's work. India may have fought in the war, but what was her share compared with Lancashire's? If India needed more money, why could she not put an excess profits duty or raise the excise? As long as India was a part of the Empire, the Secretary of State should see that Lancashire got fair play from India.

Mr. Thomasson, another Workers' representative, informed Mr. Montagu that the workers were determined to see this thing through to the end. Justice must be done to Lancashire.

Mr. Cross, the third Labour representative, reminded the Secretary of State and his Councillors that it would not do for him to ignore the temper of the Lancashire worker. The duty hurt the employees even more than it did the employers, because the capitalists could take their capital and go elsewhere, whereas the labourer could not do so. The Indian people were given an open market in Britain, which refused to put a shilling's worth of protection on their goods. The inference was that Britain demanded like treatment from India. He asked if the work-people of India wished to throw the workers of England out of employment. Evidently he must have realised that his words and attitude were quite threatening, for he himself admitted feeling "pretty warm" on the subject.

As soon as Mr. Cross sat down, Sir William Barton rose and told the Secretary of State that the Lancashire case had been made out.

Thereupon Mr. Montagu made his reply.

Mr. Montagu's Reply

Mr. Montagu opened his reply by denying the impression that seemed to have got abroad that the Govt. of India had taken the first change of the newly found liberty to pay off an old score and impose a duty with the main object of protecting the Indian cotton goods and injuring the Lancashire trade. Admittedly, the duties are protective. Nevertheless, pending the final settlement of the future Indian fiscal policy, it was imperative to impose new taxation which happened to be protective in incidence. He quoted from the budget showing the unavoidable deficit mainly in consequence of the increase in salaries, fall in exchange, trade slump and heavy military charges. As regards the latter, Mr. Montagu pointed out that the figure for defence was the very lowest that the Government of India

could accept if they were to be in a position to fulfil the responsibilities to India and to Parliament for the peace and good Government of the country. Then he declared that the Government of India, during the past few years, had explored every source of revenue.

In reply to a question why they did not have excess profits duty, Mr. Montagu pointed out that India had such a tax, but the request for its removal, which was so vociferous in England, had triumphed a bit earlier in India. There was no money available from Provincial Governments, because their contributions were fixed by the Statute. A large tax had already been imposed on railways. Opium was a vanishing source of revenue, whilst the tax on salt, which touched the pockets of the very poorest, was unthinkable. Postal rates and income-tax had been greatly put up already, and, consequently, the customs remained the sole source for fresh revenue. Mr. Montagu emphasised in this connection that cotton had not been singled out but, on the contrary, the tax applied to the whole amount of exports. The best proof, he said, that we were seeking revenue and not protection, was the withdrawal of the concession which had hitherto been allowed on machinery for cotton mills.

Mr. Montagu did not desire to argue the case on economic grounds. Most of the deputation, like himself, were free traders, but he rarely met an Indian who believed in any doctrine except protection. Admittedly, it would be theoretically possible to forbid the introduction of the budget proposals, but actually it would be absolutely impossible, because he would have to veto the whole Bill, leaving the Government of India none of the increased revenue to meet the increased charges. On the other hand, supposing he had refused permission, the Government of India would have had to propose to the Legislative Assembly duties on cotton, coupled with the corresponding excise. Mr. Montagu was sure that the Assembly would overwhelmingly defeat such a Bill.

Answering to the argument that the taxes were imposed for the benefit of the Bombay millowners, Mr. Montagu pointed out that the proposal to increase the tax to 12 half per cent was supported by the Bombay members, perhaps, to some extent, as a counter-blast to the Manchester agitation, and was defeated mainly on account of the realisation that the interests of consumers should have the first consideration, and also because at the present time it was unjustifiable to engage in a measure of protection for other than revenue-producing purposes.

In regard to the constitutional issue, Mr. Montagu quoted the Selbourne Committee's recommendation in 1919 on the Government of India Bill to the effect that while no statutory change can be made

with regard to the Government of India's fiscal measures, while the Governor-General remains responsible to Parliament, the conventions governing the matter may wisely be modified to meet the fresh circumstances caused by the creation of the Legislative Assembly with an elected majority. Only exceptional circumstances would justify the Secretary of State intervening in matters purely of Indian interest. Here the Government and the Legislature of India were in agreement. Mr. Montagu further said that the door for negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire was open, but negotiation without power to legislate was likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question could only be guaranteed by granting to the Government of India the liberty to devise tariff arrangements most suitable for India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. Whatever might be the right fiscal policy for India, she should have some liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa had. Mr. Montagu proceeded by saying that after that report by an authoritative Committee, coupled with Lord Curzon's promise in the House of Lords, it was absolutely impossible for him to interfere with the right which had been wisely given and which he was determined to maintain, namely, to give the Government of India the right to consider Indian interest just like Great Britain and the rest of the Empire. Mr. Montagu recalled that the Labour Members had given their valuable support to the passage of the Reforms Bill, although they had desired even greater liberty for India, and, consequently, he was astonished to hear the arguments of the Labour representatives in the present case. He was convinced that British trade could not prosper in India without the good-will of India, which was best secured by letting India have her own fiscal way. While he was sure that the Government of India's future fiscal policy would be protective, because Indians and Englishmen there were nearly wholly in favour of protection, he hoped that in the system ultimately adopted, India, of her own free will, after carefully exploring the methods by which it could best be accomplished, would take her stand in the system of Imperial preference which had been adopted by Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and Great Britain, if only to demonstrate to the world her solidarity within the British Empire. Nevertheless, it would be the most profound mistake to use the statutory powers to force Imperial preference upon her.

Mr. Montagu assured the deputation that India had only used her fiscal liberty which was promised her in 1919, in accordance with the principles in which she believes in order to obtain absolutely necessary revenues.



TO THE SEC. OF STATE

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Referring to the Lancashire Commoners' suggestion to send a deputation to India to discuss the matter with the Government of India and Members of the Assembly, Mr. Montagu opined that it would be a good thing to sit down and talk with the people in whose custody the matter rested, with a view to arriving at a mutual advantage based upon the recognition that India has power under the solemn pledge to devise her own tariffs when under the regrettable necessity of raising revenue for her own and imperial needs. Because the defence of India was co-incidental with the defence of the Empire, he was sorry that he was not in closer agreement with the deputation, but declared that they were acting in regard to India as much as they did in regard to other parts of the Empire. He believed that the principle of freedom, which was very dear to the hearts of the people of Lancashire, would not be denied to the people of India. Although the electorate of India was still very limited, it was vast compared with any previous electorate, and "having got the most Representative Assembly you can, you may trust the electorate which elects to the Assembly to see that its action is in harmony with the wishes of the electorate."

At Mr. Montagu's request, Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, ex-Lieut. Governor of Behar, and Vice-president of the India Council, addressed the deputation, and explained the burning nature of the cotton goods question. In reply to the insinuation about public opinion in India which he deprecated, he pointed out that it was difficult accurately to ascertain the public opinion of any country, particularly of a huge population like that of India. One might question what public opinion in Britain was. Nevertheless, he was sure that the Europeans and also Indians, who were sufficiently educated to express an opinion, were unanimous on the matter and considered that India had been badly treated in the matter of cotton duties.

In the end Sir Barton and Mr. Tom Shaw thanked Mr. Montagu for his patient hearing of Lancashire's case, although they were not satisfied with the explanation. Mr. Tom Shaw urged Mr. Montagu to make friendly representations to India, pointing out that 200,000 unemployed in England were likely to be injured by the policy complained of. Mr. Montagu promised to convey to India the views that had been stated, but he could not recede from the position that India must be permitted to devise her own tariff in her own interests. The deputation then withdrew.



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Interpellations in Parliament

Some of the more important interpellations in Parliament on Indian affairs early in 1921, showing the trend of British feeling on India, are reproduced below from Hansard :—

HOUSE OF COMMONS—23RD FEBRUARY 1921

Reductions in the Indian Army

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can give the House any information regarding recent or prospective reductions in the Indian Army?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware of the anxiety caused in India by the proposal to reduce the Army below pre-War limits; whether such proposals had the approval of the Commander-in-Chief; and when the decision was arrived at?

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India how many regiments of cavalry and battalions of infantry are to be reduced in the Indian Army; what was the number of each in 1914; and what will be the number when the proposed reductions are carried out?

Mr. Montagu : There were in Aden and India in 1914 :—39 Indian cavalry regiments, 132 battalions of Indian infantry and pioneers, and, in addition, 6 Indian infantry battalions in overseas garrisons. Arrangements are now being made to maintain in India : 21 Indian cavalry regiments, 132 battalions of Indian infantry and pioneers, with a somewhat reduced establishment. In addition there will remain the Indian cavalry and infantry units employed overseas. But the question of the final post-War strength of the Army in India is engaging the close attention of His Majesty's Government, and I hope to make a statement to-day fortnight.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : I hope I am not pressing the right hon. Gentleman too far, but may I have the assurance that pending the statement no further reductions shall take place?

Mr. Montagu : Yes. Pending that statement no further reductions are contemplated.

Lieut. Colonel Croft : In view of the fact that the last answer seems to contradict the answer to a previous question, may I ask the right hon. Gentleman if the discrepancy in the number of cavalry regiments, between 39 and 21, is made up by cavalry regiments serving in other theatres, or is there a reduction?

Mr. Montagu : The previous questions referred to reductions already made. This refers to reductions that are to be made.

INTERPELLATIONS

Lieut. Colonel Croft : Is it a fact that there is to be a very considerable reduction in Indian cavalry regiments ?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, there is to be a considerable reduction. I think I shall be able to explain it to the satisfaction of the hon. and gallant Member this day fortnight, when I hope to make a statement on the whole question.

Mr. Gwyne : Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the last part of the Question, whether such proposals had the approval of the Commander-in-Chief, and when the decision was arrived at ?

Mr. Montagu : I think the whole position will be made quite clear when I am in a position to make a statement. No reduction has yet been sanctioned on which there has been discussion of any sort or kind in the Government of India.

Sir C. Yate : How many regiments are serving abroad, and deducting these, to what number will it actually be reduced ?

Mr. Montagu : I should like to consult the War Office before I say how many cavalry regiments are serving abroad for very obvious reasons. If the hon. Member will put down a question I will discuss with the War Office whether it is possible to give the information without prejudice to the public interest.

Army (Strength).

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India how many Indian cavalry regiments have been disbanded ; whether they were pre-War regiments ; how many men have been disbanded ; and what pensions are being given to them ?

Mr. Montagu : Three Indian Cavalry Regiments were disbanded on 10th. January, 1919, and the fifth additional squadrons of four Indian Cavalry Regiments were disbanded during the year 1920. None of these regiments or squadrons were pre-War units. The establishment of the above units would amount to 2,160. Men serving on ordinary engagements get on disbandment certain special concessions in the way of pension or gratuity. I am sending my hon. Friend a copy of these rules.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : Will the Right Hon. Gentlemen take great care that these men do not go back to their homes and from the focus of discontent in India ?

Mr. Montagu : I think that is a very important consideration, and I will forward my Hon. Friend's suggestion to the Government of India for consideration.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy : Is not the loss of these regiments compensated for by the development of flying squadrons in India, and can we not look for some further economies by aeroplanes taking the place of cavalry ?



Mr. Montagu : In determining the post-War Army in India all these facts will be taken into consideration.

Auxiliary Force

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India the number of voluntary enrolments in India up to date under the Auxiliary Force Bill and how this number compares with the number that were enrolled under the Indian Defence Force Act ; and what is the date fixed as the time limit for volunteering under the new Act?

Mr. Montagu : A report, dated the 18th January, states that "the Auxiliary Force is making good progress, and the numbers already recruited have now reached some 20,000 out of a proposed 32,000 by the end of the financial year." In October, 1920, the numbers in the Indian Defence Force were 33,451.

Sir C. Yate : Then there is a deficit now of 12,000 men ?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, of course it will take some time to recreate a force whose number was temporarily created during the War. It is hoped that 32,000, which is approximately the number, will be recruited by the 31st March.

Sir C. Yate : Is the 31st March the date fixed on which the question is to be compulsory or voluntary enlistment ?

Mr. Montagu : No date has been fixed. As soon as the Government of India say they cannot raise the force they require voluntarily, a compulsory force will have to be instituted ; but at the present moment they tell me that recruiting is very satisfactory.

Sir C. Yate : Will the right hon. Gentleman fix the date on which that can be brought forward ?

Mr. Montagu : I prefer to leave it to the Government of India, who are quite aware of what will give them the force which they require.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—2ND MARCH 1921

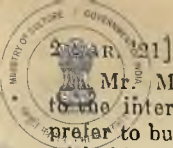
Government Motor Vehicles.

Mr. Manville asked the Secretary of State for India whether an order for motor car chassis required by the Government of India has been placed in Italy ; and, if so, will he state the number of the chassis so ordered and their value ?

Mr. Montagu : Orders for 144 motor vehicles of various kinds have been placed in Italy on behalf of the Government of India at a total cost of approximately £79,000.

Mr. Manville : Does the right hon. Gentleman really think that in times such as these the Government of India ought to have ordered material of that sort from Italy, seeing what the position of the motor car industry is in this country ?

Sir Fortescue Flannery : Is it the policy of the Govt. of India to buy cheaply or to assist in the employment of British workers ?



Mr. Montagu : The Government of India have to have regard to the interests of the Indian taxpayers. They would naturally prefer to buy here rather than abroad. The circumstances connected with this particular purchase, which I understand were ambulance cars, were that there was ready a surplus stock belonging to the Italian Government, and they were required to meet an urgent demand. British firms are going to tender for the remainder of the supply.

Viscount Curzon : Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether these chassis were new or cars which had been used during the War?

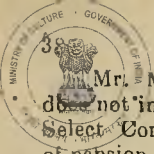
Mr. Montagu : I understand that they were surplus stock belonging to the Italian Government, as far as the majority of the cars are concerned. I am not sure whether they were new or had been used during the War.

Mr. Manville asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that British manufacturers are preparing special designs for motor vehicles at the request of the India office and submitting vehicles for trial in April ; and will he, under these circumstances, see that the requirements of the India Office for motor transport in India are satisfied through British manufacturers?

Mr. Montagu : Sample motor vehicles are being prepared by British manufacturers for trial in India. Provided that these samples prove to be satisfactory after trial, the High Commissioner will give the British manufacturers full opportunities of tendering for any supplies that may be required, and will give every attention to such tenders.

The Indian Civil Service.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, Clause 36, expressed the definite opinion that in the case of members of the Indian services who felt that they could not usefully take part in the new reform schemes they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere or that they should be allowed to retire on proportionate pensions ; whether in consequence of this recommendation, members of the Indian Civil Service memorialised the Secretary of State with a view to securing such pensions ; whether the Secretary of State, in his despatch to the Viceroy of October 1920, stated that he would not consent to a scale of pensions which it would be open to any member of the service to claim as a matter of right on a mere statement that he found himself unable to serve under the new conditions ; upon what grounds he has overriden the decision of the Joint Select Committee ; and what is the present position with regard to members of the Indian Civil Service who desire to retire on proportionate pensions ?



Mr. Montagu : The despatch to which my Hon. Friend refers does not in any way override the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, which can be adopted without devising a scale of pension. I can assure the House that any case of the kind which comes before the Secretary of State in Council will be dealt with in strict accord with the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee and the pledges that I have given to the House.

Provincial Legislative Council

Sir William Davison asked the Secretary of State for India whether in the instructions issued to the Governors of Indian provinces or presidencies, they are directed to safeguard all members of His Majesty's services in the legitimate exercise of their functions and in the enjoyment of all recognised rights and privileges, and to see that no order of the Local Provincial Council or of the Local Legislative Council shall be so framed that any of the diverse interests of, or arising from race, religion, education, social condition, wealth, or any other circumstance may receive unfair advantage, or may unfairly deprive them of the privileges or advantages which they have heretofore enjoyed ; and whether he is responsible to Parliament to see that Governors act in accordance with his instruction ?

Mr. Montagu ; I would refer the Hon'ble Member to the provisions in Section 84-A of the amended Government of India Act for the appointment of the first Statutory Commission for the very purpose which he has in view. Parliament is, of course, fully entitled to seek information, but I trust it will not seek to intervene in matters specifically entrusted to Indian legislatures.

Sir W. Davison asked the Secretary of State for India whether, seeing that in the preamble of the Government of India Act it is expressly stated that the Imperial Parliament, in considering the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India, must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility, he will inform the House whether Members of Parliament will be able to ascertain from the Secretary of State from time to time as to the manner in which the various Provincial Councils are dealing with matters committed to them, so that Parliament may be guided as to its future action regarding the conferring of further responsibilities on such Provincial Councils ?

Mr. Montagu : The Hon. Member has correctly quoted parts of certain passages in the instructions issued over the Royal Sign Manual to the Governors of "Governors' provinces." The answer to the last part of this question is in the affirmative.

Sir W. Davison: I understand that this Parliament can ascertain facts which occur in these legislatures or with regard to the action of the Governors without interfering with what actually takes place?

Mr. Montagu: I always desire to place at the disposal of the House any information of this kind.

Lord Rawlinson (Council of State Speech)

On March 9, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can state the nature of the proposals made to the Council of State on the 3rd instant by Sir William Vincent which were opposed by Lord Rawlinson?

Mr. Montagu: The Hon. Baronet's question is evidently based on a press message which appeared in newspapers, in which Lord Rawlinson is reported as having stated in the Council of State that the Government would be extremely lucky if the country escaped sporadic disorders in the next month, that he strongly objected to certain proposals of Sir William Vincent, and owing to attacks made upon them officers were already showing signs of losing their initiative. I felt sure, when I saw this message, that Lord Rawlinson must have been misreported, and I at once telegraphed to India for the facts. I am informed, in reply, that there is no truth in any of the allegations, that none of the subjects referred to were even mentioned in the Commander-in-Chief's speech and the Commander-in-Chief asks that a categorical denial should be made. Sir William Vincent in a speech in the course of the debate reported, alluded to possible sporadic disorders and to the possible effect on officers of such proposals as those put forward by Mr. Sastri, the mover of the resolution under discussion. I find that the Press report is correct that six out of the eight proposals made by Mr. Sastri were rejected by the Council, and I gather that the two that were accepted were not regarded by the Government of India as unreasonable. I would add that Reuters, to whom I think we are greatly indebted for the information sent from and conveyed to, India with general accuracy, have expressed to me their regrets for the unfortunate mistakes connected with this telegram.

Indian Immigration, New Zealand

Sir T. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether he is aware that an Act to amend the Immigration Laws of the Dominion was enacted in 1920 by the New Zealand Legislature, and that among its other objects it was designed to prevent or place further restrictions upon the immigration into New Zealand of His Majesty's Indian subjects; if he will say whether representations on

subject have been received by the Colonial Office ; and whether any assurances regarding the enforcement of the Act or the regulations framed under it have been received from the New Zealand Government by His Majesty's Government ?

Lieut.-Colonel Amery : The Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1920, of New Zealand makes no mention of Indians, but I have received a protest from an Indian Association in this country, the writer of which was referred to the Dominion Government. At the instance of the Government of India, the Government of New Zealand has given an assurance that there will be no alteration in the position as regards the entry of the wives and families of Indians already domiciled in New Zealand.

Sir T. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether he has received representations relative to the enactment by the Natal Provincial Council of the Durban Corporation Extended Powers Ordinance, 1920, and the Durban Tramways Consolidated Laws, 1905 and 1920 ; whether in these representations the fear has been expressed that the Durban Corporation, in enforcing these enactments, will do so to the prejudice of the rights and interests of the Indian citizens and rate-payers of Durban by the adoption of a policy of racial discrimination ; and whether, seeing that such a policy is opposed to the views of His Majesty's Government, as expressed on many occasions to the various administrations in South Africa, he will say what steps, if any, have been taken by His Majesty's Government to protect His Majesty's Indian subjects in Durban from the enforcement of such a policy of racial discrimination ?

Lieut.-Colonel Amery : The Secretary of State has not received representations from South Africa on the subject of these Ordinances, but the Governor-General of the Union received petitions regarding them from various Indian Associations in Durban. The Governor-General decided, after full consideration, to assent to the Ordinances.

War Expenditure.

On the 10th March, Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India the total amount of expenditure incurred by British India on her own account and on account of the British Exchequer, respectively, in connection with the War from the beginning of hostilities to the last year for which accounts are available ; whether any committee with Indian opinion adequately represented has investigated such expenditure ; what authority has adjusted and audited the proportion of expenditure recoverable from this country ; what compensation India is being, or will be, given for the delay in adjustment of account resulting in serious loss through exchange ; whether India will receive interest at a reasonable rate on long delayed

parliaments; and what facilities he proposes to give Indians to satisfy themselves that in the adjustment of the accounts, which run into large sums of money, Indian interests have been duly safeguarded?

Mr. Montagu: Including the contribution of £100,000,000 towards the cost of the War offered by the Indian Legislative Council in 1917, and the cost of the Afghan and Frontier operations in 1919-20, the War expenditure borne by India up to 31st March, 1920, was about £127,000,000. The expenditure incurred on behalf of the British Exchequer during the same period was about £301,600,000. The expenditure has been apportioned between Imperial and Indian revenues on the basis of the Parliamentary Resolutions of 1914; the arrangements for adjustment were devised by the Government of India and the India Office, in consultation with the Imperial Departments and the Comptroller and Auditor-General in India, and Indian audit has throughout been accepted by His Majesty's Government. In these circumstances no Committee such as that suggested seems called for. I am not aware of any loss through exchange in connection with the adjustment of the accounts. There has ordinarily been no delay whatever in payment, as the Imperial Government have advanced month by month, from the commencement of the War, the approximate sums estimated by the Government of India and this Office as likely to be disbursed each month on behalf of His Majesty's Government. It is the duty of the Comptroller and Auditor-General in India and of the Auditor of the Home Accounts in England to audit the adjustments with the Imperial Government, and I have no reason to think that Indian interests have not been duly safeguarded in the matter.

Cotton Mills

On the 17th March Sir W. Burton asked the Secretary of State for India what was the amount of the total capital employed and the amount of the profits made by Indian cotton mills for the year 1914 and each succeeding year to 1920; and what taxes were paid by them in each of such years other than Excise duties, and differentiating between Income Tax, Super-tax or any other form of taxation?

Mr. Montagu: The latest returns of paid-up capital employed in cotton mills in British India (including debentures), so far as known, were as follows, in lakhs of rupees:

1914—15	...	...	...	2,133
1915—16	...	...	...	2,119
1916—17	...	...	...	2,148
1917—18	...	...	...	2,248
1918—19	...	...	...	2,623



There are no official returns of the profits of cotton mills. Complete returns of the Income Tax paid during the above years by owners of cotton spinning and weaving mills are not available, but figures for 1916-17 show that 153 companies paid Rs. 10,93,579, and 381 other assesseees Rs. 97,540. I have no returns showing the amounts of Super-tax or Excess Profits Duty that have been paid by cotton mills.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—23RD MARCH 1921

Sandhurst Cadets

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India how many Sandhurst cadets have stated their wish to enter the Indian Army in their last term at the Royal Military College since the date of the Armistice: how many of these were King's India cadets; and how many Indian Army appointments were announced at the time of the entrance examinations?

Mr. Montagu: Since the date of the Armistice 98 Sandhurst Cadets have joined the Indian Army, excluding those who entered for Quetta, but were trained at Sandhurst. Sixteen of these were King's India Cadets. The entrance examinations at which these 98 Cadets entered were held in November 1917, March, July and November 1919, and at these four examinations 95 Indian Army appointments were offered. In the last passing out list, out of the first 17 in order of merit, 10 were candidates for the Indian Army of whom 4 were Quetta Cadets.

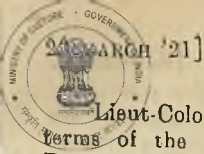
Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Rambhuj Dutt

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether, and if so, why, Dr. Kitchlew and Rambhuj Dutt Chaudry have been put in prison?

Mr. Montagu: In a telegram dated 7th March the Government of India informed me that, in consequence of violent speeches delivered at Lyallpur, Rupar and elsewhere, orders have been issued under the Defence of India Act, requiring Mr. Rambhuj Dutt and Dr. Kitchlew to abstain from attending or addressing any public meeting in the province. It is clear, therefore, that at that time these men were not in prison. I have no later information.

Prosecutions for Sedition.

Colonel Sir C. Yate asked how many persons had been prosecuted in India for seditious utterances in speeches or newspapers during the past three months and how many had been convicted and whether any prosecutions had been instituted for incitement to assault and riot. Mr. Montagu said that he had not the complete figures to enable him to reply fully.



INTERPELLATIONS

Bolshevist Agents & Gandhi

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Lieut.-Colonel Sir F. Hall asked Mr. Montagu whether the terms of the trading agreement which had been entered into with Russia had been officially communicated to the Indian Government, and if he would state what action had been taken by that Government to ensure the expulsion from India of known Soviet agents.

Mr. Montagu: The answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. The Government of India instituted a special organisation to deal with Bolshevik activities in India and although it would not be advisable to state what had actually been done I can assure my hon. and gallant friend that every step necessary to checkmate them had been taken, I trust, successfully.

Sir C. Yate. Is it not the fact that M. Gandhi lately stated that he would prefer this rule to British rule, and under these circumstances ought he not to be the first deported as a Soviet agent?

Mr. Montagu: I prefer to leave the maintenance of order in India to the authorities there.

Bengal Police Grants.

Mr. Rupert Gwynne asked Mr. Montagu whether the Bengal Legislative Council have recently reduced the grant for police expenditure in the Province by 23 lakhs, or more than one-eighth of the total grant demanded, and whether in view of the unrest throughout India steps can be taken to rectify this?

Mr. Montagu: I have no information beyond that which appeared in the Press on the 21st instant. I am inquiring as to the facts and action proposed by the Governor.

Sir C Yate: In view of the fact that Bengal has a population of 50,000,000 and only 3,000 or 4,000 troops, ought not the police of that province to be increased rather than decreased especially now that law and order are at such a discount.

Mr. Montagu: I do not think it is at a discount. I am perfectly prepared to repose the completest confidence in Lord Ronaldshay and the Government of India.

Mr. R. Gwynne: May we take it that the right hon. Gentleman will communicate with India on this matter?

Mr. Montagu: The hon. Gentleman knows that the restoration of this vote is within the power of the Governor of Bengal and I have no knowledge of the facts except what has appeared in the Press. I have, however, inquired and I will let the hon. Member know when I get the results of my communication. At the present time I prefer to leave the matter to the Governor of Bengal's discretion.



Mr. Gwynne: Are we to understand that the right hon. Gentleman gets this information of first-rate importance from the Press first and not direct from India?

Mr. Montagu: As soon as I saw the report in the paper I sent a telegram to India to ascertain the facts. That is the first step we have taken. I am perfectly convinced that there is no difference of opinion between any Member of this House and the Governor of Bengal as to the absolute necessity of maintaining a sufficient number of police in Bengal to restore order.

Mr. Gwynne: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer my question. Does he receive information of this kind first from the Press or does he get communications before those of the Press direct from India.

Mr. Montagu: The first knowledge which I had of this event which I think occurred only a day or two ago was from the Press. The matter lies within the discretion of the Governor of Bengal. I presume, in due course, I shall hear from him what action has been taken. As a matter of fact I have had no communication yet from the Government of India as to this matter and my first knowledge was derived from the Press.

Sir H. Craik: Is it not the duty of the Govt. of India to communicate to the Sec. of State for the information of this House any vital matters which ought not to be anticipated by Press reports.

Mr. Montagu: I wish my right hon. Friend would put himself in the place of the Governor of a Province. I cannot assume there is importance in a newspaper report which may relate to a perfectly simple matter. My right hon. Friend knows that the Governor has ample power under this Act. The report may relate to a matter which does not require a special communication to be made by telegram.

Nagpur Disturbance.

Mr. Montagu replying to Sir C. Yate said:—

I am circulating an account collected from a series of telegrams of the disturbance at Nagpur from which I am glad to think it will be seen that it was not so serious as my hon. and gallant Friend's question would indicate. It is not always I think the best way to give an accurate picture of events in India to publish each telegram relating to such matters as it is received. I recognise the importance of furnishing the public with regular information about India and have been considering the best way of achieving it. I hope that a new organisation with this object in view will shortly be working. My Noble Friend Lord Lytton is taking the matter under his charge.

Mr. Montagu : The information I have circulated is collected from telegrams I have received and it does not contain an account of that kind.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—9TH MARCH 1921

Army Pay and Allowances

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India if he can now state what steps have been taken to carry into effect the recommendations in Part V of the Esher Report in regard to the improvements in the conditions of service of the personnel of the Army in India, which are so long overdue.

Mr. Montagu : As a result of the recommendations in Part V of the Esher Committee Report the following measures have now been sanctioned :—

British officers, both of the British and Indian Services will receive free forage and saddlery, an allowance of Rs. 15 per mensem for a syce, and will be able to buy chargers at concessional rates. British Service officers will cease to receive horse allowance. Indian Army officers on the introduction of the measures will be liable to have the number of authorised chargers reduced and the pay of cavalry assimilated to that of infantry as recommended in the Report. The sum of 19 lakhs has, in addition, been provided for pay concessions for British officers of the Indian Army, but it has not yet been decided how far the precise proposals in Section II of Part V of the Report will be followed.

As regards Indian officers, increases of pay, pension, family pension, and travelling allowances have been sanctioned and equipment will be issued free on promotion.

As regards Indian other ranks, improved scales of pay, good service, and good conduct pay have been approved.

The main proposals for improved family pensions have been accepted in principle, but the details are not yet settled. The same applies as regards disability pensions, both for Indian officers and other Indian ranks.

The pay of religious teachers will be raised as recommended.

A grant will be given in respect of Hindusthani clothing, but in what form has not yet been settled.

Charpoy and kit boxes will be provided free, and also tree lighting.



The contract allowance system in regimental offices will be abolished. An establishment of enlisted clerks has been sanctioned, and Government will supply stationery, etc.

Seven lakhs will be provided for the improvement of Indian Army schools.

Army Organisation

On the 23rd March Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can now make his promised statement on the position of the Army in India? (See p. 36)

Mr. Montagu : The Prime Minister has decided on my recommendation to submit the military requirements of India to a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. While it is obviously desirable to secure reduction in military expenditure in India as in other parts of the world, they can only be achieved if compatible with the internal and external security of India. It, therefore, appears desirable that such an investigation should take into consideration improvements in equipment, mobility and general efficiency. The Government of India had announced that they are appointing a Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council to prepare the material to lay before the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : Arising out of this very important statement, may I ask the Right Hon'ble Gentleman whether the late Commander-in-Chief (Sir Charles Monro) will be added to the Sub-Committee of Imperial Defence, and whether, pending the decision of the Committee of Imperial Defence, no further reductions will take place in the Indian Army?

Mr. Montagu : I can give an assurance that no further reductions will be made pending the inquiry. The first part of the question should, I think, be addressed to the Prime Minister who will appoint the Committee, but I cannot conceive that such an inquiry will proceed far with its investigation without availing itself of the opinions of the gallant soldier to whom the Hon'ble Member has referred and to whom also the Army in India owes so much.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : May I ask whether the Committee of Imperial Defence will have power to suggest to the Government of India—if it sees fit—that the alterations already made in the Indian Army should be cancelled?

Mr. Montagu : Certainly. What we want to arrive at is a scientific investigation of what is necessary in the present circumstances for the internal and external security of India. These are the only considerations which can govern the Indian Army.

Lieut.-Colonel Fremantle : Will the Sub Committee of Imperial Defence have anyone on it who is qualified and able to deal with the extremely difficult question of the health of the Indian Army?



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Mr. Montagu : The inquiry will deal with the strength of the Army in India. Questions as to the composition of the Committee should be addressed to the Prime Minister.

Sir C. Yate : Is it not the fact that the first action of the Reformed Council in India was to pass a resolution entailing a heavy reduction of the Indian Army and police and a curtailment of propaganda ? Is this to be allowed to proceed ?

Mr. Montagu : I would prefer to answer that question on a specific reference to the particular resolution. I do not know what the hon'ble and gallant Member has in his mind. The Legislative Assembly of India has passed a resolution on the Esher Report, but the best evidence of its determination to provide for the defence of the country is to be found in the alacrity with which it has passed the heavy Budget provision necessary for the Army.

Sir C. Yate : May I—

Mr. Speaker : Notice had better be given of any further questions.

The Army Sub-Committee

Subsequently Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Prime Minister to state the composition of the Sub-Committee of Imperial Defence to report upon the constitution and strength of the Army in India.

Mr. Chamberlain : A Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence has not been specially appointed to consider the constitution and strength of the Army in India.

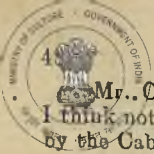
Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : Did we not have a pledge from the Secretary of State for India, and was I not asked to put this question to the Prime Minister ?

Mr. Chamberlain : I am afraid I am not in a position to make an explanation. This matter has not come under the consideration of the Imperial Defence Committee, and up to the present no Sub-Committee has been appointed, and I cannot definitely say whether a Sub-Committee will be appointed. It may be that a Committee of the Imperial Defence Committee will consider it.

Lieut. Colonel Croft : Will the Cabinet consider the whole question before proceeding to the disbandment of regiments of the Regular Army in this country and the great reduction of regiments in India ? Before any final steps are taken will they consider the question as a whole ?

Mr. Chamberlain : The Cabinet does consider the defence of the Empire as a whole.

Lieut. Colonel Croft : Has the question been before the Defence Committee ?



Mr. Chamberlain : I should not like to say without notice. I think not by the Defence Committee. I think it was considered by the Cabinet as a whole.

Lala Harkishan Lal Again

Mr. R. Gwynne asked the Secretary of State for India if Mr. Harkishan Lal and others, convicted of conspiracy to wage war and sentenced to transportation for life by three Judges, appealed against the convictions and sentences to the Privy Council; whether they were pardoned by the executive while their appeals were pending, though similar appeals from others had been dismissed by the Privy Council; and, if so, what was the special reason why these appeals should not have been allowed to run their course?

Mr. Montagu : The answer to the first two parts of the question is in the affirmative, though it is not the case, as the question implies, that the grant or refusal of pardons was determined by probabilities of the justice or legality of the convictions. As regards the last part, I do not know the reasons which have actuated appellants who have decided not to prosecute their appeals.

Mr. Gwynne : Will the Right Hon. Gentleman say why these cases were taken out of the usual course?

Mr. Montagu : I do not think they were taken out of the ordinary course. There was an appeal pending which the appellant did not choose to prosecute, and meanwhile the Viceroy granted a pardon to certain people.

Sir C. Yate : Was it not rather that an amnesty was granted before the appeal came on?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, I think so. I surmise that this is what happened : One of these appeals founded on the question of the legality of the Courts which were set up in India was dismissed by the Privy Council—not on the question of what happened, but on the question of legality—and therefore I presume that the other appellants did not think it worth while to go on.

Mr. Gwynne : Is the Right Hon. Gentleman aware that when the new rules in regard to the Legislative Councils were before the House he told me that none of the persons who were convicted and sentenced would be eligible for them for five years, and yet, in spite of that, one of the convicted persons has been appointed a Minister?

Mr. Montagu : I think the Hon. Member will find that all the information I have given to the House is accurate.

Mr. Gwynne : But—

Mr. Speaker : Further questions must be put down.

Indian Emergency Committee, London

Sir Thomas Bennett had given notice of the following question to be put on the 23rd March, but as he could not present himself on that day, a point of order was raised by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks.

—To ask the Secretary of State for India if he has received information from India concerning a resolution reported to have been passed by all the non-official European members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly objecting to the formation in London of an Indian Emergency Committee as unnecessary and calculated to create prejudice and ill feeling; and if he will furnish the House with a copy of the resolution as well as with reports of the speeches lately delivered in India by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, in which appeals were made to all classes of the population to join in burying recent controversies?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: Arising out of this question, may I ask your guidance, Mr. Speaker, as to whether it is in order for an Hon. Member to put a question down reflecting, as it does, on a certain Committee, which consists of two Members of the other House, and one Member of this House, myself, and not appear in his place to ask it? I want to ask whether the question should not be deferred and not answered among the written answers until such time as the Hon. Member chooses to come to the House and put it personally, so that I may put a supplementary question, or give a personal explanation?

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member who put down the question may have been detained by an accident by flood or field.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: With great deference, Sir, and in answer to that, may I ask whether a written answer may be postponed until the Hon. Member who, of course, as you say, may have been detained by flood or field, can come down and put the question in open House so that it may be dealt with? As you, Sir, realise, the House adjourns to-morrow, and answers to unanswered questions—and I do not know what this answer may be—may be printed and contain reflection upon the Members of this Committee to which we have no possibility of replying?

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member is asking me to over-rule the Order of the House, which is to the effect that if a question is not asked the answer shall be circulated on the following day. Perhaps the best plan would be for the Hon. Gentleman to see the answer, and then, if he is not satisfied, he can make a personal explanation to-morrow, or he can put a question to-morrow. I would accept a question on the subject.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks: Thank you, Sir.

Following is the answer to the question :

Mr. Montagu: No, Sir, but I have seen a message from the non-official members of the Indian Legislature in the Press. I will place a copy of the proceedings at the opening of the Indian Legislature including His Royal Highness' speech in the Library.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—5—6TH APRIL 1921

Government Service (Contracts)

On 5th April Mr. T. Griffiths asked the Sec. of State for India whether under the new Reform Act now in force, whereby absolute control over finance and appointments over a wide area of Govt. is given to the various Indian Provincial Councils and their elective majorities, a British born subject can now sue for breach of contract for personal service in India; if so, whom he should sue and where, for a breach in India or for a breach in this country; whether such subject will now have the right to know the medical grounds, should the India Office Medical Board certify him incapacitated for further service in India; whether such contracts will be still deemed subject to the will and pleasure of the Crown; what authority or powers over such contract is it contemplated transferring to the independent high commissioners who will represent the various Indian Governments; and whether such actions as Dr. Denning recently attempted to bring will be outside the British Government?

Mr. Montagu: As regards the first part of the question, the new Act in no way affects the pre-existing right of a British born subject to sue for breach of contract for personal service in India. As regards the second part, contracts for service under the Government of India are made with "the Secretary of State in Council." Such subject would presumably sue the Secretary of State in Council in respect of a breach either in India or in this country. The action could be brought in this country or in India according to circumstances. As regards the third part, the position will remain unaltered, in so far as an officer certified by the India Office Medical Board to be incapacitated for further service in India is not regarded as necessarily entitled to know the medical grounds on which such a certificate is given. As regards the fourth part such contracts are not subject to the will and pleasure of the Crown, except that, the Crown has in law the right to dispense with the service of its officers, and it would not be in the power of the Secretary of State in Council or of a Government in India to alter the law in this respect or to limit this right of the Crown when entering into such contracts. As regards the fifth part, the Secretary of State in Council will remain the authority for the recruitment of those services which are now known as "All India Services"—such

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as the Indian Civil Service, the superior Police Service, the Indian Educational service, and so forth, and consequently will remain the contracting party for these. Recruitment in this country of services, the members of which are now to be appointed and controlled by Provincial Governments, will probably be made over for the most part to the High Commissioner for India, and he would necessarily, subject to instructions he receives from the authorities in India for whom he is acting, have power to contract on their behalf, but in the name of the Secretary of State in Council. The answer to the last part of the question, if I correctly understand the hon. Member's meaning, is therefore that it will still be open to officers like Dr. Denning to sue the Secretary of State in Council.

Army.

On April 6th the Esher recommendations were again the subject matter of an interpellation. Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether the main and fundamental recommendations of the Esher Committee have yet come before His Majesty's Government after consideration by himself in Council?

Mr. Montagu: The answer is in the negative.

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Army in India has already been reduced by 6,000 British and 7,500 Indian troops under pre-War strength; and, if so, whether the safety of carrying out such large reductions in the Army in the face of the agitation and unrest now rampant in India has been considered?

Mr. Montagu: The present proposals of the Government of India, if they are eventually sanctioned, will have the effect of reducing the fighting units of the Army in India approximately to the extent mentioned by my hon. and gallant Friend. The proposals have been made by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, after full consideration of all the factors in the situation, of which not the least important is the improved mobility and equipment of the Army in such matters, for instance, as the establishment of the Air Force and the provision of armoured cars, which to a large extent compensate for the reduction in personnel. As my hon. and gallant Friend is aware, the whole question is to be considered by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Sir C. Yate. Are we to understand that these reductions have already been carried out?

Mr. Montagu: It is not accurate to say that the reduction in the British force has been sanctioned; what has occurred is that a considerable number of British force in India left India for War purposes and have not yet returned.



Colonel Wedgwood : Can the right hon. Gentleman say what of the agitation and unrest now rampant in India would not be more speedily reduced by cutting down expenditure rather than by the keeping up of unnecessary expenditure at a time of such great economic trouble in India?

Mr. Montagu : I do not think that anyone wants unnecessary expenditure, but what we are determined to see is that the armed forces of the Crown in India are adequate for the protection of India.

Bolshevik Rouble Notes.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Sec. of State for India whether the possession of Bolshevik money has been made illegal in British India?

Mr. Montagu : The possession of any rouble notes in India was made illegal by the ordinance in 1919 and 1920, and the operation of the ordinance was continued by Act No. XXX of the latter year.

Sir J. D. Rees : Is the Hon. Gentleman in a position to recommend the Government at home to pass a like ordinance of law?

Lieut. Commander Kenworthy : In view of the trading agreement which has been signed with Russia, will this Regulation be released in regard to *bona fide* merchants trading with Russia?

Mr. Montagu : I think that would depend upon whether we have evidence of a cessation of Bolshevik propaganda in India.

Afghanistan Negotiations

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India if he can give any information regarding the negotiations with Afghanistan now being carried on at Kabul.

Mr. Montagu : The negotiations, which have as their object the conclusion of a treaty of friendship, are proceeding. I am not at present in a position to make any further statement.

Wireless Telegraphy.

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India : Who is the present Director of Wireless Telegraphy in India ; whether the wireless expert to the Government of India originally sent out from home, has since resigned, on appointment as Director of the Marconi Company ; whether the wireless system in India required for military purposes is complete ; if not, what steps are being taken to make it so ; and whether the complaints in the Indian Press as to the unsatisfactory conditions of commercial wireless are justified?

Mr. Montagu : Colonel A. Simpson who was appointed Director of Wireless Telegraphy in India in 1919, resigned last year, and subsequently joined the Board of the Marconi Company. In his place I have appointed Commander R. L. Nicholson, D. S. O. late R. N., who is leaving for India next week. So far as I am aware, the wireless system in India required for military purposes is com-

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as regards internal communication. The complaint as to the unsatisfactory condition of commercial wireless, to which the hon. and gallant Member probably refers, is too vague for me to say whether it is justified.

Burma (Shikho.)

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether he will call for a Report on the habit of shikho as performed in Burma, finding out what is thought of this custom both by British officials and educated Burmese, with a view to introducing into Burma methods less redolent of an oriental theocratic monarchy of the pre-Christian era?

Mr. Montagu: The custom of shikho, according to the best of my information, is an observance or mark of respect incidental to religion as well as to etiquette among Burmans. It would be contrary to the policy definitely laid down in 1858, and consistently followed since, for the Government to attempt to change the usage.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is the Right Hon. Gentleman aware that there is a number of British officials in Burma who are so disgusted with the habit that they will not allow it to be done to them?

Mr. Montagu: No. I am not aware of that.

Colonel Wedgwood: Will the right hon. Gentleman make inquiries about this custom which is causing great unrest in Burma at the present time?

Mr. Montagu: I will bring my hon. and gallant Friend's question to the notice of the Government of India.

Riots and Casualties.

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Secretary of State for India: How many riots and disturbances have occurred in India since the 1st of March, what number of casualties have resulted to the civil population and to the servants of the Crown; how many of such outbreaks have been due to the influence of Gandhi or his policy; in cases where the outbreaks were not due to his influence or action, if he will state what causes they were due to; and whether the rebels tried subsequently to take advantage of the situation?

Mr. Montagu: I have received reports of ten riots and disturbances during March. In six of them, there were no casualties reported. In one tea garden riot some persons attacked were injured, not seriously; and in a faction fight in Southern India one person was killed. In the remaining two cases 13 rioters were killed and 25 wounded by police fire, and some police were injured, not seriously, the number not being given. It is very difficult to assign one definite cause, for there are usually contributing factors, but three of the disturbances were of the nature of labor troubles, and three of religion dispute; one arose from agrarian grievances,



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[H. C. CONS.]

in one prisoners broke out from jail. The other two were brought on by a strong agitation against liquor-shops, which is ascribed in part to a genuine temperance movement and in part to the general Non-co operation programme. I have no doubt that attempts were made by ill-disposed persons to take advantage of the situation.

Sir G. Yate: Is it not a fact that most of these riots were owing to political agitators and the agitation got up by them?

Mr. Montagu: I do not think that my hon. and gallant Friend would ascribe the disturbances to anything but agrarian causes.

Colonel Wedgwood: Will the right hon. Gentleman get, or has he got, any report on the shooting at Majpur that he can communicate to the House?

Mr. Montagu: I think—I speak from memory, because my hon. and gallant Friend has not given me notice of the question—that communiques, based on every telegram I have received, have already been published; but if there is anything further, I will communicate with the hon. Member.

Sir C. Yate: Were not the Rae Bareli riots primarily due to political agitators?

Mr. Montagu: I think I am right in saying that the Rae Bareli riots were due entirely to agrarian causes.

The Parliamentary Joint Committee.

The first Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs was published in April. The members were mainly engaged up to that time in determining their procedure.

It was resolved by the Committee to examine and report upon any Bill or matter referred to them specifically by Parliament. Also to invite the Secretary of State for India to communicate to the Committee, as occasion may arise, any matter or information upon which he or they may think it desirable that they should make a Report to Parliament. They will also consider and report on any matter relating to Indian affairs brought to the notice of the Committee through the Chairman (Lord Islington) or by any of its members or by the Secretary of State. No subject may be brought forward, however, without previous notice having been given, and a Report will not be made to Parliament unless the matter was one of sufficient public importance to justify it, and provided that the consideration of such matter by the Committee was not opposed to the public interest—upon which point the Committee itself will be the judge. The Committee will call for such oral or documentary evidence as from time to time may be required, and will confidentially inform the Secretary of State for India, and the head of any other Government Department concerned, the subject matter proposed for discussion.



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HOUSE OF COMMONS—MAY 1921.

Mohammed Ali's Speech.

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Colonel Sir Charles Yate asked the Secretary of State for India if his attention has been called to the speech delivered by the agitator Mohammed Ali at Madras reported in the Press of the 11th April in which he is stated to have said that he differed from Gandhi in that he favoured violence and that the English came to India like themselves and should be driven out like thieves, and what steps are being taken against the speaker, and also to prevent the repetition and dissemination of seditious utterances like those tending to foment insurrection in India.

Mr. Montagu in reply stated that he had been informed by telegram that the Government of India were giving their attention to the statement by Muhammad Ali at Madras that the Ali brothers would help Afghanistan if she came to India to fight the British Govt.

The Services.

On May 5th, replying to a question of Mr. Glyn, Mr. Montagu stated that on January 1st there were 767 permanently commissioned officers in the Indian Medical Service of whom 638 were British-born and 129 Indians compared with 722 British and 48 Indians in 1914. The position of British-born officers who joined the service before the war was in no way jeopardised by admission of officers during the war. Every effort was being made to fill up vacancies available with Europeans. The condition with regard to pay, leave and pensions had recently been considerably improved but he was advised that in view of the great shortage of medical men owing to war, it would be a year before the medical schools in Britain would be able to turn out anything like the normal numbers of qualified men of the standard required for the Indian Medical Service.

On May 10th, replying to Col. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that up to April 1st the Government of India had received one application for permission to retire on a proportionate pension under the recommendation made in clause 36 of the report of the Joint Committee on the Government of India Bill. The Government of India had informed the applicant that he could not support his request as it was evident that his desire to retire had been long standing and was based mainly upon reasons which were quite unconnected with those discussed by the Joint Committee.

Pensions to Punjab Heroes.

On 24th May Colonel Wedgwood asked the Sec. of State for India how much is now contributed annually from the Indian Budget to each of the following: General Dyer, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Colonel Frank Johnson, and Mr. Bosworth Smith; and will he

approach the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a view to getting these charges transferred from the Indian to the British Budget?

Mr. Montagu :—The figures are as follows—Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. Bosworth Smith, £4,000 and 900 respectively, of which a considerable portion represents funds contributed by the officers themselves; General Dyer, £900, of which approximately one-twelfth will be debitable, on adjustment, to British revenues on account of a period of service out of India. Colonel Johnson draws no pension from Indian revenues. The answer to the last part of the question is in the negative.

Auxiliary Force

On May 31st, replying to Col. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that 23,325 men had been attested in the Auxiliary force of India up to April 30th, excluding men who had been enrolled but had not yet been attested. The maximum strength attained by the Indian Defence Force was 33,451 in October 1920. He did not propose to take any steps to bring the Auxiliary Force up to the numbers of the Defence Force. The matter was entirely in the hands of the Government of India. If the Government of India at any moment thought that voluntary enlistment was insufficient they might make recommendations for an alternative.

An Individual Called Gandhi!

On May 31st Viscount Curzon asked the Sec. of State for India how many times the Viceroy of India has officially received an individual called Gandhi; and whether he can make any statement as to the result of the interviews?

Mr. Montagu :—The Viceroy has received Mr. Gandhi several times privately. The Viceroy will no doubt consider what statement, if any, could usefully be made in regard to these interviews.

On 7th June Captain Viscount Curzon again asked the Sec. of State for India whether an individual called Gandhi has stated publicly that the Viceroy of India is probably sympathetic to the Non-Co-operation movement, he can now give any account of the matter discussed at the recent interview with the individual alluded to?

Mr. Montagu :—I have seen no such statement. It is difficult to believe it was ever made and impossible to believe that anyone would believe it if made. The answer to the last part of the question is that I have nothing to add to the answer I gave last week.

Viscount Curzon :—In view of the fact that there is in most of the English Press accounts of these interviews, could the Right Hon. Gentleman not possibly give some authoritative account of the

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discussions that actually took place so as to put an end to the rumours.

Mr. Montagu:—I do not think so. When the Governor-General accords an interview for informal discussion, it is not customary to keep a record or to publish an account of what takes place. As I have said, if His Excellency desires to publish any account of these discussions, he will do so.

Viscount Curzon:—Has the right hon. Gentleman not noticed that the man alluded to is now going about giving what purports to be an account of these interviews, and would it not be much better to state exactly what did take place than allow the account to be one-sided and come from unofficial sources?

Mr. Montagu: I do not know to what the Noble Lord refers. On the contrary I have heard that Mr. Gandhi is honourably fulfilling the conditions under which these private interviews took place.

Refusal to grant Govt. demand

On June 9th Sir Charles Yate asked what are the steps that have been taken by the Punjab and other Govts. in India where the Council have refused to sanction the Budget grant for the Govt's. Publicity department?

Mr. Montagu: The only provinces in which the Councils have refused provision for publicity departments are Bengal and the Punjab. In Bengal, according to my information, the work was only in the experimental stage; in that province the Press is active and all shades of opinion are represented in it. I presume that the procedure as to communiques and information to the Press is now as it was before the experiment was started. In the Punjab the provision was disallowed only on the 12th March and a week later the Legislative Council voted a sum sufficient to wind up the Publicity Board with due notice to those employed in it. The Government was itself issuing communiques.

Deportation of Mr. C. F. Andrews

On June 14th Sir Frederick Hall, a typical coercionist, demanded the deportation and prosecution of the Rev. C. F. Andrews for alleged seditious speeches, presumably because of his strong utterances on the Chandpur Gurkha outrage. He wanted "this so-called gentleman" (referring to Mr. Andrews) to be brought over to England and tried for sedition. Mr. Montagu in reply pointed out that the proper authorities to look after sedition in India were in India.

Disturbances in Bengal, Assam, etc.

On June 27-28th. questions were asked about the Chandpur and Assam Coolies. Mr. Montagu laid on the table the Bengal Govt.

Communique. Mr. A. Shaw asked the Sec. of State for India whether he can give the House any information regarding the recent disturbances in Bengal and Assam?

Colonel Wedgwood:—Are any arrangements being made to facilitate the return of these coolies to their homes, or is it being left to chance?

Mr. Montagu:—My recollection is that the government have not felt it their duty to give free passages to the coolies. I will send a copy of the communique to my hon. and gallant Friend.

Colonel Wedgwood:—Are we to understand that the Government of India are to leave these people to die of cholera and starvation on the roadside?

Mr. Montagu:—Every conceivable step has been taken to safeguard the interests of these poor deluded coolies; but it would obviously be an unwise step to establish the precedent that when a cooly breaks his contract and leaves his work owing to gross misrepresentation of the state of affairs the liability should be put upon the Government of India.

Lieut. Commander Kenworthy:—What about the Government itself? Sir J. D. Rees:—Would it not be more useful to facilitate their return to their work rather than to their homes? Is any provision for that made by the Government?

Mr. Montagu:—If my hon. Friend reads the communique of the Government of Bengal he will see that the Government have acted with great humanity, and have done everything possible in the circumstances. If, after reading the communique, my hon. Friend desires to put any other questions, I should be only too happy to answer them.

Newspapers (Gwalior State)

On 21st June Sir C. Yate asked the Sec. of State for India whether his attention has been called to the statement in the "Leader" Newspaper, of Allahabad, that the Gwalior State has prohibited the sale and distribution within the Territory of His Highness the Maharaja of the following newspapers: the "Kesari", "Amrita Bazar Patrika", "Maharatta", "Bombay Chronicle", "Independent," "Pratap," "Rajasthan," and "Sabasa"; and, considering that these papers are published in British India, will he state what action has been taken by the Govt. of India against these newspapers in support of the loyal action of His Highness the Maharaja; whether the Govt. of India has accepted the resolution of the Legislative Assembly to appoint a Committee to examine the Indian Press Act of 1910 and to recommend modifications of the existing law in regard to liberty of speech and writing;



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and if so, will the Press Act Committee consider the views of Indian Princes in the matter of granting further freedom to the Press in India?

Mr. Montagu: I have seen a reference in the Indian Newspapers to the Gwalior prohibition. The Governments in British India have not, to my knowledge, taken any steps recently against the papers named. The Committee appointed to consider the Press laws finished its sittings, and is on the point of presenting its report. The Committee took into consideration the connection between the Press laws and the Native States.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—12 JULY 1921

Cotton Goods (Import Duties)

On 12th July Mr. Waddington again took up the question of the Cotton duties. He asked the Sec. of State for India whether he is aware of the dividends paid by Indian Cotton Mills as exemplified by Sholapore Company, 1000 per cent per annum, Lakshmi Company and Maneckji Company, each 500 per cent., Morarji Goculdas Company and Swadeshi Company, each 350 per cent., Kohinoor Company, 375 per cent., Madras United, 300 per cent., and many others from 100 per cent. to 300 per cent; whether, as these dividends were declared shortly before the Indian Budget was introduced, the Indian Govt. considered the large profits when forming schemes to raise revenue and, if so, what additional taxes have been imposed upon and what additional revenue is expected from Cotton Mills Coy.; and, if such revenue is not in fair proportion to the increases in import duties, will he represent to the Indian Govt. the need of reconsidering the import duties on Cotton goods in view of such large sources of internal revenue being available?

Mr. Montagu: I am aware that the Indian Cotton Mills have recently paid large dividends, but the figures given by my hon. Friend appear to be greatly in excess of those published in the press. The only additional tax specifically imposed on the Cotton Mills Companies in connection with the recent Indian Budget lay in the withdrawal of the concession under which Machinery and Stores imported for use in a Cotton Spinning or Weaving Mill were admitted free of duty. The additional revenue anticipated from the change is 10 lakhs. With regard to the last part of the question, I can only refer my hon. Friend to the reply I gave on the 23rd March to a deputation from Lancashire regarding the Indian Cotton duties.

Captain Geo: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the figures given by the hon. Member, though they may be in excess



The figures published in the British Press, are correct from the official accounts of the companies concerned.

Mr. Montagu: I am informed that they are greatly in excess of any figures that we have.

Mr. Waddington: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that he can get confirmation of the figures from the "Times of India" in any issue for the last two months, and that these figures are published and are available for the information of anybody connected with the India office; and if these figures are justified, and considering that the question of the Indian Import Duties was purely one of revenue and not of protection for India, is it not desirable that these duties should be considered and that the burden should be placed on the available revenues in India?

Mr. Montagu: I will investigate the figures further, but I do not think they affect the principle laid down, after discussion by a Committee of this House, that the Govt. of India should have fiscal autonomy.

Mr. W. Thorne: Is it not possible for the firms to pay these dividends in consequence of the low wages paid to textile workers and the long hours worked?

Mr. Speaker: Any further questions must be put on the paper.

The Civil Service

Sir Charles Oman asked the Secretary of State for India whether he has received a memorial sent by telegram to him by the Indian Civil Service Central Association, representing a large majority of the officers of the Indian Civil Service now serving in British India; whether the said memorial sets forth their profound dissatisfaction with the increasing difficulties of the public Services since the passing of the Govt. of India Act; and what reply he has given to the memorialists, in view of the personal responsibility to them under his pledges given at the time of the passing of that Act?

Mr. Montagu: I have received the telegram referred to and will send a copy to the hon. Member. I think this will be a better plan than commenting on his description of it in the second part of the question. The Govt. of India are about to issue a comprehensive resolution dealing with the whole question of the pay of the all-India Services. The substance of my reply to the memorialists will be indicated in the Resolution, which I would ask the hon. Member to await.

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Sir C. Oman : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that I have got a copy, and does he consider that the increasing difficulties of the public services set forth by the gentleman in question in this telegram do or do not exist ?

Mr. Montagu : I am anxious to avoid disputation as to the meaning of the telegram. The memorialists refer to a passage in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. I have nothing to withdraw from that.

Sir W. Pearse : Are the salaries and allowances sufficient to meet the increases in the cost of living, and is it not rather the financial question that causes dissatisfaction than the new situation in regard to the Govt. of India ?

Mr Montagu : I think there is a good deal of economic dissatisfaction.

Sir C. Yate : Can the right hon. Gentleman say on what date he will be able to give us the Govt. of India Resolution ?

Mr. Montagu : I am afraid I cannot. It is a matter of practice and precedent that any communication must be made through the Government of India.

Public Services

The matter was not left to rest there. A good deal of ironical remarks was made as to the 'Montagu reforms', obviously to put the Secretary of State out of countenance. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he has had any report from India as to the growth of bureaucracy since the institution of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms ; and whether he can give any estimate as to the additional cost of governing the country incurred in consequence of such increase in officials ?

Mr. Montagu :—I do not follow the first part of my hon. Friend's question. I do not understand how the scheme of Government instituted by the Government of India Act to which this House assented in 1919 could have led to a growth of bureaucracy. As to the cost of that scheme, I will certainly endeavour to furnish the House with a statement.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks :—Does not the question say "since" and not "in consequence of" ?

Mr. Montagu : I find it difficult to understand how it is possible that a measure for the institution of a democratic form of government in India can possibly have led to a growth of bureaucracy.



INDIA IN PARLIAMENT

[H. RECORDS.]

The N-C-O. Movement

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Sec. of State for India whether he can make any statement as to the activities of Gandhi and the Ali Brothers; and whether any disturbances have arisen owing to the direct or indirect activities of these individuals since they were received by the Viceroy?

Mr. Montagu: I do not think there is any detailed statement that I could make in reply to the first part of the question. The Government of India have not indicated to me that in their opinion the undertaking to refrain from encouragement to violence have been disregarded since it was given. As regards the last part of the question, disturbances have occurred since the Viceroy accorded an interview to Mr. Gandhi. The reports of these have been communicated to the Press immediately on receipt from India. There is nothing in the reports to show that the outbreaks were directly attributable to the three persons mentioned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—18TH JULY 1921

The Strikes in Madras.

The Madras Mile riots of June-July 1921 when the Karnatic and Buckingham Mills locked out their men to break their newly started Union and had the support of the Governor, Lord Willingdon, were the subject of a series of questions.

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether he had any news of the Madras strikes: whether the Government have facilitated in any way the formation of an Adi-Dravidian trades union or assisted the Adi-Dravidians to break away from their comrades; whether the strike leaders have been threatened with internment; and whether, in view of the serious position, he will recommend the immediate calling together of the Legislative Council of Madras?

Mr. Parker replied in the place of Mr. Montagu who was absent:—My right hon. friend will circulate in the Official Report an account of the Madras strikes to supplement from his latest information the details which have already appeared in the Press. As regards the second and third parts of the question, my right hon. friend has no information but is making inquiries. As regards the last part, my right hon. friend understands that Lord Willingdon is himself dealing with the case, and he thinks that my hon. and gallant Friend will share his confidence that His Excellency will take whatever action is likely to prove helpful.

The following is the information referred to:

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On the 29th June the huts of non-caste mill workers in Madras were set fire to by caste strikers, and the police and members of the fire brigade were assaulted by the strikers. On the 30th June further incendiarism occurred in the same neighbourhood, and both the police and the fire brigade were more seriously attacked. The mob was dispersed by bayonet charges; no loss of life reported to me. The total number of huts burnt was 92.

On the 2nd July, the Anglo-Indian Foreman of the Buckingham Mills was attacked by 40 Mohammedans and Hindus near the mill, was knocked off his bicycle and badly beaten. He was severely wounded in the body, sustained a knife cut in the head, and was left unconscious. Subsequently he made his way to the police station. He has not found it possible to identify his assailants. Two shots were fired by an unseen person at a police patrol which was sent out when the occurrence was reported.

On the 3rd July the Mohammedan driver of the manager of the mill was assaulted by Mohammedans and was chased from the manager's compound to his verandah where three toes were cut off and his fingers were injured by a knife wound. A police officer discovered him walking in a dazed condition. He is now being detained in hospital.

Reverse Council Drafts.

Mr. Montagu circulated with the Parliamentary papers (in reply to a question in the House of Commons) an elaborate defence of his policy in regard to the Reverse Councils. Colonel Hurst had asked whether the loss caused to the Indian Treasury on reverse council bills in 1919-20 had been estimated by the Finance Minister in India at £17,500,000; why reverse bills were not sold by competitive tender but allotted to favoured groups of financiers; whether the effect of this policy had been to enrich the financiers in question by £29,000,000 and to contribute materially to the present fall of the exchange; and whether the Secretary of State would take steps to fix the responsibility for these disasters?

Mr. Montagu:—I presume my hon. and gallant friend is referring to the statement in the Indian Finance Member's Budget speech that a loss of 17 crores resulted in 1920—21 from the realisation of sterling securities in the paper currency reserve to meet reverse councils.

The sale of reverse councils was not however the real cause of this loss, which would have been incurred whether they had been sold or not, in consequence of the decision based on the Currency Committee's Report that the sterling securities in the Paper Currency Reserve originally valued on a 1s. 4d. basis should be revalued on a 2s. basis. The loss resulting from the sale of reverse councils at rates other than 2s. after the adoption of the Currency Commission's recommendations in February 1920 is about 7 three-fourth crores. The policy of selling reverse drafts at fixed rates based on 2s. gold and not on the basis of competitive tender was adopted in accordance with the recommendations in paragraph 62 of the Currency



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[H. OF COM.]

Committee's Report, though at a later stage it was considered expedient to base the sales on 2s. sterling which was done with effect from 24th June to 28th September 1920, when the sales were discontinued. I do not understand the allegation that reverse drafts were only allotted to favoured groups of financiers, or the figure cited in clause 3 of the question. While I deplore the failure so far to make the Currency Committee's policy effective, I would remind my hon. friend of the abnormal situation prevailing last year which resulted in an adverse balance of trade against India exceeding 75 crores. I am unable to accept the view that the sale of reverse drafts has contributed materially to the present fall in exchange; indeed it would be only natural to infer that the sales which in 1920 aggregated £55,000,000 sterling must have tended substantially to check the fall. I can assure my hon. friend that the question of Indian Exchange is a matter of constant watchfulness by myself and the Government of India.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—19TH JULY 1921

Aligarh Disturbances.

On July 19th Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can make any statement regarding disturbances reported to have occurred at Aligarh?

Mr. Montagu: I will circulate in the Official Report the information I have received about these disturbances.

The following is the information:—

I communicated to the Press on 6th July the first details of these occurrences which I received that day. I received on the 14th a further report, which, though issued to the Press that evening, came too late to secure general publication. It appears that the main facts are as follows: On the 5th July a political agitator named Malkhan Singh was on trial at the Magistrate's Court, Aligarh. A crowd composed of townspeople and villagers had collected outside the Court, probably originally intending to make a demonstration. But, excited by agitators and by the rumour that another individual who was seen to enter the Court had been arrested, the crowd endeavoured to rush the Court. This was prevented by the police, who, after two warnings, used their batons. The crowd then moved off, intending to attack the bungalow of the reserve police inspector, which is some distance away. This was frustrated, and meanwhile judgment appears to have been pronounced convicting Malkhan Singh.

Later on a mob attacked and burned certain buildings in the

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Police quarters. One of the buildings attacked was the Treasury, the armed guard on which was compelled to fire. The Magistrate visited the Non-Co-operators' headquarters in the evening, and warned them that any further disturbance would be severely repressed—a warning which had the desired effect. Disturbances had entirely ceased before reinforcements of British and Indian troops arrived from Agra.

It seems quite clear that the attacks in the City were directed mainly against the police. No attacks were made on the house of Europeans. Thirty arrests were made—chiefly rioters caught red-handed in the police headquarters and persons with gunshot wounds. One constable was unfortunately killed and three dangerously wounded. It is not clear from my information whether any rioters were killed, but a number were wounded. The Mahomedan University was not affected, and, so far as is known, no students took part in the disturbances.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—9TH AUGUST 1921

Bonfire of British Cloth

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Sec. of State for India whether a Mr. Gandhi recently organised a bonfire of British-made clothing in Bombay; what was his object; whether a meeting was subsequently held; how many people were present; and who were the speakers?

Mr. Montagu: I gather that a bonfire was made of imported cloth in Bombay on 1st August. I have received as yet no official account of the occurrences.

Viscount Curzon: Can the right hon. Gentleman answer the latter part of the question: whether a meeting was held and who were the speakers?

Mr. Montagu: I have no account except what has appeared in the newspapers.

Viscount Curzon: May we take it that the accounts in the newspapers are substantially correct, and, if so, how are the Ali Brothers carrying out the undertaking given to the Viceroy?

Mr. Speaker: That is a separate question.

Reverse Council Bills

Lieut. Colonel Hurst asked the Sec. of State for India whether he is aware that the loss in the sale of reverse council bills has so far amounted to 35 crores on transactions of 82 and half crores (£55,000,000); why bills to this extent were sold without public competitive tender; whether he is aware that the council rate of pence per rupee exceeded the market rate by several pence and

these greatly enriched persons to whom the council bills were sold. Whether he is aware that Indian importers now refuse to meet bills drawn by Manchester merchants at current rate of exchange and purport to justify such refusal on these grounds; and if he will try to fix the responsibility for these financial errors?

Mr. Montagu: The 35 crores mentioned in the first part of the question represents approximately the difference between the rupee equivalent of the sterling draft sold, taking exchange at 15 rupees to the pound, and rupee receipts from the sales. For the reason given in my reply of the 18th July, the sum cannot be regarded as loss due to the sale of reverse drafts, and it must also be remembered that in the period prior to the sales, remittances from India to England on Government account have been effected at rates of exchange considerably higher than 1s. 4d., these, in fact, ranging up to 2s. 4d. As regards the second and third part of the question, the system of sale was based, as stated in my reply on the 18th July, on the recommendations of the currency committee. During the period of the sales differences between the market rate of exchange and the rate at which the drafts were offered would have enabled allottees of the drafts to dispose of their exchange at a profit. As regards part 4 of the question, I am sending to the hon. and gallant Member a copy of the reply I gave to the hon. Member for Keighley on the 16th March.

Colonel Wedgwood: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the India Office has any statistics showing who made profits by re-selling these bills, and to what extent profits were made?

Mr. Montagu: It is very difficult to ascertain.

Colonel Wedgwood: I suppose it is known to whom the reverse bills were sold in the first instance?

Mr. Montagu: I think so.

Elections

Sir W. Davison asked the Sec. of State for India whether, in the elections to the provincial Councils in India, less than 1,500,000 persons went to the poll in districts having a population of about 240,000,000 and a qualified electorate of about 5,500,000, while in the elections for the Indian Legislative Assembly only 180,000 electors out of approximately 1,000,000 qualified voters actually voted; whether many of the voters who did vote were unable by illiteracy to differentiate between the candidates, many of whom were represented on the polling cards by pictures of goats, elephants, and donkeys; and whether he proposed to take steps to secure more adequate representation on the new council of Indian landowners and merchants in place of the existing preponderance of Indian lawyers?

Mr. Montagu : For accurate figures in regard to the elections, I would refer my hon. Friend to the Return presented to Parliament in April, of which I will send him a copy. As regards the second part of the question, many of the voters were, of course, illiterate, and a system of symbols to assist voters to record their votes correctly was tried successfully in one province. As regards the last part, my information is that landowners (many of whom are also lawyers) as a whole have secured large representation, and that the same observations apply to commercial interests. I would refer my hon. friend in this connection to the recommendation made by the Joint Select Committee on Clause 41 of the Govt. of India Bill, 1919 in regard to a future revision of the franchise. I will send him a marked copy of their Report.

Sir W. Davison : Does the right hon. Gentleman not think that the figures of the recent election in India clearly show that the broad-minded and impartial rule of the British Raj has been replaced by popular Government of an oligarchy which by no means represents the people of India ?

Mr. Montagu : That is a debating point. Of course, if we could get a wholly satisfactory electorate in India, one of the main obstacles to complete self-government would be removed.

Sir C. Yate : Is it not a fact that there is about 45 per cent of lawyers in all these Provincial Councils ?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot endorse that statement off hand, but I would invite my hon. and gallant friend to compare other Legislatures.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—16TH—18th AUGUST 1921

Civil Service (Memorial)

Sir J. Bruton asked the Sec. of State for India what decision has been arrived at by the Govt. of India on the memorial sent to him by the Indian Civil Service Central Association ; and whether he will publish a copy of the comprehensive Resolution on the subject promised by the Govt. of India ?

Mr. Montagu : I regret that the Govt. of India have not found it possible to issue the Resolution so soon as was hoped, but this will be done at the earliest possible moment, and its contents will be made available to the public here. My hon. friend will no doubt appreciate the complexity of the issues involved.

North-Western Frontier Situation

On August 18th Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Sec. of State for India whether he has yet received full reports as to the situation on the North-West Frontier and the causes and the results of the recent fighting there ?



MR. MONTAGU : Owing to the attitude of the Waziristan Tribes towards us during the Afghan War, and the repeated raids which they carried out against the peaceful inhabitants of our frontier districts, in 1919 punitive operations were undertaken in Waziristan. These operations, after some severe fighting, led to the occupation of the country by our forces and the nominal submission of the tribes to the terms imposed upon them by us ; but it could scarcely be expected that independent and warlike tribesmen, occupying a mountainous district roughly half the size of Switzerland, would be subdued and become peaceful cultivators and traders within a short space of time. In such a country it is to be expected that for some time certain sections will prove recalcitrant, refusing to comply with our terms and maintaining hostilities against us, in the hope of tiring us out and inducing us to withdraw and before the terms of submission have been fully complied with. Their intimate knowledge of the intricate country in which they live, and through which our long lines of communication pass, favour such activities on their part. Moreover, there are various influences, such as the activities of Afghan adventurers, at work, instigating hostility and resistance ; and the tribesmen, as a whole, cannot but be influenced by their anticipations regarding the outcome of the negotiations of our Mission now in Kabul.

But in considering the pacification of Waziristan, the problem may conveniently be dealt with under three Tribal headings :—the Tochi Waziris, the Mahsuds, and the Wana Waziris ; remembering that of these the Mahsuds are the most turbulent, and that, therefore, their attitude influences largely the demeanours of the Tribesmen as a whole.

The Tochi Waziris :—As soon as the expedition sent against them in 1919 had reached Datta Khel, the Tochi Waziris tendered their submission. The terms imposed upon them were complied with in part, but on the withdrawal of our force from Datta Khel these Tribesmen failed to complete the payment of the fines levied upon them or to hand in the balance of the rifle demanded. Their action may be attributed to their desire to await the result of the Kabul negotiations, and it is to be expected that raids by the Tochi Waziris will continue until Datta Khel is re-occupied by us, a proposal which is now being considered.

The Mahsuds :—As the result of our past operation in 1919-1920, all the Mahsuds have submitted to our terms except three sections of the tribe. These sections amount to between 2,000—3,000 fighting men out of a total Mahsud strength of 20,000, and, as they live in the more remote valleys, and have not yet received adequate punishment, they continue their raids and attacks upon convoys, though

the fact that we have a brigade in the heart of the Mahsud country within shelling distance of Makin, their most important village, has already had the effect of bringing about an almost entire cessation of raids by Mahsuds in the Zhob and Dera Ismail Khan districts, which in the past were the cause of so much loss to the peaceful inhabitants of these areas.

Attacks by these recalcitrant sections upon our posts have almost invariably been unsuccessful, and their efforts are now chiefly confined to attempts against convoys, which offer greater prospect of success. A convoy moving through a mountainous country with its long line of animal transports is vulnerable and not easy to protect; but it is hoped that this difficulty will be greatly decreased when the road now being built to Ladha is complete, enabling mechanical transport to replace the long convoys of animals.

The Abdullais:—The most truculent of these three recalcitrant sections of the Mahsuds have, since our brigade near Makin shelled that place, sent in to ask for a truce, and there are indications that they too are awaiting events in the hope that something to their benefit may result from the Kabul negotiations. Both the Tochi and Wana Waziris fear the Mahsuds, and, in addition to awaiting the outcome of events at Kabul, are reluctant to make any definite move until they see what our policy towards the Mahsuds is to be.

The Wana Waziris:—These tribesmen submitted to our terms without a punitive expedition being necessary, but owing to the intrigues of Afghan adventurers and recalcitrants amongst their own folk the peace party was over-ruled and operations against them had to be undertaken in December, 1920.

The fines then imposed upon them have been paid up in full, but many rifles yet remain to be handed in, and it is clear that they too are watching events at Kabul. At the same time it should be noted that their country was taken over by us at their own request in 1894 and the bulk of the tribe would be greatly averse to our withdrawal, and consequently they showed little activity against us.

In brief it may be stated that our present disposition in Waziristan gives us a good hold upon the country in general and that as communications improve that hold will become more firm, until in time the recalcitrant minority will see that their guerilla tactics are of no avail. The majority who are peacefully inclined will find employment in increasing numbers as Khassadars and Escorts and on road making, and eventually, it is hoped, the district will become peaceful and prosperous. In no circumstances could such a result be expected immediately after our punitive operations, and under existing conditions the eventual pacification of the country



has undoubtedly been delayed by the uncertainty of our position vis-à-vis Afghanistan and by the activities of Afghan adventurers.

Mr. Gandhi.

Viscount Curzon asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to a declaration made by Gandhi to the effect that he can clearly see the time coming when he must refuse obedience to every single State-made law, even though there may be certainty of bloodshed; whether this statement is equivalent to a declaration of open rebellion; whether the same individual is directly or indirectly responsible for most of the revolutionary disturbances which have taken place in India during the last few years; and, if so, what action he now proposes to take?

Mr. Montagu; I have seen the Press extracts to which the question refers. I would call the Noble Lord's attention to the answer I gave him on 6th April and the 12th July, and also to my answers to the hon. Member for East-bourne (Mr. Gwynne), on the 17th and 24th November last with regard to the last part of the question. I will send the Noble Lord copies of these replies.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—251H OCTOBER 1921.

Moplah Rebellion.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is prepared to make a full statement of the troubles arising from the Moplah rebellion; and whether he is satisfied that steps have been taken to protect the lives and property of His Majesty's subjects in the event of risings in other parts of India?

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can give the House any information regarding the situation in Malabar.

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can state the number of casualties due to revolutionary violence in India during the War; and what is the present state of affairs in the Moplah area?

Mr. Montagu: As the House is, I think, aware, I have already published and am publishing all the information in regard to these disturbances as I receive it by telegram from India. I think, however, that the information should be brought officially before the notice of the House, and to that end I am having prepared and hope to present within the next few days a White Paper containing the essence of the reports I have received. I fear that owing to the inherent difficulties of the countries, we must anticipate that the operations required to put an end to the disturbances may take some little time. I will, of course, keep the

He is informed as to their progress, and propose to supplement the White Paper from time to time as may be necessary.

With regard to the first part of question No. 2, the Govt. in India have the fullest sense of their responsibility for the lives and property of those with whose protection they are charged. I would refer the hon. Baronet to the statement made by the Viceroy in the Council of State on the 3rd September, of which I will send him a copy. As regards the first part of question No. 7, I am not able to supply figures as to the number of persons whose death or injuries may have been attributable to revolutionary violence as distinct from ordinary crime during the period of the War. But information contained in the Report of the Sedition Committee, Command Paper 9190 of 1918, will perhaps partially meet the Noble Lord's purpose. I will send him a marked copy.

Sir J. D. Rees : In the White Paper that the right hon. Gentleman proposes to lay on the Table will he give information regarding the forcible conversion of Hindus to Muhammadanism, as to which information is rather wanting?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot speak from memory. What I propose to publish as a White Paper is a collection of the telegrams I have received. As my hon. Friend knows, there has been a considerable number of forcible conversions.

Colonel Sir C. Yate : Can the right hon. Gentleman state how many troops and armed police are employed in this Moplah area?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot state that. I am not sure whether, on reflection, the right hon. Baronet will think that it would be wise to give the information. All troops that are necessary and for which the Government of Madras has asked have been sent.

Captain Edge : Does the unfortunate rising among the Moplahs not prove the necessity of keeping a firm hand on India and of preventing agitators from this country spreading discontent among the Natives? Has not the time arrived for a seizure of Arms in India?

Mr. Montagu : There never has been any doubt that it is the duty of the Govt. to deal firmly with outbreaks such as the Moplah rebellion.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—1ST NOVEMBER 1921

The Press Act

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India which were the local Governments in India who expressed the opinion, recorded in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Govt. of India to examine the Indian Press Act of 1867, 1908, and



1931, that the retention of the Act of 1910 was desirable in the interests of law and order; for what reason the Govt. of India propose to repeat these Act, and in the case of Seditious documents confiscated by order of the local Government to allow the right of appeal and to put the onus of proof that the document is seditious upon the local government instead of putting the onus of proving that the document is not seditious upon the owner or author; why the prescribed term of imprisonment is to be reduced; and why the Government of India desires to divest itself of the safeguards it now possesses against the spread of sedition just at the present time when sedition is so rife in India?

Mr. Montagu:—I fear I could not give my hon. and gallant friend the information for which he asks within the course of an oral reply. I am having, therefore, a full statement prepared and will circulate it when complete in the OFFICIAL REPORTS.

The following is the statement mentioned:—

All the local Governments (except Madras and Bombay which favoured repeal of the Press Act and the provision of safeguards of another kind) advocated the retention of the Press Act in some form. But as stated in the Committee's report, there was considerable divergence of opinion between them as to the nature of the modification which should be made.

It is not proposed to repeal the Act of 1867, and the repeal of the Act of 1910 is to be accompanied by the re-enactment, with certain modifications, of some of its provisions. One of the provisions to be retained is the power to order the forfeiture of seditious documents, and along with this it is also proposed to retain the right of appeal against such an order to a special bench of the High Court, which is allowed by the Act of 1910. The proposal to place on the Government the onus of proving the seditious character of the documents seized is based on the general principle that the burden of proof lies on the prosecution and on the consideration that documents—the seditious character of which the Government is not in a position to prove—may reasonably and in general be assumed to be documents which do not seriously offend against the law of sedition.

As regards the third part of the question, the offences in respect of which it is proposed to reduce the maximum terms of imprisonment from two years to six months, are not offences against the law of sedition, but breaches of the provisions of the Registration Act of 1867, such as failure to comply with the requirement of declaration of publishers and printers and to display those names on published works. Such offences (which are commonly punished

by fine (and not by imprisonment) would seem to be adequately met by the reduced term of imprisonment as ordered.

As regards the last part of the question, the reasons for the proposals were given at length by the Committee whose views the Government of India have accepted.

Repressive Acts.

Sir C. Yate asked the Prime Minister whether, considering that the Moplah rebels are reported to be out for a general and merciless campaign of murder, looting and forcible conversion, the Government will advise the Government of India not to proceed with their proposed Bill for the immediate repeal of certain repressive Acts that are now on the Indian Statute Book and thus to divest themselves of the powers to repress this or any other rebellion that they now have, especially as the Viceroy has expressed himself as conscious that the need of special powers may again arise in the future?

Mr. Montagu:—I am in correspondence with the Government of India on the matter, and I can make no statement at the present time. I would say, however, that I do not accept my hon. and gallant Friend's statement that the proposed Bill, if passed, would divest the Government of India of their powers to repress rebellion: and that the opinion he attributes to the Viceroy is in fact that of the Government of Behar and Orissa, as shown in paragraph 28 of the Repressive Laws Committee Report.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks:—Having regard to the position of the English people in India, would the right hon. Gentleman arrange that this matter also should be referred to the Joint Select Committee on Indian Affairs, in order that they may consider whether it is desirable, in the interests of this country, that the legislation should be carried out?

Sir J. D. Rees:—Has not a specially appointed Committee recently reported on this matter, and did it not recommend the retention of some of these repressive Acts, or at least of one of them?

Mr. Montagu: I believe that the hon. Baronet is accurate, but I do not see how that affects the question which was put to me. With regard to the supplementary question put by the hon. Baronet the Member for Twickenham (Sir W. Joynson Hicks) about the Joint Committee, I never undertook, when asking Parliament to agree to set up the Committee, that it should assist in the administration of India.



Colonel Wedgwood : Was not this legislation intended to deal with the intelligentsia, and not with the Moplahs ?

Law and Order.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to the Notice of a Motion relating to India standing in the names of the hon. Member for Twickenham and others—"that this House views with grave concern the present state of India, and urges upon his Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to re-establish law and order in that country"—and when he will give a day for its discussion ?

The Leader of the House (Mr. Chamberlain) : As this question relates to the business of the House, my hon. friend will not be surprised if I answer it. I have seen the Notice of Motion, to which, in view of both of the importance of the subject and the number of signatures attached to it, His Majesty's Government have given careful consideration. I should be glad if my hon. friend would be good enough to confer with me before taking further action.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : Would it be convenient for my right hon. friend to see myself and two or three of my friends this afternoon ?

Mr. Chamberlain : Yes ; I am at my hon. Friend's disposal immediately after questions.

(See also p. 80).

Prosecution (Bhagalpur Grant Case.)

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India who were the local officials of Bhagalpur who were responsible for the prosecution of Mr. Grant in the case in which the Court entirely exonerated Mr. Grant, and animadverted upon the unsatisfactory manner in which the case had been investigated by the Bhagalpur authorities ; and what steps have been taken by the Government of India in the matter ?

Major Barnston (Comptroller of the Household) : The Government of Bihar and Orissa rightly took a very serious view of the murder by villagers of Gurkha watchmen engaged by Mr. Grant and instituted these prosecutions. The persons accused of taking part in the assault on the Gurkhas were charged with murder, riot and dacoity ; the Messrs. Grant with organising an unlawful assembly ; and the Gurkhas and the villagers who accompanied them with forming an unlawful assembly. My right hon. Friend has not received a report of the judgment, which, he understands,



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entirely exonerated the Messrs. Grant. The case was one in which a full magisterial inquiry was desirable. My right hon. Friend does not know that the Government of India has taken any action.

Civil Services—New Pension Rules

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks enquired of the Secretary of State about the new rules for the premature retirement of I. C. S. men on proportionate pension.

Mr. Montagu in reply gave the Resolution issued on the 8th November 1921 by the Govt. of India with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—8TH NOVEMBER 1921.

Trade Unions

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether, considering that many of the so-called Trade Unions in India are stated to be little more than strike committees, and in view of the Acts of violence and intimidation which have characterised a large proportion of the disputes in which these committees have been concerned, it is the intention of the Government of India to proceed with legislation for the purpose of giving legal status to Trade Unions in India, and to define the law of agency in such a way that no act could be made the ground of a claim on Trade Union funds unless it was definitely proved that the Governing Body has sanctioned the act; and whether having regard to the difficulty of obtaining definite proof in a country like India, and to the fact that the majority of these loose organisations publish no accounts and assign no functions to their governing body, he will consider the question of the unfairness to the rest of the community of either legalising picketing or of putting these so-called Trade Unions outside the law?

Mr. Montagu: The Government of India are considering the lines on which legislation should be undertaken for the registration and protection of Trade Unions and are consulting local governments with a view to submitting proposals. Pending receipt of actual proposals for the legislation, I feel it would be premature to discuss the tentative conclusions on which the Government of India are consulting local governments.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is the question justified in saying that many of these Trade Unions are little more than "Strike Committees"?

Mr. Montagu: I am not responsible for the wording of the question.



INDIA IN PARLIAMENT

[H. of C.]

Seditious Leaflets (Indian Army)

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India what steps have been taken to put a stop to the circulation of leaflets in India tampering with the loyalty of the Indian Army; how many of the authors and printers of these leaflets have been prosecuted and with what result; and whether any of those who signed these leaflets have been allowed to go free?

Mr. Montagu : This matter has engaged the close attention of the Government of India and local governments. I understand that the only leaflet of this nature that has come to notice has been proscribed under Section 12 of the Press Act. There were no signatures on the leaflet, though a few names are mentioned in it out of a very large number who are reported to have signed the "fatwa," extracts of which the leaflets purported to reproduce. The press at Delhi which printed the leaflet, has been ordered to give security but has failed to do so and has ceased working.

Agitators (Birth-places)

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether Mahommed Ali and Shaukat Ali and the four others who it is reported have been convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment are by birth subjects of British India or of Native States; if the latter, of what States; and what is the birth-place and parentage of Mr. Gandhi?

Mr. Montagu : Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali are by birth subjects of the State of Rampur in the United Provinces. All the other accused are described as residents of places in British India. Mr. Gandhi's father was the Diwan of the State of Porebaur in Kathiawar.

Sir W. Davison : Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the advisability of deporting Gandhi to his Native State, to see whether that Native State can deal with him?

Mr. Speaker : That does not arise out of the question.

Moplah Rebellion.

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Secretary of State for India whether the situation in Malabar shows as yet any sign of improvement or otherwise?

Mr. Montagu : I have not for some days past received any general review of the position. On the 27th October the Government of India reported that the General Officer Commanding the Madras district was satisfied with the situation, but needed more troops, which were being sent, in order to bring the operations to a close as soon as possible. The last received reports cover the four

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last days of October, and indicate that the troops and police are actively engaged in locating and capturing the rebels, who are still offering resistance, whenever they are met. In view of the difficulty of transport in the country and the absence of communications, it is obvious that the complete pacification of the district must take time.

Viscount Curzon: Is the right hon. Gentlemen aware that the communique issued by the District Magistrate on the 4th of November stated that a refugee, with ghastly wounds in the neck, had seen 50 Hindus beheaded and their bodies thrown into a well? Has he no information about this?

Mr. Montagu: I think that it would be more courteous if the Noble Lord had given me notice of a question of detail of that kind. I have stated to the House over and over again that there have been the most shocking atrocities committed by these rebels on loyal Hindu fellow-subjects.

Viscount Curzon: Is not the right hon. Gentleman aware of all the communiques which are published in the Press which are issued by the District Magistrate? Do not all these things come to his notice in the ordinary course?

Mr. Montagu: To the best of my recollection every official telegram containing news on the subject of Malabar received in my office has been published, whether they are communications which have been issued in India or are reported by Reuter by the ordinary cable. There have been several telegrams from both sources reporting atrocities by the Moplahs. I can not say off-hand whether I have seen that particular telegram or whether it was an official communique.

Viscount Curzon: Is not the right hon. Gentleman's information six days old?

Mr. Montagu: No.

Lieut.-Colonel Croft: In view of the violence of the crimes, will the right hon. Gentleman consider the advisability, according to precedent, of offering the Moplahs Dominion Home Rule?

(This was said ironically in view of the grant of Home Rule to Ireland).

The Indian Railway Committee.

Replying to Major Glyn, Mr. Montagu said that he was not yet in a position to make a statement regarding the policy arising from the recommendations of the Indian Railway Committee. He had asked the Government of India for general views and report, and it would be necessary to take the opinion of the Indian Legislature.



He did not think that it would be reasonable to impose a definite time-limit for their consideration, but he was constantly telegraphically communicating with the Government of India on more urgent matters reported on by the Committee, with a view to action as soon as possible.

Purchase of Stores

Major Glyn asked what action the Government of India or the India Office were taking to hasten the orders for machinery, materials, *etc.* required for the Indian Railway and Transport Services, as such could not be at present manufactured in India.

Mr. Montagu replied that orders had been and were being placed up to the limits of the funds allotted for expenditure on the services concerned.

Major Glyn urged the encouragement of orders from India in order to give work to the unemployed in Great Britain.

Mr. Montagu replied that he was very anxious to do everything in his power to develop the resources of India, and if some arrangement for mutual advantage to both countries would be made, he would be only too delighted to do everything in his power to facilitate it. He promised to receive a deputation of workers.

Govt. Printing and Official Secrets.

Major Glyn called attention to the expenditure of the Government of India on printing, and suggested that if the habit of having every document printed were reduced, it would be considerable financial saving, and that the secrecy of official documents might be proportionately respected.

Mr. Montagu, in reply, mentioned the Government of India Secretariat Committee's recommendations for economy, and said that special steps were taken to secure the secrecy of confidential documents. He pointed out that 75 lakhs expenditure on Government Presses in India in the current estimates included the cost of the staff, material and stores, and the estimates of the Govt. India and Provinces were now closely scrutinised by the respective Legislatures.

Major Glyn declared that no documents printed in India could be counted as absolutely secret, and the only way the documents could be kept secret was to have them type-written.

Mr. Montagu replied that he was surprised to hear that.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—9TH NOVEMBER 1921

Government Servants (Gandhi Caps.)

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether Government servants in India have been wearing Gandhi Caps, and

thus openly showing their participation in the disloyal Non-cooperation movement that has been permitted to manifest itself; and, if so, whether steps have been taken to dismiss all such men from Government employ and to instal loyal men in their place, or what has been done in the matter?

Mr. Montagu: I am informed that in Bombay the use of the caps has spread to Government and other offices, this being ascribed in part to the attraction of a novelty and to some extent to intimidation. I observe also from the Press that the Government of the Central Provinces has issued orders that Government servants are not to wear the caps and that this order has been approved by the local Legislative Council. Similar orders appear to have been issued in some Government offices in Bombay.

Lahore Municipal Fire Brigade (Mr. Newland.)

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether Mr. Newland, an ex-soldier and the Superintendent of the Lahore Municipal fire Brigade, was ordered by the Municipal Committee of Lahore to wear Khaddar uniform, that is, uniform made of Gandhi's home-spun cloth, the badge of disloyalty to the British Government, and was compelled to resign his appointment in consequence; and, if so, what steps have been taken by the Government of India in the matter and what provision has been made for Mr. Newland?

Mr. Montagu: The answer to the first part of the question is that Mr. Newland, with the rest of the Municipal Staff, was ordered to wear a uniform of Indian made Khaki home-spun. On the resolution being passed, Mr. Newland tendered his resignation, stating that it was impossible for him to accept the order. His resignation was supplemented by a general complaint of the Committee's neglect of the fire brigade and the inadequacy of his pay. His resignation was accepted. The Government of India understand that Mr. Newland has been re-employed elsewhere on the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioner of the Lahore District.

India (Law & Order)

Sir. W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Lord Privy Seal whether he has now considered the Motion standing on the Papers in the names of the hon. Member for Twickenham and others; and if he can give a day for its discussion—

"That this House views with grave concern the present state of India, and urges upon His Majesty's Govt. to take immediate steps to re-establish law and order in that country."



Mr. Chamberlain : Yes Sir. As I said on Monday last, we have carefully considered the Motion, but it is not possible for me to find a day for the Motion within the limits of the present sittings of the House, and I am bound to say that in the opinion of His Majesty's Govt. the present moment is not opportune for such a discussion.

I understand there is general agreement to bring the business of the House to a close not later than seven o'clock to morrow evening. (Hon. Members :—"No") I have been led to understand that there is general agreement as to the proposal of the Government to bring our business to an end by then. (Hon. Members : "No, no !" and "There is to be another Session of this House !"). I should perhaps add that, even if there were time, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, the moment is not opportune for such a decision.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : May I ask my right hon. Friend if he is aware—I am sure he is—of the grave anxiety felt by many Members of this House in regard to this matter as there has been no Debate on Indian affairs this year, and will he give us an undertaking that the Indian vote, the salary of the Secretary of State for India shall be set down as early as possible next Session so that we may have an early Debate ?

Mr. Chamberlain : Yes Sir. Of course I am reluctant to give such an undertaking in regard to the programme of a Session of Parliament which has not begun. I recognise, however, the full force of what my right hon. Friend has said. Since the salary of the Secretary for India was placed upon the Vote of the House in order that the House might discuss the matter, the House has had no opportunity so to do. I think, however, my hon. Friend has made out a good case for putting the Vote down at an early date, so that the earliest possible opportunity may be given next Session.

Lieut. Colonel Archer Shee : Can the right hon. Gentleman say why this House is never allowed to discuss a question of vast importance like this, whereas in past years the House of Commons has always been given the opportunity of discussing Indian affairs, and especially when there has been a grave state of unrest ?



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HOUSE OF COMMONS—10TH NOVEMBER 1921.

Punjab Rebellion, 1919 (Treatment of Officers.)

Sir C. Yate asked the Prime Minister if the attention of the Government has been drawn to the letter of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the press on the 7th instant, exposing the unfair treatment of officers, civil and military, who took an active part in suppressing the Punjab rebellion of 1919; and in view of the additional facts brought out in that letter, if he can state what steps the Government intend to take to safeguard the future prospects and to prevent the further prosecution of these officers, British and Indian, who have been and are so seriously affected by the orders issued, as shown on page 50 of the Government's Review of India in 1920?

The Prime Minister: I am sorry that I am not in a position to answer this question. I have not had time to go into it. I will circulate an answer in the course of the next 24 hours.

Sir C. Yate: Will the right hon. Gentleman also look into the case of the High Court Judge who was compelled to retire because he did not feel able to meet the man he had sentenced to transportation for life as a Minister of the Province?

HOUSE OF COMMONS—15TH DECEMBER 1921

Moplah Rebellion.

Sir J. D. Rees (by Private Notice) asked the Sec. of State for India whether he has any information to give before the House rises on the situation in Malabar?

Mr. Montagu:—The White Paper issued yesterday contains all the information received up to 6th December. I have received since that date nine other telegrams which are for the most part detailed military reports of the operations. They show continued progress in capturing rebels and reducing the area affected. I will circulate in the Official Report the summary for the work ending 12th December, with other details.

The following is the summary referred to:—

Kachins, Gurkhas, and special Police have all had successful encounters with rebels during last few days, and have killed about 200, besides taking some prisoners and a number of weapons including fire-arms. In Suffolks' engagement, enemy attacked in desperate fashion and 31 were killed; principal leaders, with diminishing number of followers, still remain to be dealt with, but their position is becoming desperate, and there are increasing signs that

Rebellion is collapsing so far at least as active resistance concerned. Fighting gangs penned into hills behind Mannarghat road. From Kattkava to Nilambur road, from Nilambur to Edakkara and south-east of Calicut Taluk surrenders continue, and though number of arms handed in is not very great, there can be no doubt that moral effect is considerable. In another message it is stated that the military authorities are agreed that if existing units are kept fully up to strength, for which arrangements have been made, the number of troops now on the spot is sufficient to deal with those rebels who are still defiant, to prevent the rebellion spreading, and to enable the peaceful element of the population to re-assert themselves. Other messages report that the total Moplah casualties up to the 9th December included 1,826 killed and 1,500 wounded, 5,474 have been captured and voluntary surrenders are 14,241. There are also other applications to surrender which are being dealt with in turn. The figures include surrenders by persons of every degree of complicity from passive sympathy to active fighting, but the gang-leaders and gangs, as such, have not yet surrendered.

Situation in Calcutta (Agitation)

Lieut. Colonel Archer Shee : Can the right hon. Gentleman give the House any information as to the situation in Calcutta ?

Mr. Montagu : I have brought down no further information beyond that which has appeared in the Press.

Colonel Sir C. Yate : Have all the agitators now been arrested, and are they to be tried or interned ?

Mr. W. Thorne : Shot !

Mr. Montagu : I cannot give an answer as to every agitation in India. I think in every case in Calcutta agitators who have been arrested for breaches of the law are being, or have been, tried in the Courts.

Mr. W. Thorne : Will the right hon. Gentleman give the House the definition of an agitator ?

Mr. Speaker : That would take much longer time than we can spare at present.

Sir J. D. Rees : Will Mr. Knapp's report, when received, be made available to Members of this House ?

Mr. Montagu : I think so. It is a public inquiry ; I think the report will be public.



CSL

The Students Enquiry Committee

An important affair in connection with Indian Students in England who labour under the difficulty of getting admission in English educational and technical institutions for training was taken in hand by Mr. Montagu early in 1921 but ended in a fiasco. On May 13th. Mr. Montagu appointed a Committee under Lord Lytton to go into the whole problem of Indian Students and report recommendations. This Committee went on with its work for some months but was scrapped by the Indian Legislative Assembly refusing to vote its cost which amounted to Rs. 2 lakhs (see page 524). Accordingly the work of the Committee was left incomplete. The following correspondence took place between Mr. Montagu and Lord Lytton.

Mr. Montagu's Letter.

Mr. Montagu, writing to Lord Lytton from the India Office on October 4th, after referring to the action of the Assembly refusing to grant the demand, said :—

"When I invited you to accept the Chairmanship of this Committee and you were good enough to accept my invitation, it never occurred to me any more than it would have occurred to you that I should have had any difficulty in providing the necessary funds. My experience during the time that I have been Under-Secretary and Secretary of State at the India Office convinced me that we ought to be able to find some better machinery at once, more adequate and more appreciated to help young Indians to find in this country the educational facilities which are of such importance to them. I had every reason to believe that this view was shared not only by the Indian students but by all Indians who had interested themselves in this matter, and the Legislative Assembly and its predecessor, the Legislative Council. I had further become convinced that it was necessary to secure a greater co-ordination between the machinery in this country and in India and that this could only be done by investigation in both the countries by a Committee which had familiarised itself with opportunities which were offered or could be made available in this country. The terms of reference to your Committee, which I had agreed on with Lord Chelmsford's Government, required the Committee, among other items to report on the constitution and working of the advisory committees in India. This fact and other



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Considerations which I have set out above clearly necessitated a visit to India, and indeed we discussed in Council before the appointment of the Committee whether the work should be inaugurated in India and finished at home (in England) or begun at home (in England) and completed in India. It was decided that the Committee should start its work in this country because, as I have said, it did not seem possible to arrange as to how the educational opportunities in this country could be made available in India until these opportunities had been fully explored and developed, but of course I had always understood that a visit to India would be necessary before the Committee could report. The action of the Legislative Assembly has created a situation which was not anticipated because it was one which would not arise in this country. Investigation of the administration problems by means of Royal Commissions and Committees is the function of the Executive and I do not think that the Parliament, although I have often suggested such enquiries and although it does not always accept their results, has ever failed to vote the funds necessary to defray their expenses or attempted to interfere with the discretion of those investigating the problems as to how they should carry on their work. But until the relations between the executive and the legislature in India have come to approximate more nearly to what they are in this country, and more particularly in the opening session of the new Legislature, difficulties of this kind are almost inevitable. I cannot but think that if the Legislatures had had the experience of the dimensions of the problem which you and I, who have been in such close consultation, possess their decisions would have been different. But however strongly I disagree, I would be the last to complain of the use by the Legislature of the powers which, on my advice, were entrusted to them by the Parliament. This is clearly not the occasion upon which the restoration of the vote should or could have been insisted upon. The work therefore which you and your colleagues had intended to do in India will have to be abandoned for this year. I desire to express to you my apology for any personal inconvenience to which you and your colleagues may have been put by this decision, and my most profound regret that the valuable work upon which you were engaged cannot be completed now. If you should decide to abandon the enquiry at this stage and leave me without the benefit of your views and the evidence which you have already taken, I could not complain, but I hope very much that you will not think it necessary to take such a step. During the last five months you have made a most valuable examination of the questions affecting the interests and well-being of Indians in this country and it would be deplorable if we could not

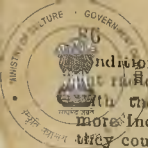
MR. MONTAGU'S LETTER

obtain the advantages of the results of this part of your labours. I am hopeful that if you can see your way to make such a report, the Legislative Assembly will not only see more clearly the reasons why the visit of your Committee to India was, in our opinion, necessary, but that they will be led by the hope that the work can be completed in order that Indians can obtain all the advantages possible of educational and technical facilities of this country. I therefore sincerely hope that you will find it possible, even though your recommendations cannot be complete, to present a report to me which will indicate the provisional conclusions to which you came, the nature and urgency of the problem which you have been studying, the adequacy or otherwise of the existing organisation designed to deal with it, and the suggestions which you had intended to explore further."

Lord Lytton's Reply.

The following is the text of the letter sent by Lord Lytton on October 6th in reply to Mr. Montagu :

It is not within our competence to question the propriety of the decision of the Legislative Assembly, but, while agreeing with you that the decision must be accepted, we cannot but deplore the consequences that must result from it. We feel bound to point out to you that the procedure adopted in our case has been extremely inconvenient. The Committee was appointed early in the year on the understanding that our enquiry was to begin in this country and to conclude in India. Our proceedings have been conducted on that understanding throughout and it was not until the very last moment that we were informed that our programme must be abandoned. If there has been any reason to anticipate a decision of this kind, it would have been more considerate if the opinions of the Assembly had been obtained at an earlier date or even before the Committee was appointed. We do not desire, however, to labour this point and are more concerned to tell you what the consequences will now be. The decision of the Assembly has, of course, made it impossible for us to complete our enquiry. The evidence which we have taken in this country has enabled us to judge the nature and extent of the problem with which we are faced and has led us to form certain tentative conclusions as to the steps which might lead to a satisfactory solution of the problem. But it is essential for the crystallisation of the plans we have in mind that their practicability should be thoroughly investigated with the Universities and other authorities in India and we cannot therefore accept the responsibility for making definite recommendations on the strength of the knowledge necessarily incomplete, because it has been gained only in the United Kingdom. It is evident that neither the Government of India nor the members of the Legislative Assembly are aware of the nature or the urgency of the problem which we have been investigating. Indeed, we were not fully aware of it ourselves until we heard the evidence which has been laid before us. The prevailing opinion in the Assembly, if we may judge from the telegrams cabled by Reuter, seems to be that the solution of the problem which arises in the United Kingdom must be sought here and that our efforts should be confined to the free access of Indians to the British Universities. This opinion ignores the fact which has been made abundantly clear to us that this freer access is dependent upon



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Conditions which are not at present satisfied and which cannot be satisfied without radical changes in India as well as in this country. We began our enquiry with the object of ascertaining what obstacles now exist to the admission of more Indians to the educational institutions in the United Kingdom and how they could be removed. We soon found that University authorities, and still more, Indian students, were far from satisfied with the existing state of affairs and they both asked us to recommend a change which would require a closer co-operation than at present exists not only between the British and Indian Universities but also between the authorities themselves. It is in order to test whether these changes would work successfully that it is necessary to examine them in India. At each University we visited, the complaint has been much the same. The students, we are told, arrive from India with little or no knowledge of the regulations or requirements of the British Universities. They are often ill-equipped for the course of study which they propose to follow, and sometimes with quite inadequate means for their support.

As regards the latter complaint, we were assured by the Chairman of the Distressed Indian Students' Aid Committee, who regards the situation with considerable misapprehension, that the number of cases of genuinely acute distress among the Indian students are at the present time very serious and that in the coming winter the need for help will be severely accentuated.

Difficulties of Admission

University authorities say: "What we require is some organisation which will supply authoritative information to students in India concerning our regulations, select for the limited number of places which we can offer the students best fitted to profit by our teaching, and supply us with reliable information regarding Indians who apply to us, about their character, ability and the value of the academic qualifications which they claim to possess. At present we know little or nothing about them and have no means of obtaining, regarding them, the kind of information which we require in the case of all British students. Unless a more satisfactory machinery can be devised for this purpose we shall be obliged, instead of opening our doors wider, as you wish, us to do, to restrict still further the number of Indians whom we can admit." Students have a different story to tell. They resent, in the first place, the existence of any limitation to their admission to the British Universities and they complain that in many important respects the education available in India is defective and, even where it is adequate, the holders of British Degrees and qualifications are preferred to those whose qualifications have been acquired only in India. This is especially the complaint of those who come to obtain admission to the English Bar. Being compelled, as a condition to success in their careers, to leave India and come to this country for their studies, they expect to find admission to the British Universities an easy matter and are disappointed and hurt whenever their applications are refused or their academic qualifications undervalued.

Difficulties after Admission

Those who succeed in obtaining admission to the University of their choice have other complaints which they brought to our notice. Some found it difficult to make friends and feel themselves excluded on racial grounds from some departments of University life and others experience difficulty in securing suitable lodging and accommodation. Those who are following the engineering and technological course find great difficulty in obtaining practical works' training which is necessary for them.

The Students' Requirements

What the students require, therefore, and which will be intensified in future years when women students come here in large numbers, is an organisation

which will obtain for them admission to British educational institutions before they leave India, which will secure an adequate recognition of their academic qualifications obtained in India, which can help them in any difficulty they may encounter on their arrival and during their stay in this country and which will more especially assist them to gain admission to manufacturing firms for suitable practical training. When we turned to examine the existing organisation and to ascertain how far it was capable of fulfilling the requirements of these clauses, we learnt that hitherto it failed to do what was required and we have been driven to the conclusion that the present attitude of so many students towards the Government would prevent any official organisation being effective. We were informed that the Advisory Committees in India are of little, if any, value. Their existence is unknown to many University authorities in this country and many students do not consult them at all and those who do, obtain only negative advice from them. We are of course unable to say how far this complaint is justified as this was one of the subjects which, in accordance with our terms of reference, we should have investigated in India.

The Indian Students' Department.

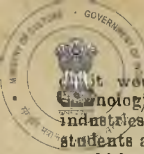
The work of the Indian Students' Department and of the local advisers at the British Universities received more approval from the University authorities, but with many students it finds little favor and they regard the Department with much suspicion, as a Government agency for the supervision of their political activities. They resent the element of guardianship and tutelage which results from the existence of the local advisers at the Universities, and they assert that the Department hindered rather than facilitated their admission to the Universities and that it failed to assist them in getting practical work training. We have, however, been assured by the authorities of every University that they never asked for or received from the Department any information regarding the political opinions of the Indian students and we are satisfied that the suspicion, that the Department exercises any form of political espionage, is without foundation. We are also convinced that if it had not been for the efforts of the Department, the number of Indian students at Oxford and Cambridge at any rate would be less than at the present time. It is obvious, however, that the attitude of many students towards the Department prevents it from being a satisfactory agency for assisting them in their many difficulties, and however much its personnel and activities were improved, this inherent defect for which it is not responsible would remain.

An Unofficial Organisation Desired.

For these reasons, because we consider it is imperative, if possible, to obtain the confidence and co-operation of the students, we have been led to consider the advisability of an unofficial rather than an official organisation. Before forming any final conclusion, we should, had we visited India, have considered how far the existing deficiencies might be remedied by improving the official organisation there, but the evidence we have received up to the present has caused us to believe that the needs of the University authorities and students can only be met by new organisations which would mainly be unofficial in character, and by establishing much closer relationship than at present exists between India and the British Universities.

Reasons for Visit to India.

There are reasons to hope that if requirements of the Universities here could thus be met, they would be more anxious to overcome the obvious difficulties of admitting a large number of Indian students, but the organisation required would, of course, have to start in India, and in some respects the Indian part



THE STUDENTS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE [LONDON]

It would be more important with regard to the engineering and technological students. We think it is insufficiently appreciated that the industries in this country are for the most part so highly developed that the students admitted to them may not always gain the kind of experience that would be of most use to them on their return to India. Advice as to the type of training required, as well as help in obtaining it, is needed, and this would suggest the establishment of a special organisation consisting of men intimately acquainted with industrial conditions both in India and this country. How far a part of the industrial training required could be suitably obtained in India, and how far employment would be available on their return for those who undergo practical training in this country, are also questions needing investigation in India. To obtain representative opinions of Indian parents from whom of course no evidence has yet been heard, to learn the views of returned students who have had the experience of the existing organisation in the past, to discuss with the authorities in India various suggestions that have been made to us and obtain information which would have enabled us to make comprehensive recommendations, were the main objects with which we proposed to visit that country. The action of the Assembly has made this impossible and we shall have to leave our work unfinished. We are, however, firmly convinced that the problem is of such urgency and importance as to require immediate attention and we hope that some means may be found of completing the work which we have had to abandon.

In response to your appeal we shall now prepare for publication the evidence we have taken and submit to you a report setting out in detail the conclusions briefly indicated in this letter towards which we have been led. As, however, our members have now become scattered—two have already sailed for India and two more will be obliged to return at the end of October—the preparation of the report will have to be proceeded by correspondence unless other means can be found. It will therefore be many months before the report can be completed, but it will, we hope, still be possible to prevent time and money spent on the enquiry from being wholly wasted. But the solution of the problem which we had hoped to recommend must in any case be postponed for some time.



India in the Lords 1921

Not many questions are usually asked in the moribund H. of Lords about India. In 1921 the main Indian questions which from time to time were raised in the upper House were about the N.C.O and the Burma reforms. Lords Sydenham and Amptill continued to throw all obstacles in their power to thwart the efforts of the India Office to lick into shape a Reform scheme for Burma which should commend itself at least to a section of the Burmese people, however small.

On April 20th Lord Lytton announced in the House of Lords that in deference to the opinions which had been expressed by members of the House the Government had decided to leave the whole question of the future constitution of Burma in the hands of the Joint Select Committee who will report as they think fit on the various schemes which had been put forward for discussion. Consequently it was not proposed to proceed with the Government of Burma Bill until the Joint Committee had gone into the whole question.

The Under-Secretary expressly stated that it would be within the discretion of the Committee to report in favour of the Home Government's policy, or in favour of the policy suggested by the Government of India, or even to recommend a policy differing from either of these two. They will also be free to consider the desirability or otherwise of separating Burma from India; but as that was not so much a matter of urgency as the other, it had to be left over for the time being.

From remarks which fell from Lord Islington, it became evident that the Joint Committee would have preferred to consider the constitution of Burma apart from any question as to the separation of the province from India. Obviously, the introduction of the latter issue, he said, must seriously complicate the discussions which were about to take place. Strictly speaking, priority had to be given to the consideration of the question whether Burma is or is not to be a part of the Indian system, as the character of her future constitution must necessarily depend in a large degree upon the settlement of this point.

The Joint Committee was undoubtedly placed in a position of some difficulty by the coupling of the two problems at that juncture. Lord Islington intimated that it was very improbable that the Committee would take a course which would involve loss of contact with the Government of India. As he said, it would neces-



fully raise a whole set of serious considerations which require evidence quite outside the ordinary evidence which the Committee would hear in relation to a constitution for Burma as part of the Indian Empire.

Reduction in the Indian Army

The Sydenham gang had an opportunity of exhibiting their malicious spite of Mr. Montagu and Indian political growth on May 4, 1921, when Lord Sydenham called attention to the dire peril in which British rule had been placed in India by the reductions recently decided upon in the Indian Army. His arguments followed his old favourite theme—dangers on the frontier, risks of internal insurrection, the folly of Govt. which pays heed to Indian susceptibilities and so on. In quite a sepulchral tone he declared that the danger to the peace of India, internally and externally, was never so great as then, and drew a horrifying picture of the consequences of Gaudbi's teachings. Lord Chelmsford, who next rose and made his first speech in the Lords since his return from India, twitted Lord Sydenham upon having devoted the greater part of his speech to unrest in India and openly exposed him by saying that that was his main purpose in raising the question and not the Army reduction.

Lord Sydenham paid a tribute to the great services which the Indian army had rendered overseas and said that the situation in India was more threatening than in 1886 when the Indian army was largely increased. He urged in course of a strong protest against the disbandment of cavalry regiments that their value had not been diminished by the experience of the war.

Lord Chelmsford emphasised that the reduction was due to pressing financial reasons and pointed out that the Indian army was annually costing 60·20 crores as compared with 26·11 immediately before the war. He referred to the undesirability of having a military budget which would sterilise civil development. Government's only course had been to reduce the personnel of the army. If Government attempted to organise an army adequate to meet every possible emergency indicated by Lord Sydenham, it would be heading towards bankruptcy. The Imperial Government had not attempted it. He affirmed that free reduction of cavalry was entirely a military question considered by Sir C. Monro and Lord Rawlinson. No reduction of troops for external defence was contemplated. Lord Chelmsford pointed out that the army was much stronger than before the war. It had now machine guns, motor transport and aeroplanes, while tanks were contemplated. He deduced that upon these an infantry company could do the work of a battalion before the war. Lord Rawlinson, whose loyal assistance and consideration of the situation Lord Chelmsford paid a tribute, naturally disagreed with the civilian authorities on this subject. The question however was immaterial, because the establishment of troops in India was inextricably bound up with that of troops in England and British troops could not be reduced without longer notice.

Lord Lytton replying said that the total fighting units in India excluding outside India and Burma for 1921-22 showed reduction of six thousand British and 7500 Indian. Compared with 1914 the reduction of eighteen Indian cavalry regiments had been sanctioned, while infantry battalions remained the same. Lord Lytton like Lord Chelmsford insisted that the unaltered fighting

efficiency of the army in consequence of the latest modern equipment, especially the introduction of armoured cars, was quite true. The Government of India wished to make further reductions to which Lord Rawlinson was not prepared to agree. The Government of India was neither alone nor peculiar in desiring to reduce a heavy military expenditure. He pointed out that the enormous expenditure on armaments during the war had necessarily led to the starvation of every other branch of administration and the bringing to a complete standstill of the commercial, industrial and economic life of the nation. The Government of India was particularly anxious to expend money particularly required today to meet the demand for improved standard of comfort and increased cost of everything and everyone including service men. He agreed with Lord Sydenham that the situation in India had been for a long time an anxious one. The Government of India would have to remove the cause of the existing unrest, if possible concurrently with its suppression. One cause of unrest was undoubtedly the intolerable taxation which was felt even greater in India than in Britain. There was naturally a slight difference of outlook between the Viceroy's civil and military advisers with regard to military expenditure. The former urged that the reduction would make the country more contented, while the other deprecated reduction while unrest existed. Mr. Montagu and his India Office advisers, after studying the opinions of the Government of India and Lord Rawlinson and while most sympathetic with the Government of India's desire to effect greater economies, had decided that the army in India ought to be reduced to a minimum compatible with safety, but consideration of safety and not economy must be the determining factor. The Government had decided to submit the question to the Committee of Imperial Defence which would hear all sides of the question. The Viceroy was appointing an Executive Council Committee to prepare the necessary material. Mr. Montagu had given an assurance that no further reduction would be sanctioned until the Committee had reported.

The debate then closed with the withdrawal of Lord Sydenham's motion. Lord Sydenham had, however, little cause for alarm, for some of the O'Dwyerian die-hards who had influenced the drawing up of the Esher Report were represented on the Committee of Imperial Defence in London, and India with the rest of the British Empire was in their safe keeping.

An interesting specimen of the military mentality in England was given at the annual dinner of the Newspapers Society held on the 11 May, 1921. The toast of "The Imperial Forces" was responded to by the late Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson who frankly confessed that since the War Great Britain had "bitten off more than she could chew" in various parts of the world. But, he said, what they ought to do was to come out of those theatres which did not belong to them before and hang on to those which did, and the 'possessions' which did belong to them, he declared, were Ireland, Egypt and India! These 'possessions' must be maintained at any cost. He then dilated upon the theme how these specifically British possessions could only be maintained by retaining, if not increasing, the British fighting forces and the post-war Army expenditure in those parts of the Empire.



The North-West Frontier

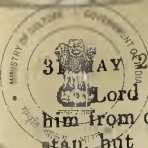
A similar outburst of jingoism was exhibited in the House of Lords on May 31st 1921. Lord Montagu of Beaulieu raised a debate on the question of providing for the better defence of the North-west Frontier of India. His panacea for all 'our' trouble in that quarter seemed to be the occupation of the tribal territories through the employment of largely increased armed forces. In no other way, said he, can we preserve our damaged prestige in our Eastern Empire.

The noble lord drew a very alarming picture of the state of things on the frontier where, he said, a small army had to face numerous and treacherous enemies amongst the tribesmen, backed up by a menacing host of Afghans and untold millions of Bolsheviks! He asked the Government to consider their whole frontier policy. He sketched a programme of "strategical development" which, if carried out (though he did not mention this aspect of the matter), would inflict still heavier burdens upon the taxpayers of India than they have to bear to-day.

Failing the adoption of such measures, Lord Montagu spoke in the most doleful terms of what might possibly happen to "our prestige" in India in the event of our suffering a serious reverse on the frontier. The moral which many people in India would draw from such a catastrophe, he warned the House, would be that "we were not strong enough to go on governing India," and the consequences would be disastrous to 'our prestige.'

Lord Sydenham was the appropriate seconder of this pessimistic rigmarole. He quoted Lord Kitchener as being in favour of the policy of occupying the whole of the tribal territories, and went on to complain about the new doctrine of self-determination and Montagu-reforms which were allowed to stand in the way of the execution of such superior schemes.

Lord Chelmsford pointed out that the tribesmen were more formidable than they were a few years ago because they were now armed with modern guns while the efficiency of Indian troops had decreased owing to the dilution of the Indian Army during the war. Action taken with regard to the Mahsuds had been a salutary warning to other tribes who now understood that if they misbehaved they would be punished in the same way. Recent Anglo-Afghan discussions would have a very salutary effect, as they would let the Afghans know how far we were prepared to go. Lord Chelmsford hoped that we should get something very valuable out of the Dobbs Mission and considered that it would be most unfortunate if anything were said at that time to prejudice it or to create misunderstanding.



Lord Lytton replying said that military reasons debarred him from discussing certain points including the Mission to Afghanistan, but emphasised that the presence of Lord Chelmsford gave a tremendous advantage to the House. Lord Lytton stated that in view of the failure of certain militia corps the covering force in future would consist of regular troops supplemented by levies and militia. It was impossible at present to say how long the occupation of the frontier territory would last or the strength with which it would be continued, but the Government of India was determined not to lose the present opportunity of concluding the best and most enduring settlement devisable with the tribesmen. Military measures being taken were the provision of a sufficiently strong covering force along the frontier and a striking force composed of all suitable arms, and the military authorities were endeavouring to make the best possible use of modern mechanical appliances apart from the air force with which India was well equipped. He drew attention to the question of evolving a type of tank suitable to the country and the provision of armoured cars. A very large amount of mechanical transport had been provided, the policy of increasing motor transport had been continued, and roads were being developed as far as financial considerations allowed. With these resources, he assured Lord Montagu, they had little to fear from the martial tribes of the frontier.

The Nankana Tragedy

The same day Lord Sydenham mentioned the Nankana murder and horrified the House by attributing it to the political agitation amongst the Sikhs which, no doubt, he wanted to be strangled. In reply Lord Lytton gave the true facts of the case and disabused the House of the mischievous suggestion made that the affair had any political significance, and emphasised that Govt. had in no way any concern with the matter except to restore order and to prevent further bloodshed.

The Burma Bill

On June 8th the Burma Reforms Bill came up before the Lords for the second reading. Nobody except the inveterate Lord Sydenham showed any disposition to quarrel with the recommendations of the Joint committee. Lord Sydenham again gave expression to his usual jeremiads against anything savouring of constitutional progress in India or Burma. He declaimed against the Montagu diarchy. Wait, he said, until extremist Ministers are in office with an extremist majority behind them in the council, and then we shall see the beauty of diarchic co-operation in the Govt. ! Lord Lytton, who introduced the Bill, said that Lord Chelmsford and others who



who originally opposed constitutional reforms in Burma had then been converted to the policy of the bill, and that there was no longer any difference of opinion on the subject between the Govt. of India and the Sec. of State. At the end, however, Lord Sydenham withdrew his motion for the rejection of the Bill. The Bill again came before the House on June 28th for the third reading which was passed without opposition. The Bill presented was on the lines of the Govt. of India Act, and the rules as to franchise, transfer of subjects, etc., were left over to be drawn up by a Committee under Sir A. F. Whyte after local investigation.

HOUSE OF LORDS—7TH, JULY 1921

The question of Indian unrest was again raised in the Lords, on July 7th, when Lord Sydenham asked what steps the Govt. of India was taking to protect the lives and property of Europeans and loyal Indians in country districts where, he said, anxiety prevailed. His Lordship, enlarging upon the situation, referred to the extremely dangerous conditions to which the people were exposed and the evil effects of Mr. Gandhi's agitation which were much more dangerous than an open rising which could be suppressed. He then went on making the most absurd statements about the riots that were then rife in India and demanded more repression than what was being adopted by the Govt. in India at that period.

Lord Lytton, after pointing out that it was the elementary duty of every Government to suppress disorder and protect life and property, said he was not prepared to subscribe to the very gloomy picture drawn by the questioner or to agree to the assertion that the only place where Europeans were not insulted in the streets was in the Native Indian States. He proceeded to refer to the rabidly worded messages periodically sent by the "Morning Post's" Calcutta correspondent who had circulated a story absolutely without foundation regarding a mutiny in a Sikh Regiment which was disbanded after eighteen men had been shot. Lord Lytton expressed the opinion that the story had been circulated with the direct object of discrediting the Government of India at the present time. His Lordship next disagreed with Lord Sydenham's description as a non-alarmist body of the European Association which had recently appealed on the subject of danger to life and property. Lord Lytton said he regarded the Association's paid agent and lecturer in Britain as an alarmist source of information. He described the latter's activities in detail including his alleged statement that Civil Service officers were so hampered by the India Office that they could not possibly do their duty and enforce law. That agent had also written to members of Parliament saying that Government

was expecting a rising in Bihar during the current month and that all Englishwomen, unable to leave owing to sickness, would certainly be horribly murdered; Lord Lytton strongly denounced such actions. He contended that it was the duty of nobody to communicate with the Government if they received information tending to the belief that there was a critical situation in India requiring prompt measures. The Viceroy had replied to the Imperial Government's enquiry that the statements were greatly exaggerated and although the situation in May was creating a great deal of anxiety it was now considerably relieved. Moreover, the Government of India did not anticipate a rising. The only ground for the support of that story with regard to Bihar had been found in a statement of an officer of the Bihar Light Horse while addressing his men. The Association's agent had circulated this with his own improvements! The statement owed its origin to the intelligible and greatly to be sympathised with fears of planters of whom the Bihar Light Horse was largely composed. The Viceroy's telegram concluded by saying that the agitation had declined, that bitterness of feeling against Europeans was less evident and that the planters themselves were less apprehensive of trouble. Lord Lytton said he did not want to err on the other side by rebutting Lord Sydenham's gross exaggerations by drawing a fanciful or in any way rosy picture of the state of affairs in India but he condemned that sort of calculated misrepresentation.

Lord Lytton next referred to Mr. Gandhi as a man many of whose followers credited him with supernatural powers, and even divine origin, and it spoke very much for the good sense of Indians and the wisdom and discretion of the authorities that in these circumstances the situation was not very much worse. He declared that despite intense effort the Non-Co-operation movement had hitherto been a conspicuous failure. It had failed lamentably among the educated classes and even the phase of temporary success among young students had passed. He did not deny that there was grave danger in the present phase of campaign by which the movement was harnessing itself to labour disturbances, notably cooly tea planters in Assam. He expressed the opinion that the worst features at present were attempts to boycott individuals and the endeavour to withdraw domestic servants but he disagreed with the view that the recent interviews between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, to which Lord Sydenham referred in the most scathing term, had tended to increase the former's importance and belief in divine origin. The fact that Mr. Gandhi had found it necessary to explain and excuse himself to his followers for his meeting with the Viceroy was evidence to the contrary.



Lord Lytton declared that the Government of India and all Provincial Governments were thoroughly alive to the present dangerous phase of the campaign. Lord Lytton referred to the complete and practically unanimous confidence reposed in Lord Reading when he left Britain for India since when he had done a great deal to enhance his reputation. Lord Lytton touched on the discretion and promptitude of Lord Ronaldshay's Government which had minimised the seriousness of the exodus of coolies from Assam to Eastern Bengal and had also checked the spread of cholera. With regard to Bihar, he said it was only right and due to Lord Sinha to say that the Imperial Government had absolutely complete confidence in the efficiency, courage and wisdom of his administration. Lord Sinha had recently shown all those qualities in a circular issued to officers in his Province setting forth his Government's attitude towards the Non-Co-operation movement. The document lacked nothing in the way of precision and courage. It had immediately evoked the most vigorous protests, criticisms and abuse from the vernacular Press. Lord Sinha was in a most difficult position, said Lord Lytton, though, he assured their Lordships, he might be trusted to deal with it with courage and discretion. Concluding, Lord Lytton asked Lord Sydenham not to be led astray by what in many cases were deliberately exaggerated press accounts of what was occurring in India. He said that the men on the spot, in difficult and anxious circumstances, were entitled to the support of people at home. They had the Imperial Government's full and unabated confidence.

After Lord Sydenham had briefly replied, the matter was dropped. But the full force of the Die-hard opposition was felt some months later, after the news of the Moplah outbreak had reached England, and there was revived a frenzied alarm at the progress of Non-co-operation which was denounced to have roused the Moplahs into fanaticism. On October 25th 1921 Lord Sydenham called attention to this episode in the administration of the Malabar in 1921. The following is a short account of this long debate in the House (the official report of this debate occupies some 65 pages):—

25 OCT. '21]


THE LORDS DEBATE

HOUSE OF LORDS—25TH OCTOBER 1921

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Lord Sydenham in calling attention to the position in India said that since Mr. Montagu took office there had been a long, disastrous series of mistakes leading to the weakening of authority. He declared that the elections in India conclusively demonstrated that India was unfit for the new constitution, the effect of which had been a great increase of organised agitation against British rule. He stated that the Moplah rebellion was organised under the eyes of the Government. The influence and prestige of the administration in India were tending to decline. The great Services, which had made India what she was, were visibly crumbling away and were becoming disheartened and there was nothing in India which could replace them. Lord Sydenham strongly criticised the disbanding of the units of the Indian Army and the reduction of the British Forces.

Lord Curzon declared that when Lord Sydenham suggested the desirability of an early debate Mr. Montagu agreed that it would be most undesirable that the debate should be held at present and urged postponement. Lord Curzon considered that it was unusual, almost unprecedented, that the request for postponement should be ignored when made by the leader of the House. The Viceroy had been assured that complete and unanimous support of the Government would be given in any action he takes. The Viceroy possesses full powers at any time or date to act in the manner he thinks desirable for the maintenance of law and order in India. In these circumstances it would be intolerable that the House should be invited to interfere or debate, even to suggest action to the Viceroy. Lord Curzon dwelt upon the danger of Lord Sydenham's speech being misinterpreted in India. The second consideration was that the report of the House of Lords' debate might exercise the most deleterious influence in India at the beginning of the Prince of Wales' tour. "To-morrow the Prince of Wales leaves England with expectation on our part and his personal desire of adding materially to the great services which he has already rendered by similar tours in other parts of the world. Wherever he has gone, he hitherto has been the herald of good understanding and good-will and the harbinger of peace. In India his wonderful winning personality, his record, his quite uncommon power of speech, wholly apart from his illustrious rank and position, will make a most definite and desirable impression among not only the Princes but the masses of India." The question whether the Prince of Wales should go had been most seriously considered. The decision that the tour be proceeded with was arrived at after the united advice of the Viceroy and his colleagues, who



were prepared to guarantee that every conceivable precaution would be taken and that nothing would be left to chance. Lord Curzon urged the Lords to combine in order to start the tour which was fraught with great possibilities in an atmosphere in which there shall not be a single jarring note. It would be a great pity, almost a crime, if anything were said in the House of Lords that cast any cloud upon the progress of the young Prince in that great Dominion, which, if the tour proceeds with the *eclat* attending the previous journeys, may carry the message of good-will fraught with much blessing to India.

Lord Ampthill drew attention to the discontent of the Indian Civil Servants who had performed magnificent services, and he enquired into the question of proportional pensions for those who had resigned in consequence of the new regime. He complained that the Hindu appeals for protection in Madras had been insufficiently heeded, and asked why it was not possible to check the Mopla rebellion at the outset. Lord Ampthill dwelt upon the case of Mr. Grant in Bihar and Orissa, who, he alleged, was unable to obtain police protection, and asked why Sir Thomas Holland's colleagues, whom he consulted before the munitions decision, had not also resigned, seeing that they were partly responsible.

Lord Middleton asked the Government to give a pledge, firstly, that no action would be taken on certain points pending Parliamentary discussion, secondly, that the Government should not plead that the acceptance of the policy precluded a criticism or reversal as Parliament alone had absolute responsibility for the future of India.

Lords Salisbury and Crew declared that a short postponement of the debate was of no use whatever. The question was whether the Parliament ought to forego the right of criticism at the present juncture or not.

Lord Chelmsford declared that the dominating factor in the Indian situation was race and colour prejudice, an issue which has not an Indian but a world-wide symptom, namely the revolt of the colored race against the ascendancy of the Whites. It might not be unfairly said that we formerly governed India on the basis of the superiority of the British race, which was now challenged in a manner we were unable to ignore. It is only through the Councils on which Englishmen and Indians meet that an understanding would be reached which would ameliorate the present racial feeling. He denied Mr. Montagu's responsibility for the policy of the Indian Government regarding Non-Co-operation which was initiated by himself. It was desirable that Non-Co-operation should be rejected by the Indians themselves, imbued for the first time with responsibility. F

believed that the Mopla rising was one of the greatest blows against Mr. Gandhi, and it undoubtedly had alienated an enormous amount of public support. In conclusion, Lord Chelmsford urged the House to trust to the Viceroy and the Commander-in Chief and to forbear from making their task more difficult by gloomy apprehensions or doubting fears.

Lord Summer urged the repudiation of the munitions case which, if it recurred, would undermine the Government by discrediting British rule.

Lord Meston said that the issue was between strength and patience, not strength and weakness. They still believed that it would be possible to bind India closer by more durable ties to the British Empire than she was to-day. The policy of patience and tolerance was to a large extent already justified by the manner in which the people were co-operating with the Government against the very fire-brands whom otherwise they would have regarded as heroes and martyrs. He appealed to the Government on behalf of the Civil Servants who were squeezed between two mill-stones and required increasing heartening and encouragement.

Lord Lytton emphasised the fact that the Government did not desire to avoid criticism or to refuse the House a full opportunity of discussing the situation in India, explaining that they only wished a postponement of the debate in order to obtain information. He reiterated the assurance that the recommendations of the Joint Committee regarding the retiring Civil Servants had been fully accepted. The delay in issuing the retirement proposals arises from the Government's desire to fix a fair and generous scale of pensions. The Government is issuing immediately a White Paper on the subject of the Mopla rebellion. He stated that Lord Amptill's information regarding the Grant case was inaccurate and misleading. Lord Lytton declared that it was unnecessary to ask for the repudiation of the Calcutta Munition case as it had already been repudiated by the Viceroy who had taken steps to ensure that such a circumstance would never recur. The Committee of Imperial Defence was considering the size of the Army necessary for the internal and external protection of India. When the Government had been informed as to what army was necessary, such forces would be provided. He protested against Lord Sydenham's representation of India as seething with rebellion and sedition and also against the suggestion that the officers of the Indian Service were unable to rely upon the loyal support of the Government. Lord Lytton proceeded to make a long defence of the Administration's policy, at the conclusion of which Lord Amptill withdrew the motion for papers.



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India in Parliament 1922

The attitude of the British people and of Parliament from the beginning of 1922 towards India was one of stubborn hostility. The progress of N.C.O and the boycott of the Prince of Wales had created panic, and all sorts of exaggerated rumours, adroitly manipulated by the O'Dwyer-Sydenham gang of Die-hards, were allowed a free flow in the British Press. This hostility was soon transformed into a dead hatred of Mr. Montagu whose Reform Scheme was taken to be the parent of all evils, and he and his administration came to be looked upon with thorough-going aversion. The cry was raised from all quarters for drastic repression in India and the instant arrest and deportation of Mr. Gandhi. The O'Dwyer-Sydenham party of die-hards began an intense campaign of vilification and misrepresentation of India and Mr. Montagu, and demanded the latter's resignation as a preliminary to the adoption of sterner measures of militarism in India. Their organ, *The Morning Post*, cried outright for the execution of Gandhi. The more moderate section of the British Press, including *The Times*, was however unanimous for the adoption of a policy of a 'strong hand' in India. Nor were responsible ministers of the crown less vocal. Mr. Churchill speaking at the Kenya dinner at the end of January (*see post*) made it quite clear that the cry of equality raised by Indians in Crown Colonies had to be discountenanced and that such colonies were to be exclusively kept a 'White' preserve. This was the first outspoken statement of a responsible minister of the Crown on the status of Indians. A couple of days later Lord Birkenhead, the Lord Chancellor, in the course of a speech in London referred to the 'formidable movement in India' and said that 'it was not inconceivable that we may have once again to prove that the British Empire retains the hard fibre which brought it that Empire'. This was followed by the first public utterance of Mr. Montagu himself. Speaking at the 1920 club on Feb. 9, 1922 on the situation in India, he tried in vain to neutralise the efforts of the imperial jingoes. As to Mr. Churchill's statement, he said that the views expressed by that gentleman was that of the Colonial office alone but the subject had still to come before the whole Cabinet where the conflicting views of the Colonial and the India office on the Indian question had to be harmonised.

Mr. Montagu at the 1920 Club

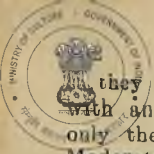
In that speech Mr. Montagu admitted that the situation in India was causing grave anxiety. Amongst a multiplicity of



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cause of unrest, be placed in the forefront the prolongation of war between Turkey and Greece and pointed out that a large number of riots had been of Mahomedan character. In addition to economic causes, events in Ireland, Germany, Russia and Egypt were bound to have repercussions in India. Bolshevism, declared Mr. Montagu, had done its utmost to instil poison into India; but it had been unsuccessful in getting an appreciable extent across the frontier, because the soil of India was almost as uncongenial to the growth and horrors of Bolshevism as the soil of Great Britain. Mr. Montagu contested the assertion of his detractors that it was impossible to introduce democratic institutions into India and declared that it was out of question to tell India that Britain was now going to withhold what she had taught her to expect for 50 years. If the ideal of making federated India a partner in the Empire failed, the world would be the poorer, but if it succeeded it would be the finest of the great works for humanity which Great Britain had accomplished. Mr. Montagu emphasised that the policy of Govt. towards India remained as laid down in August 1917 and subsequently ratified by Parliament and proclaimed in India, namely, to do its best despite obvious difficulties and obstacles, as surely and quickly as it could, but not more quickly than circumstances demanded, and to lead India stage by stage and step by step to some form of Self-government and partnership within the British Empire. Referring to the necessity of a sincere policy, such as in the matter of the status of Indians abroad, where much equivocation prevailed, Mr. Montagu emphasised that they must show India that progress, if slow, was not due to the faltering determination on the part of Great Britain, but because it must take time to overcome obstacles. He urged that Britain as the trustee of the destinies of India had to set her hand to the difficult task which must be pursued with consistency. The Government of India Act was the first instalment which had got to be tried and justified before the next instalment was offered. Similarly, with the indianising of the Civil Service, if it were proved that the great tradition of the Service could successfully be carried on by Indians, he did not doubt that Parliament would be willing to entrust the Service to India. But mere demand or bullying and libelling of Indian Public Servants would not bring that time nearer by a single day. Mr. Montagu paid the most glowing tribute to the loyal and devoted work of the Indian Civil Service and promised his protection and support in the work it was still called upon to perform. He concluded by urging that progress was made by evolution not revolution, and there was no remedy for disturbers of peace of India but rigorous enforcement of law and protection of law-abiding citizens. He maintained that



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they were determined that the Govt. of India should grapple with anarchy and intimidation, such policy was not repression but only the ordinary duty of Government. He would say to the Moderates in India that one lesson of Self-government must be that those who wanted Government were prepared to say that the force which they challenged must be the ultimate weapon of every Government, whether alien or indigenous. It was no use to demand Self-government and at the same time shrink from supporting Government which gave protection.

The Opening of Parliament

All this platitude was, however, of little avail, for his audience did not swallow his high talk of partnership in the commonwealth and all that rhetorical effusion. At the end of the speech he was heckled by questions as to why Gandhi had not been arrested, and taunted with remarks that he was the friend of that 'arch agitator.' His real trial came a week later, on February 14th. 1922, in the House of Commons, when a motion of censure on him was brought in by the leader of the die-hards in the Commons (see p. 105) and it was only saved from being carried by the skilful manipulation of the party votes. They were soon able to unseat Mr. Montagu who was summarily dismissed by the Premier (Mr. Lloyd George) early in March, 1922, and his place given to Viscount Peel, a staunch Tory, whose ignorance of India is as profound as is his reputation as a reactionary. The circumstances attending his dismissal is given fully in the following pages (Pp. 137-74).

Parliament opened on February 7th. 1922. In the King's opening speech there was no reference to India. Moving the address in the House Captain Douglas Hacking said in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit, that the Prince had won the hearts of the Indian people and that his Indian tour could be described as nothing less than a triumph. Captain Evans seconding the address also referred to the Prince's Indian tour in glowing terms and described the event as of Imperial and even wider importance. Others, however, were not so optimistic and openly expressed their great anxiety and chagrin at the turn of events in India.

General Page Croft said they had to consider not only whether Egypt and India were paying propositions but what was their duty to civilisation. The more we allowed rebellion, he said, to gain hold in India the harder would be our task. There was far greater peril in India than there had ever been in Ireland and the sooner conferences between the Government and Mr. Gandhi ceased the more likely would peace be restored.



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Mr. John Ward said the cause of the Indian Secretary's trouble was that he was trying to graft things that were the mental outfit of the British on an oriental country like India.

Lord Curzon on India.

It was, however, in the House of Lords that the most straightforward statement of policy was made about India. On Feb. 7th Lord Curzon, in the course of a lengthy speech reviewing the state of affairs in the whole Empire, made it plain that the real Imperial policy in Egypt and India was one of blood and iron against national aspirations. If there be unrest, it should be ruthlessly put down. If volunteers organised public opinion, they should be ruthlessly broken up. If newspapers proved plainspoken and inconvenient, they should be muzzled, and 'that great dependency', meaning India, was always to be the concern of Britishers alone. The following is a summary of his statement on India :—

He described the situation in India as anxious and menacing. He attributed the ferment in India with its recent explosions to the reflex influence of the war which was expressed in India, as in western countries, in increased prices, stifled trade, high taxation, and also to some extent to persistence of embittered memories of the events of 1919, and partly perhaps to Islamic agitation which was being pursued in India not exclusively, not even mainly on its own merits, but often on seditious grounds, and it was due to that feeling, spreading everywhere throughout the Eastern world and being enormously exaggerated by the preachings during the war, that the feeling for Self-determination, Self-Government or whatever phrase they liked to employ was surging in the minds of all Eastern peoples.

His Majesty's Government, in respect to Self-Government for India, felt that they meant to go as far as they reasonably and safely could, on the lines indicated in the proposals of 1917. They could not allow this policy to be defeated by the clamour of agitation or revolution. There was no intention on the part of the Government of India or the Government in Britain of being intimidated in the prosecution of their task. A systematic terrorism of loyal citizens in India, formation and drilling of volunteers in opposition to Government, and preaching and practice of disobedience to law could not be tolerated. If organisations existed for the promotion of these things, they must be suppressed. If individuals preached those mischievous doctrines, as they were doing, they must be prosecuted. Lord Curzon declared that if newspapers spread, as they were spreading, this peculiarly dangerous form of poison, they must be disallowed. The time had certainly arrived, and it ought never to be absent, when while making concessions to popular feeling, respect for law must be enforced. Those briefly were the general conditions in India, and represented the view taken of them by His Majesty's Government with regard to that great Dependency.

Lord Islington severely criticised the Government's record for the past three years. He declared that the difficulties throughout the whole of their Eastern possessions were due to the failure of the Government to make peace with Turkey with the result that the whole Moslem community throughout the world was becoming increasingly disturbed and alienated from Britain. It was the chief weapon of the arch-agitator Gandhi. Moslem unrest in India was directly attributable to it. Lord Islington asked why Gandhi was not arrested when thousands of his followers were imprisoned. It was temporising with a



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man of influence. Mr. Gandhi definitely preached anarchy and removal of all associations with the British in India. It appeared to him to be an abrogation of the fundamental duties of a Government to let him remain free.

The amendment to the address moved by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks on the 14th February 1922 in the Commons was a motion of censure on Mr. Montagu. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the chief purveyor of materials with which a case against the India Office was strung up. "You have broken the heart of the Civil Service", cried Sir Hicks to the accompaniment of indignantly prolonged cheers, and in this performance he was supported by Mr. Rupert Gwynne who had, since the Dyer controversy, been carrying on a personal vendetta against Mr. Montagu. Mr. Montagu made a poor reply and the support of his chief, the Premier, was but lukewarm.

The Labour Party, whose spokesmen would have given some expression to the views of India, were very badly treated. Not one of their men got an opportunity of taking part in the debate. Colonel Wedgwood was in attendance throughout and tried several times to catch the Speaker's eye but without success. As a protest the Labour Party withdrew from both the debate and the division.

After the Joynson-Hicks amendment was defeated the Kenya question was taken up, especially Mr. Churchill's Kenya Dinner speech and Mr. Montagu's repudiation of the same. Colonel Wedgwood, wanted to know whether Mr. Churchill had consulted the delegation from the Kenya Indians or only Lord Delamere and the European delegation, and why the resolution of equal rights passed at the Premiers' Conference was to be ignored in East Africa?

In his reply Mr. Churchill stated that the negotiations conducted locally had failed to reveal any common ground for settlement between the European and Indian communities. Then he went on to give another of his characteristic "inexactitudes" by saying that he had not consulted either of the delegations when, in the very next breath, he admitted that Lord Delamere and his friends had interviewed him at the Colonial Office. He next wriggled out of the Imperial Conference resolution by saying that its application must in each case "depend upon the local circumstances".

In reply to further questions the Colonial Secretary admitted that he made his Kenya speech without the India Office being aware beforehand of its purport, and also that the matter had not been specifically before the Cabinet.

The new Tory regime in the India Office began in March last after Mr. Montagu's forced resignation, but the final betrayal of India came later, in August last, when the Premier Mr. Lloyd George delivered his notorious 'steel frame' speech (see p. 208xxv).



The Amendment to the King's Address Motion of Censure on Mr. Montagu

HOUSE OF COMMONS—14TH FEBRUARY 1922.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks (Twickenham, C. U.) moved, as an amendment, to add the following words:—"And desire to express our view that the present position of unrest and lawlessness leading to constant breaches of the peace in India is the direct result of the administration of the Secretary of State during the last three years, and trust, your Gracious Majesty's Government will take immediate steps to restore law and order, and to establish the security of life and property in that country." He said he did not disguise the fact that the motion was in effect a censure of the Secretary of State in India for his actions during the last three years. The right hon. gentleman had used his position as a Liberal Minister in a Coalition Government to govern India in accordance with Liberal and Home Rule ideas. Many members felt that that was not a fair position for a Minister in a Coalition Government to take up. Not merely by legislation, but by administration, the right hon. gentleman had pursued a line of conduct which was not in accordance with the views of a considerable number of Conservatives in that House (cheers), and of Conservatives, he believed, universally, outside the House. The right hon. gentleman held that a Government, though bad, if free, was better than a Government, though good, if autocratic. He himself held that in a country like India it was far more important to have good Government, though autocratic. His charge was not that the right hon. gentleman had brought in reforms—they had been accepted, though many did not like them—but that since these reforms he had by his conduct encouraged the extreme party in India (cheers), and failed to take the steps or to request the Government of India to take the steps that should have been taken to maintain law and order.

The Prince of Wales's great personal popularity had carried him through India with the same rejoicing as he met with everywhere, but we now know what had taken place behind those rejoicings. In Bombay when he arrived, there was an orgy of rioting for four days, 58 persons being killed and 381 seriously injured. Remark-
ing that the *Times* had been a strong supporter of the Indian



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forms, he quoted a message from its correspondent, saying that it was useless to pretend that the situation in India was not most serious, and that it became daily more difficult to find any one who believed in an ultimate solution without what was euphemistically known as trouble. Lajpat Rai who was permitted not long ago to return to India, was the man who in America was the head and forefront of the German Indian propaganda. He received money from Germany to spend in America, in order to create disturbances in India. Persons like him seemed to pot in and out of prison like jacks in boxes according as the Secretary for India thought a little more clemency was desirable for these people who were disturbers of the peace in India. He did not believe that this country understood the position to which India had arrived during the Government of the right hon. gentleman. Gandhi was a friend of the right hon. gentleman, who had told the House that he was proud of his friendship.

The hon. gentleman went on to quote from statements by Sir William Vincent and Sir Harcourt Butler, Governor of the United Provinces, to show the dangerous condition of affairs in India at the present time. The right hon. gentleman, he said, was responsible for that state of affairs. If the House of Commons allowed that position to go on after that day, they would take over from the right hon. gentleman the responsibility for it. To placate your enemies was regarded as a sign of weakness in India, and attempts to do so had merely led to a fresh campaign. There was no agitation in the Native States, where they knew how to deal with agitators. The form of Government India had for over 2,000 years was the form the people understood, and in the Native States the right hon. gentleman had not been able to stir up discontent. When the attempt to seduce our troops began in 1919, two agitators were prosecuted, and the trial took place in gaol, presumably for fear of demonstrations. Gandhi and the Ali brothers outside the gaol repeated the language for which their dupes had been arrested and challenged the Government to arrest them. They were left alone, but the men in gaol were not friends of the right hon. gentleman.

He suggested that there had been a criminal betrayal of every white man and white woman in India all through 1919, 1920 and 1921. At least 1,000 people had been killed in India during the last two years in riots and rebellion, and the right hon. gentleman could have avoided a great deal of that if it had not been for his mistaken idea of "letting the thing run." (Hear hear.) We had sent our Army into India; we had sent our young men; we had sent the finest Civil Service the world had ever seen (Cheers).

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The right hon. gentleman had broken the heart of the Civil Service. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) Sir William Vincent was authority for the statement that, at the last examination for candidates held in England, there were only three Englishmen who passed out of 86: the candidates were nearly all Indians. Men who were in the Indian Civil Service would not send their sons into it; they would not be Indianised by the right hon. gentleman. (Cheers) A prominent official had written: "It is rather heartbreaking to see the work of the I.C.S., all turning to ashes." He could not say anything worse of the right hon. gentleman's administration than his treatment of the Indian Civil Service, which had stood for British prestige and for the rights of the under-dog in India—for the rights of the 300,000,000 illiterate men in India and not for the 1,500,000 agitators. (Cheers) The hon. gentleman had sided with the agitators. (Renewed cheers.) It was not too late now, if the right hon. gentleman would move quickly. (Cries of "Move away.") He was assuming that the right hon. gentleman would retain his position. (Cries of "No, no.") Great Britain was still proud of India; proud of the civilisation which had been given to that great country, which was still regarded as "the brightest jewel in the British Crown." (Cheers.)

Another Tory outburst

Mr. Gwynne (Eastbourne, C. U.), in seconding, said that during the last three years there had been more deaths, bloodshed, disturbances and destruction of property than in 60 years under the old policy. No doubt the right hon. gentleman would say, as he had said time after time in this House, that he left matters to the Government of India and to the local Governments, but he had repeatedly interfered with those Governments, and his first act after assuming office was to give instructions that the persons imprisoned for having stirred up disorder in India should be released. Even if the right hon. gentleman's statement were accepted, he was responsible to this House. (Cheers.) His method of trying to cast the blame on to others was not English. The right hon. gentleman held office by reason of the fact that his immediate predecessor (Mr. A. Chamberlain) resigned because not he, but some of those under him, had caused an unfortunate muddle in India. The appalling muddles which there had been during Mr. Montagu's tenure of office would have caused any ordinary individual to have resigned, but the right hon. gentleman preferred breaking the soldier, sacking the civilian or doing anything in order to save his own skin (Cheers.) Within a week or 10 days after the order had been made to remove Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab, the right hon. gentleman paid a tribute

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Mr. Gandhi as a man of the highest motives and the finest character who had deserved well of his country.

The agitation had not died out, on the contrary, the Mopla rebellion had taken place and there had been 4,000 or 5,000 deaths, hundreds if not thousands of women had been outraged and property had been damaged, because the right hon. gentleman would not act. Did he realise that he was responsible for the loss of those lives? In the Punjab, the death roll was less than 500 and the rising was over in two weeks. General Dyer stopped the rebellion, but the right hon. gentleman referred to the talk about dreadfulness as deplorable and as terrorism, although he was a member of the Government who started reprisals in Ireland. After the 1919 rebellion in India more than 1,000 persons who had been convicted were released, including 88 men who had been sentenced to death.

It was not only the Army, it was every service in India which had been absolutely disheartened and disgusted by the treatment which they had received from the right hon. gentleman. He was driving out from India every Englishman of the right type, and making it impossible for them to go out there. (Cheers.) While he remained in the background, he was working underground. The right hon gentleman's methods were those of mole—he went on burrowing, and one did not notice for a long time the destruction he was making. He had undermined the whole of our work there during the last 100 years. (Cheers, and cries of "No!") He (Mr. Gwynne) once asked a gardener what was the use of moles, and said he supposed it was the skin. The gardener said: "Oh! no, the skin is too thin." That was not one of Mr. Montagu's characteristics. His skin was not thin, no hippopotamus's skin could be thicker. The right hon. gentleman's continued occupancy of the office he held was a grave peril to this country, (Cheers.) Over 90 members of the House had signed a petition to the Prime minister stating that the right hon. gentleman had lost the confidence of the country. The right hon. gentleman had consistently adopted a policy of pandering to the extremists. If they were to restore order in India the right hon. gentleman was not the man to do it. He assured the right hon. gentleman that there were a great many supporters of the Government who did not look on him as one of the indispensables. It was a disgrace to the Government of this country that anyone who had made such blunders as the right hon. gentlemen should remain in office as Secretary of State. (Cheers.)



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Mr. Montagu's Reply

Mr. Montagu, in his reply, expressed surprise that in a discussion on Indian affairs, suggested by Sir D. Maclean, the spokesman of the front Opposition bench should have been Sir W. Joynson-Hicks and Mr. Gwynne. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks had mentioned the statement he made sometime ago that Mr. Gandhi had been and was a friend of his (Mr. Montagu's). No sooner did he become convinced that Mr. Gandhi was dangerous to the Indian Empire, than, in answer to a question in the House, he explained that any friendship which had existed must cease. The hon. baronet had said that the Secretary of State was responsible for everything, that it was the direct result of his administration that India to-day was, as he frankly and freely admitted, causing the gravest anxiety. Part of this accusation was based on policy ultimately accepted by the House. But there were some causes of the present condition of India which could not be affected by whoever happened to be Secretary for India. There had been a steady growth in India of—he would not say race antagonism,—but race consciousness. It received a great inspiration during the war. Whilst he thought this great controversy had been the cause of considerable unrest, he did not think it was something which the House ought to lament. It would add to the strength and vigor of the Indian peoples. If it was used by India for co operation in the preservation of the Indian Empire, he believed any present difficulty arising from it would disappear. The next great cause of trouble in India for which his presence as Secretary of State could not be held responsible was the economic situation of the world. India was highly taxed, and prices were very high and the population was very poor. There was only one cure, and that was in the development of the industrial and agricultural resources of India in order that the people might become richer.

Indians and Turkey

Our rupture with Turkey, the Treaty of Sevres, and the continued hostilities between Greece and Turkey were also profoundly affecting the peace of India. The Government had never failed to represent the views of Indians on this subject, but he could not claim that the Indians should dictate to us the peace with Turkey. What he asked the House was to remember that it was largely by the efforts of Indian troops that Turkey was conquered, and that

that were entitled to every consideration in the ultimate peace. Launching could give a greater immediate contribution to peace in India than complete agreement between the Allies which would lead to peace and good relations between Greece and Turkey. There were feelings which resulted from the events of the Punjab in 1919 following the outbreak there. He felt absolutely convinced that the best contribution they could make to peace in India was not to discuss the matter. He did not think that they could do better than follow the suggestion made by the Duke of Connaught, who had rendered great service to the Indian Empire—never more than by the sympathetic and eloquent speeches he made last winter—and on both sides try to forget.

Coming to the unrest caused by the general disturbance of the world, the right hon. gentleman said that ever since the Government of Russia fell into the hands of those who were exponents of the ruin-producing doctrines of Bolshevism, India had been the object of their propaganda in the jargon of those who sympathised with them as a means of striking at the capitalistic countries of the world. India was not a fertile soil for Bolshevist doctrine, but nevertheless he was afraid Bolshevist doctrine had contributed something to the unrest, and he wished to pay a tribute to the splendid organisation which had been built up against that menace, and for confining the subterranean devices which had been employed. The best evidence he could give of the success of that organisation was that Bolsheviks themselves had rendered a tribute to its efficiency by recalling some of their agents because of their lack of success. Another cause of unrest in India was the beginning of the industrial development of the country and the development of a considerable population engaged in industrial labor. There were genuine causes of labor unrest, and the only remedy they could seek was a better industrial organisation, not necessarily on British lines, under which they would get more harmonious working between employers and employed. There had also been agrarian troubles as there always had been in India, particularly when prices were high.

Dissatisfaction with the Reforms

There were those in India who were dissatisfied with the Government of India Act. All he would say about that at the moment was that in the circumstances in which the experiment was launched, there was every reason to believe it was working well and that there was good hope of peace. When they considered the fundamental alterations made by the Government of India Act he did not think they ought to pass a judgment upon its working in one

show year. Indians were feeling acutely the difficult problems of their position in the Crown Colonies. He had to approach that question from an Indian point of view and try to be just to various considerations which were represented by the Colonial Secretary. (Cheers.) This matter was under discussion with a view to decision by the Government, and he hoped in the interests of the peace of the Empire satisfactory solution would be arrived at.

He accepted full responsibility for the maintenance of order in India, and he would tell the House how he had discharged that responsibility. It was no use telling Mr. Gwynne because not for the first time he had stated that he did not believe what he (Mr. Montagu) said. He could not hope to convert or convince an hon. member who for no shadow of reason had made that accusation against him ever since he had entered the House. (Hear, hear.) He had come to the conclusion that they could not maintain law and order in India from London. There had never been any doubt since he became Secretary of State that the Governments in India recognised their prime and essential responsibility for maintaining order. When he was satisfied of that he must leave to the Indian Governments the steps which were necessary to ensure that order was preserved. The Governments in India were dealing with these things in the way which seemed best to them. (Cheers.)

He had every reason to believe that they were worthy of the confidence reposed in them by his Majesty's Government, and that through them they would win through in India to happier times. (Cheers.) They could work these things in a one-sided way, and it was wrong and based upon a wholly erroneous conception to think that the Indian local Governments had been too slow. If they differed from Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, he begged him to remember that they had long experience, and were just as patriotic as he was. Indian Government was not so simple. When a question affected the whole of India, the Government of India was bound to take into account events, not merely in the provinces, but in the whole of India. There was no such mischievous rumour in the world as that they had made an exception of Gandhi and were interfering to protect him. When that mischievous rumour was first circulated months ago, His Majesty's Government told the Government of India that if, as appeared inevitable, Mr. Gandhi's arrest became necessary, they would, of course, have the whole-hearted support of his Majesty's Government. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gandhi's Changed Attitude

I want to say more than this, continued Mr. Montagu. As I understand it, the reason which animated the Government of India



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was this. Mr. Gandhi began with certain activities, which necessarily will stigmatise, for the promotion of temperance and for social reform, and has gradually started into one of the maddest political campaigns, step after step, and stage after stage, in each one of which he has failed, and been repudiated by the good sense of India. It is not a sin to think you are going to get Home Rule by spinning a cobweb, and it is not a sin to think you are going to get Home Rule by spinning a cobweb, and it is not a sin to think you are going to get Home Rule by stopping your practice as a Barrister. What happened was that at each stage Mr. Gandhi failed in his promises, and became discredited—I am not talking about the man, but about his objectives and methods which became discredited by thinking people. Now he has embarked on things which are dangerous in his anarchical mood; the Government of India are entitled to call upon the support of every well-thinking and loyal Indian in the measures that it may be necessary to take.

A few days ago I learned from the Government of India that they had issued orders for Mr. Gandhi's arrest. (Cheers.) Then came a dramatic change in the situation, of which I have only learned to-day. I gather that Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues have decided not to pursue civil disobedience, illegal activities, or to court arrest or imprisonment, or to picketing or voluntary processions, or public meetings. In view of this development, the Government of India have told me that they have postponed proceedings with a view to ascertaining how far these decisions mean a complete cessation of all illegal and dangerous activities, and I am sure the House will agree that his arrest will be essential if anything short of this is involved by the decision. (Cheers.)

The Protection of Civil Servants

Now I come to another suggestion made from the Opposition benches, which is that our officers cannot do their work in India because they are not assured of the support of His Majesty's Government and the Government for which they work. I admit that this feeling exists and nobody deplores it more than I do. I really think it is founded on a misapprehension, and very largely on misrepresentation. The position of officers in India has been made extremely difficult by the passage of the Reform Bill. That is why we accepted a recommendation of the Joint Committee in favor of the scheme of proportional pension. The Joint Committee of Parliament recommended that Civil Servants should be allowed to retire on proportional pensions. That recommendation has been accepted. We were very desirous of meeting the objections which have been raised, and the imperfections which exist are under con-

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signature. The scheme of reform has made their position difficult. There has been a transfer of certain responsibilities. There is also very great financial stringency and hardship which India in its present financial position is powerless to remedy. I can assure the House that the officers have been protected and supported not only by the local Governments, but by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. Whenever the Secretary of State in Council has had reported to him conspicuous service in exceptional circumstances by much valued officers, he has never failed to express his appreciation. It is obvious that we owe it to the Service to reward their loyalty, and it is common knowledge that the Service of India has helped to work the reforms and make them a success with a loyalty traditional to that Service. We owe it to them, and we intend to discharge our obligation to protect them in the discharge of the duties with which they are entrusted, and to do everything in their support. That does not mean that whenever a public servant in India does anything which we may think is prejudicial to the interests of India we are to be debarred from expressing any adverse opinions. If it were the rule that every officer should do as he liked, and it was wrong for the Service to express an opinion, there would not be a Government of India, but the Government of India would pass into the hands of individual officers. It is because on occasion censure has been expressed that there has been a deliberate attempt to get the Service in India to believe that they are not being supported by the Government, and I assure the House there is no foundation for that belief.

I read a speech reported in the papers this morning. Sir William Vincent is the Home Member of the Government of India, and his speech has twice been quoted. I want to tell the House that it was at my suggestion that Sir William Vincent pointed out the prejudicial effects upon the Service which continual abuse has with regard to recruiting. I am not surprised at what he has said on that subject. It is quite true there were only three successful English candidates, but what the House must remember is that under the exceptional methods of recruiting we adopted we have got by selection 114 admirable candidates, and there is no reason to believe that by various kinds of methods there are not coming forward a sufficient number of recruits for the Indian Service. If there are not, the question of recruiting for the indispensable Indian Service will engage our most earnest attention.

The Government's Policy.

I want to say, if I may, one word on policy. The hon. member for Eastbourne (Mr. Gwynne) said our policy was unauthor-

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DECLARATION OF AUGUST 24, 1917
DECLARATION OF AUGUST 24, 1917, was drafted by the Cabinet and made on the authority of the Cabinet. I really did not invent that policy. Sometimes it is attributed to my right hon. friend the Lord Privy Seal. I cannot give claim of parentage to him. It is a policy that has been developed from the days of Mr. Macaulay, and is the result of a century of British politics. I want to mention this because I want to say something to India. Our policy is the maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire, coupled with the grant of opportunity of development for full Self-Government within that Empire. I think I ought to say something about the conditions of that policy, because I do not think it is at present sufficiently understood by the Legislatures of India. His Majesty's Government announced the policy in 1917, and it was ultimately enforced by Parliament by the passage of the Government of India Act.

Future Steps.

I do not think there will ever be any question of going back on that policy, but I want to explain that, in my view, while there may be every reason for suggesting that Parliament was right, Parliament would not be justified at the present time in thinking of extending the scope of that policy. (Hear, hear.) It is true that when the Act was passed, it was intended to be a transition and that it was described as a first step towards further instalments of Self-Government; but it was made plain at the time, and I want to make plain now, that those further steps would depend upon Parliament becoming satisfied with the use made of the first instalment. (Hear, hear.) That was to be the criterion. Upon the Indians themselves depended the view which Parliament would take of future steps.

It was our view and our desire, and it is still, that if the matter went well eventually further steps should be taken, but it was the determination of Parliament that if the matter did not go well, no further steps should be taken. I ask for no judgment at this stage, but I think I do right in expressing my belief to Indians who are working these reforms and other Indians who are not that. I believe that, so far as this House is concerned, that criterion will not be departed from. To win their way to Self-Government, under the supreme and continuing authority of the King-Emperor, they must show not merely individually, but collectively, a readiness for what is involved in Self-Government, matters which were mentioned in this House at the time of the passage of the Act, the creation and education of electorates in political affairs, the safeguarding and toleration of opposing views, the protection

of the rights of minorities, and for the taking of the risks which are inherent in the art of Government, maintaining order by whatever steps may be necessary, against any challenge. (Cheers.)

No useful purpose will be served by minimising the great difficulties. No human being can say for certain what the eventual form of Self-Government will be. It is not necessary to contemplate that Indian genius will wish to accept every self-governing institution which we possess. We have not yet determined, and cannot determine at this stage, the size of the unit of self-Government, whether it will be the existing provinces or other provinces. These things will all solve themselves in the future, but at the present moment the absolutely essential condition of any further progress is the successful working of the first instalment that Parliament has given. (Cheers.)

"Self-Government within the Empire."

I want to say one other thing at this very serious moment. The Self-Government which we promised India the opportunity of working was Self-Government within the Empire (Cheers), and therefore I want to say to India that I do not believe the British Parliament will ever jeopardise that opportunity. After all, Indians in their thinking moments will be the first to recognise that it was with British enterprise and with British energy that the present Indian Empire was built up, and that it is under British guidance and with British help that their future will be achieved. (Hear, hear.) I do not believe for our sake, as well as for India, that this Parliament will ever jeopardise the existence of either, and therefore I would say in all sincerity to India that the exhibition of separatist tendencies and of disloyalty to the King-Emperor, futile attempts to mar the welcome given to the King-Emperor's son, must postpone, or at any rate prejudice, the good-will of the British people towards Indian aspiration. (Cheers.)

It is well, I think, that Indians should realise that, based on good-will and partnership, there are no rights that will be denied her by the British Parliament, but if the existence of our Empire is challenged, if the discharge of the responsibilities of our Government towards India is prevented, if demands are made in the very mistaken belief that we contemplate a retreat from India, then India will not successfully challenge the most determined people in the world—a people who will once again, as it has done so recently, answer the challenge with all the vigor and determination at its command. (Cheers.) On the other hand, if India will believe in our good faith—as she ought to believe—if she will accept the offer that has been made to her by the British Parlia-



ment, then she will find that the British Empire, for which so many Indians and Englishmen have so recently died, and which at this present moment is saving the world, will give her liberty but not license, freedom but not anarchy, progress but not stampede, peace and the fulfilment of the best destinies that the future can possibly offer. (Cheers.)

"Acid Test of Empire"

Mr. Acland (Camborne, L.), in giving his support to the general policy of the Secretary of State, said that the attacks which had been made on him were doing the Empire a great deal of harm. They were based, not in regard to the actual position in India, but on race prejudice. It was the acid test of Empire whether we should, in a few years, find that we were succeeding in steadily pursuing the course adopted by Parliament in 1919. He felt that they must still steadily go forward on the task on which Parliament entered when it passed the Act of 1919, but, at the same time, they must maintain law and order. With these two policies together, he believed that a solution of the present position in India would be attained.

Sir C. Townshend (The Wrekin, Ind.), speaking with the experience of 18 years service in India, said he heartily agreed with the Secretary of State that the great cause of the present Muhammadan unrest in India was undoubtedly our failure to make peace with the Turks. France was a great Muhammadan governing Power, and she had made peace with the Turks in order to avoid having the same unrest in North Africa. He took the view that if only the Government would issue a *communiqué* to India declaring that it meant to stand by the Government of India in maintaining the Constitution and in enforcing law and order, the present trouble would disappear. They had simply to show firmness and agitators like Gandhi would disappear at once. We must govern in India or go. (Hear, hear.) In his opinion we had been too fast in imposing Western methods and institutions on an Eastern people, who were not ready for them. If they were to govern in the East they must send firm men, men with will-power. They could not have dreamers.

Sir J. D. Rees opposed the amendment. The real cause of the trouble in India, he said, over and above the world spirit of unrest which was the aftermath of the war, was our treatment of the Turkish question and its effects on the Muhammadans of the world. He believed that we should hear of any proposal to go back on the reforms which had been granted or to turn British India into a congeries of Native States. The vote of the Indian

Legislative Assembly supporting the Viceroy in the policy of firmness was, he thought, a hopeful fact. It had already caused Mr. Gandhi to give up civil disobedience. He believed the bad features of the present state of India were in no way due to individual acts of the Secretary of State.

Sir H. Craik (Scottish Universities, C. U.) appealed to the Secretary of State on behalf of the Civil Servants of India, and urged him to insist upon a thing which the present Government was apt to forget elsewhere, as well as in India—the maintenance of order and the security of life and property. (Hear, hear.)

Lieut Com. Kenworthy (Hull, Central, L.) said that Gandhi had been abused by every one, but the time might come when we should congratulate ourselves on having a man of his eminence, with the ideas he possessed.

Captain Elliot (Lanark C. U.) said we had started a gospel of nationalism and were only beginning to realise the trouble and bloodshed it was going to cause. There might be a chance of holding India, but it was small, and was rapidly diminishing, chiefly because of the new idea which was being preached that where the Union Jack went up the colored subjects of the King were not to have rights, privileges, or duties or any part in the partnership of the Empire.

Lord E. Percy (Hastings, C. U.) whilst regretting the personal language of the motion, and the personal attack on the Secretary of State, said that the gravamen of his charge against the Government was that there was not one single question in the Near or Middle East, or in India, on which they had been united. Indeed, there was not one single question on which their disunion and division had not been advertised in the four quarters of the globe. (Hear, hear.) Owing to that cause, they had fallen between two stools in dealing with Turkey, and to-day there was another open division and a controversy being fought out between the Secretary for India and the Colonial Secretary. Was that record likely to commend the British *Raj* in India? The Government presented to their supporters the serious questions whether Ministers would be able to keep along a line of clear, consistent, well-balanced policy in view of their open, avowed, shameless, and flagrant disagreement amongst themselves.

Sir C. Yate (Melton, C. U.) criticised the action of the Government in regard to the Mopla rebellion.



CSL

Mr. Llyod George's Speech

I think it will be generally agreed that it was very desirable that there should be a discussion on the affairs of India in the Imperial Parliament. It is better that the charges and counter-charges that are made outside, the rumours that are current, the anxieties which have been caused, should be sifted, and examined here, calmly and dispassionately, by the Assembly that is primarily responsible for the Government of India. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for India has been attacked from both sides. A number of speeches have attacked him because he has gone too far in one direction, and other speeches have been delivered criticising him because he has not gone far enough. The central position is a safe one for a country to occupy, but it is a very unpleasant one for a statesman to walk along, because he is liable to be attacked from both sides, and there is a cross fire, which is exceedingly dangerous for his political blood. That has been the experience for my right hon. Friend and of everybody else who has been trying to walk a moderate path between two extremes. May I just say one word about the speech of the Mover of the Amendment (Sir W. Joynson Hicks). I heard the latter part of it, and although I did not agree with it, I appreciated very much its ability and skill. I am very delighted, as an old friend, to congratulate my hon. Friend upon his speech, and I am still more pleased to do so as a member of the same profession. He spoke with moderation and restraint. He avoided, at any rate, any petty personalities, and his speech was all the stronger for that reason.

There is much in the state of India that justifies grave concern. I deprecate alarm. There is certainly no cause for panic, and the situation is well within the compass of our strength without adding to our burdens. There is no doubt that it is a situation which demands examination at the hands of the Imperial Parliament as well as the Imperial Government, but we cannot deal with it effectively unless we seek out the real causes of the unrest without losing our sense of proportion. If an attempt be made to trace the origin of the disturbance in India to something which occurred two or three years ago, Parliament and the public are misled as to the real causes of our difficulty, and consequently neither Parliament nor the public nor the Government can deal effectively with the situation. We must get a real understanding of what the

position is, when trouble arose, and why it arose. If we do that dispassionately, without any partisanship, we can apply remedies; but if we attribute it all to one cause, that cause not being the real source and fount of the disturbance, we shall launch out on a policy which will be ineffective and will probably be disastrous.

The disturbance and unrest in India did not begin 3 years ago. I have been a member of Governments since 1906, and I remember perfectly well when my Noble Friend Lord Morely, the Secretary of State for India, had constantly to bring to the attention of the Cabinet the serious unrest in India. In 1916, Sir Valentino Chirol, who has been referred to as a great authority on the subject, published his classical book on "Unrest in India". That was 4 years before the war. The attempt on the life of the Viceroy was a couple of years before the War. There had been several assassinations or attempts at assassination of high officials. There had been many police murders, there were constant riots, agitators were deported at the instance of Lord Morley. All that occurred years before the War. It is therefore idle to attribute the unrest in India to something which occurred when my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for India assumed the reins of office. To do so is not doing justice to the theme. It is a serious reality. I have to be dealt with, but it can only be dealt with effectively and wisely by trying to understand what the causes are. They were probably many. Here you have a population with Eastern ideas and Eastern experience traversing unknown centuries. Democracy was never written in their story. Modern ideas, Western ideas of liberty and self-government were unknown. They acknowledged great over-lords who, according to their weakness, gave them unrest and disturbance. We gave them largely an English education. I have been amazed at the kind of education which is given to the Indian child. There is no doubt it poisoned the Indian mind. We had a very considerable number of rich, well-to-do Indians sending their children to be educated at the English universities. They were saturated with Western ideas, and they go back full of them. The great Western ideas of liberty became their ideals. It was bound to create unrest. It was putting new wine into old bottles—the fierce wine of the West into the older bottles of the East accustomed to milder vintages—the fierce and often coarser wines of the West. They burst and there was a leakage, and the wine spread and the intoxication swept over the East.

It was not India alone. In the story of India you must not forget the story of Asia—Japan, China, India, the hundred of

millions of people who have been living in tranquillity and in satisfaction with ideas of autocracy that gave them protection and guardianship under which they were satisfied and here comes the West. It is because the West has got into conflict with East. It was inevitable. There were two chemicals which were bound sooner or later to produce some form of explosion. Do not let us overlook these facts. What has happened in Japan? The Russo-Japanese War had an enormous effect upon the population of Asia. I do not want to dwell on what it meant to them, but it meant something to them in the feeling they had towards Europe, towards the possibilities of Asia, of Asiatics towards Europe, which had a very disturbing effect from one end to another. What has happened in China? We talk as if it were purely India. In China you had a great foreign dynasty governing hundreds of millions of Chinaman. The strong hand of that dynasty is removed. What has happened? Self-government, liberty, Western ideas, Republics formed purely on Western model—the whole country shattered into warring fragments. But it shows that it was a movement which did not originate with the War. It goes far back. The agitation in China came from exactly the same source. Chinese students in America, by the hundreds and the thousands, imbibing ideas of American democracy, and Chinese students here. Some of the leaders of the revolution in China were men who were trained in the West. They go back to China, and that is the result. In trying to apply remedies, let us face the realities and get at the facts. Undoubtedly the War accentuated and aggravated them. It shook up the whole world. The magnetic currents passed through nations and they are still trembling, except those who are too exhausted. The War has stirred them up, given them new vigour, and undoubtedly it is that which has created unrest and disturbance in every land. There is disturbance in India. Let any man look back even at our own country in 1919 and to all the countries of Europe and you need no further explanation as to what has happened in India. I have pointed out the result in China. The firm hand of British domination and rule prevented a catastrophe in India. If there had not been British rule there the consequence would have been a catastrophe of the widest kind. The War aggravated the situation. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for India, pointed out some of the more ordinary, commonplace contributions to the unrest, the impoverishment of the nations, high taxation, increased burdens, and the diminished means and the diminished strength of bearing them. He was perfectly right, and so were some of my hon. Friends who have spoken in the debate, including the hon. Member for East

Nottingham (Sir J. D. Rees,) in the view that the one unfortunate consequence of the War from the point of view of India was that we were manoeuvred into the position of having to fight the greatest Islamic Power in the world. It was undoubtedly a triumph of German diplomacy. In the East, undoubtedly German diplomacy did triumph with Turkey, with Bulgaria, and with Greece. There was the fact that we were the only power free, because we were a sea power, and because there was no invader on our soil, to take up the challenge that had come. The result was that we were as an Empire, brought face to face as if it were a solitary struggle between the British Empire and an Islamic Power. That was one of the misfortunes of the War over which we had no control and, undoubtedly, that is one of the causes of unrest in India. Let us face that.

I have only sketched very summarily some of the causes of disturbance. When you come to the excitability that has been a result of the War in every land and in every clime, all you can do is to allow it to subside. It is gradually subsiding. It is subsiding here, and it is subsiding in Europe. The position has improved so far as the tension and the nerves of the people are concerned. They are not as yet ready to take offence and to take up arms. It is a matter of time. When you come to the disturbances in the East there is no doubt that it would be of enormous advantage if peace could be made with the Turkish Empire. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs hopes in the course of the few days to take up the matter again with our Allies with a view to seeing whether it is not possible to arrange a satisfactory peace, but it must be a just peace. There is nothing to be gained by unjust concessions to fear. [HON. MEMBERS: "Hear, hear, !"] I emphasise the word "unjust". We have held the balance even in India between various religions. The strength of British rule in India comes, not because we have given way to one faith, because it was menacing, at the expense of another, but because we have quite fearlessly held the balance even between Mohammedan and Hindu and every other religion, and the principle we have applied in India we must apply in the settlement of the Turkish Treaty. We must be fearlessly just to both religions and both races; otherwise, in the end, no good will be done but much harm will be done. We shall sow the seed of future trouble in order to purchase a temporary solution of our difficulties.

Further cause of unrest.

What is a further cause of unrest and how is it to be dealt with? There is the material cause; there is the fact that India is

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warer through the War, like every other country. Her burdens are greater, but that is not all. The customers of India are poorer. The people who bought from India are no longer buying, and India is suffering, just as we are suffering. In that respect, only the population is very much poorer, and there is not the margin for impoverishment. There is only one way of dealing with that, and that is a general one, and universal one, which applies to India and applies to Britain, and that is, that peace must be established throughout the world and there must be an international effort to reconstruct trade and put it on its own normal basis again. To that end we have invited India specially to send a representative to assist the British delegation at the forthcoming conference when we are discussing the question of the economic reconstruction of Europe. That is not enough. There is no doubt that a good deal more can be done for the material development of India.

I was talking to a very distinguished foreigner—and let us face facts—who, if I mentioned his name, would be recognised as one of the best friends which this country has ever had, who told me after he had returned from India that he was very disappointed at the extent to which the material resources of India had been developed. How many Members of this House have read the report of the Indian railways? I earnestly advise my hon. Friends, who seem to think that the whole trouble in India has arisen from the act of my right hon. Friend, to read that report. There is enough cause in that alone to account for a great deal of the Indian trouble. I am not attributing it all to that. I would be committing a mistake in saying that. I am only putting this as one of the causes, but let my hon. Friends read it. It is a very remarkable document, and points to one of the things that call for a remedy, and an immediate remedy. There you have got the danger. There are complaints from great provinces in India that tens of thousands of tons of grain, sugar, cotton and cotton seed are rotting in sheds at railway sidings, and in the bazaars because there are no wagons and no locomotives, and they cannot get coal in order to run their factories, and mills are closing down and docks are crowded. And that is not merely since the War. Here is a quotation from Sir John Hewett, who writes in 1913 :—

"I am directed to address you regarding the congested state of the railways which has caused, and is causing continually, immense loss to the agriculture and trading community in this Province—the United Provinces—and has also seriously affected the administration of Departments."



Sir F. Banbury : Were these railways under Government

The conditions of India

The Prime Minister : I am not going into the question of who is responsible, whether Government control or private enterprise. All I am pointing out is, that this is the condition of things which ought to be remedied. If private enterprise can remedy it, let private enterprise take it in hand. I am not in the least quarrelling with my right hon. Friends's view in this matter. What I do say is, that this is undoubtedly one of the causes of Indian unrest. Men are thrown out of employment, the labour of a year is rotting, workmen are suffering in the mills, peasants are suffering and development in India is retarded. We have only got to take the figures of what has been done in regard to national railway development. With a population of 300,000,000, India has a total of 36,000 miles of railway. Canada with a population of 8,000,000 has 39,000 miles of railway. That will give an indication of one of the directions in which something ought to be done in order to improve the condition of India and to remove the causes of unrest. We have communicated with India on the subject, but no one knows better than those associated with India how very difficult it is to get a move in India in these matters. Certainly, I am not reflecting on any official who is there now. I am simply talking of having things done over these vast territories. That is one cause.

Now I come to another cause which has been referred to in speeches from both sides of the House—the racial cause. This cause aggravates every other cause of unrest, whether it is economic or religious. I do not know whether those hon. Friends, who took part in this Debate and criticised the Government, suggest that the experiment which was initiated two or three years ago should be scrapped. I do not think that they have gone so far as that.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks : I did not.

The Prime Minister : Then I really do not see what the complaint is. Let us be quite clear about this because discussion in this House, as my hon. Friends know, has a great repercussion in India, and anything which will lead the people in it to believe that we are going to break faith with them would have the most disastrous effect upon the friends of British rule in India, the genuine friends, and therefore it is important to make clear that so far as we are concerned, we mean to give that experiment a

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chance of succeeding and that, if it fails, the failure must not be attributed to our default. The educated classes in India must be given the best opportunity for making this experiment a success and there must be no suggestion of breach of faith on the part of the British Government. That would be fatal to our prestige.

But further reform must await the result of that experiment. Democracy, in its modern acceptation of government of the people, for the people and by the people, is a recent experiment even in the West. Within living memory of many Members of this House the majority of the people of this country had no more voice in the government of their native land than the peasant of Bengal. All they had to do was to accept rules, obey rules and pay taxes, and it is only three years since that part of the population, which was liable not merely to pay taxes, not merely to obey laws, but to give their lives to the country, had for the first time, a voice in declaring what the policy should be. Democracy is a western experiment and, in the full sense, it is only a recent experiment in the West.

India, never a Democratic country !!

India has never been a democratic country. It never had democratic government, and it has to be seen yet whether democratic institutions suit the Indian mind. Here, democratic institutions have grown slowly; they have taken centuries to develop, not merely in the numbers who took part in government, but in the actual powers which are conferred upon the people. Here you have the best trained, the best educated democracy in the world. In India the vast majority of the people are illiterate, and those who imagine that you can precipitate events, that you can develop in India something which it took centuries to develop here, are guilty of propounding doctrines which are dangerous. They would mislead the Indian population and mislead them to their ruin. If the experiment in India is to be a success it must be a gradual one, as it has been in the West. In the 1 or 2 cases in Europe where democratic institutions went beyond the capacity, for the time being, of the population, they were a failure and those who initiated them had to withdraw. Even Russia has discovered that.

I am all for associating the Indian with ourselves in the government of that great country, but we must take care not to throw away reality whilst pursuing the form. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State of India quoted Macaulay. I have a quotation from Macaulay, which I think very much to the point. It is a very unflattering review of the greatest of the ancestors

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MR. LLYOD GEORGE'S SPEECH

of the Noble Lord the Member for Hitchin (Lord R. Cecil).
Macaulay says :

It is a common error in politics to confound means with ends. Constitutions, charters, petitions of right, declarations of right, representative assemblies, electoral colleges, are not good government, nor do they, even when most liberally constructed, necessarily produce good government. Laws exist in vain for those who have not the courage and the means to defend them."

If we withdraw from India, does anyone who knows India believe that those amongst whom there is the most turbulent demand for an extreme measure of self-government would alone be able to defend their liberties? We must take care not to weaken authority when strengthening liberty.

Authority must be maintained.

The next point is this : Authority must be maintained ; the authority of government must not be challenged. It is idle to talk of this as if it was merely a policy of repression. You cannot allow in India a challenge to authority which would not be allowed in this country nor in any civilised country in the world. India owes much to the substitution of law for lawless force. Any one who reads its history knows that, and it is no kindness to the people of India to permit a subversion of Government authority. Therefore, I welcomed, and so did my colleagues, the declaration of the Viceroy which was read by my hon. Friend and Member for Twickenham, in which he declares that civil disobedience is fraught with danger to the State, and must be met with sternness and severity. As to the action of the Home Government, our position has never varied. It is to support the Indian Government in any action which they may think fit to take to establish authority and Government in India. Every despatch sent to India has been couched in those terms. But as my right hon. Friend and Secretary of State for India pointed out, you cannot at this distance interfere in individual instances with the responsible rulers on the spot. How are you to decide whether in one case action should be taken in a particular direction, and whether it should be taken now, or whether it should be taken later on? Before you intervene to supercede, to override decisions taken at that distance, there should be a most overwhelming case, but our position is a clear one. Unless the authority of government and of law is established in India, no one will suffer more than the Indians themselves. Any action which may be taken to establish order throughout the whole of this vast Dominion will get the full, unqualified support of His Majesty's Government. Before I sit down I have one more word which I

must say in consequence, not so much of what has been said in this debate, as of what I hear said outside. There is an impression created by a very mischievous propaganda at home—with a totally different purpose—that we mean to give up India. I have heard it said. I have heard it said that this has permeated the Indian Civil Service. I have heard it from Indian civil servants. There ought to be no doubt in the mind of anyone upon that point. I should not have thought it was necessary to make it clear, were it not for the fact that I have undoubted evidence that there was doubt on the point. But let me say, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, we wish to make it clear—and I feel that in saying this I am voicing the opinion not merely of every section of the House of Commons, but of every section outside—that under no circumstances or conditions do we propose to withdraw from, or impair, the full sovereignty of the King Emperor in India. In terms, no agitator in India puts forward that demand.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks : They have asked for pure independence.

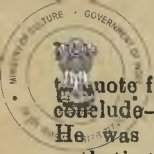
The Prime Minister : I have not seen that. I think the more important agitators have always acknowledged the sovereignty of their King-Emperor. However, in substance that would be the ultimate effect of their proposals if they matured ; but the British Empire, although it has come out of a great, a terrible, and an exhausting War, it is not so exhausted that it can discuss such a proposal, or anything that could lead to it. We accepted a great trust as a people when we occupied India. We invested ourselves with that trust to the exclusion of all others. We cannot divest ourselves of that trust without shame and dishonour. This is a country which for centuries has had peace guaranteed to it by an over-ruling Power. We went there about two centuries ago. We swept aside its traditional guardians, and we stepped into their trust. It is perfectly true that their guardianship was inadequate. It was often nominal ; it was mostly ineffective ; but, still, there was a certain prestige, a certain authority attached to it. We swept it away, and took it upon ourselves with a firm hand. We overthrew the Mogul Empire. We defeated and broke military adventurers who ruled by the sword. We eliminated Dutch, Portuguese, and French, who held sway over vast territories, and we took upon ourselves the responsibility for the government of this vast territory. There was nothing left between India and confusion except British rule ; we established and we gave peace to its helpless inhabitants.

My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Melton (Sir C. Yates), than whom no one has a better right to speak on Indian

questions, and who speaks with knowledge and authority, rightly referred to a series of very remarkable men who have governed great territories without any notice, not even with the fame which they would have won in any other country. No land ever sent such a succession of great rulers from its shores to govern an Empire as Great Britain sent to India. Take anyone of their stories. It is a romance. Get it written. What would be left if British authority were removed? Could Mr. Gandhi govern? Would he be able to protect, to defend from the inevitable pillage one of the millions of those whom he leads? You have only got to see what happened in the Mopla rising—even with the British authority there. Take China with its warring factions, and what is China to India in variety of race and in variety of religions? You have as many, if not more languages and races in India than you have in the whole of Europe. You certainly have many more religions. Nominally, here we all belong to one faith. But in India there is a multitude of fundamentally different religions as well as races. Anyone who talks of India as if it were one race, one people, one religion, one aim, and one ideal, is grossly ignorant of the history of that country. There is a greater difference between Sikh and Bengalee than there is between the German and the Englishman or the German and the European, and fundamentally greater than there is between Trotsky and some of my hon. Friends opposite.

Europe, at each others throat

Coming to Europe, so far as I can see, we are all fighting races. There is not a pacific race on the whole continent. It is with the greatest difficulty that you can keep them from flying at each other's throats. In India there are essential differences of temperament, outlook, qualities, texture, blood. You can not talk of India as if it were just one people. The only unity created in India has been by British rule. If Britain withdrew her strong hand there would be confusion, and desolation indescribable. Anyone who reads the history of India just before we went there can see that. It is right that these things should be brought home to Indians as well as to ourselves. One ruthless adventurer followed another. There was pillage, looting, destroying, ruthless cruelty, intolerance, devastation. That welter would be reproduced if the British hand was removed, and the poor peasant would think with regret of the great days when he was protected by the King-Emperor from the cruel hand of the marauders. We accepted the trust. We must execute it. No honourable man gets order of a trust the first time the beneficiaries lose their temper with him and think they can manage the thing themselves better. We have no right to part with our responsibilities and the result would be disastrous. Here, again, I should like



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I quote from my Noble Friend Lord Morley—and with this I will conclude—words which are pregnant, words which are a warning. He was a man who believed in reforms. He believed in a sympathetic treatment of India, but he knew the dangers of the course which has been pursued by some of the leaders in India. These are the words which we adopt as a declaration on our past :—

“How should we look in the face of the civilised world if we turned our back on our duty and our past? How should we bear the savage scorn of our consciences when assuredly we should hear in the dark distance the storm and confusion of the strife in India?”



CSL

Interpellations in Parliament 1922

Some of the important interpellations in the House of Commons on Indian Affairs in 1922 are given below.

Early in February 1922 Mr. Montagu was repeatedly pelted with questions by the die-hard party on the retirement of the disgruntled members of the Imperial Services in India on proportionate pensions. In response to this strong pressure Mr. Montagu issued, on February 9th 1922, the following despatch to the Viceroy on the subject :—

I have recently addressed you by telegram suggestions for the consideration of your Excellency's Government the desirability of taking early steps to remove the misapprehensions which I have reason to believe are widely entertained as to the meaning to be attached to the passage quoted in the margin [given below] from paragraph 3 of the resolution issued by your Government with my approval on the 8th November last, on the subject of the terms and conditions on which officers of certain Indian Services who desire to be released from further service, in consequence of the introduction of constitutional reforms, may be permitted to retire prematurely on proportionate pension.

[The following is the marginal quotation referred to above :—

'All applications must reach the local Government before the 31st March, 1924, by which date officers will have ample opportunity to appreciate the effects of the recent constitutional changes and to arrive at a considered decision. Officers of the Services specified who do not apply before that date will not be eligible for a pension or premature retirement in consequence of any constitutional developments which may subsequently take place.']

It has been represented to me that this passage in the resolution has been commonly interpreted as intended definitely to preclude any officer whose employment may hereafter be terminated prematurely either by the Secretary of State in Council under the constitution provided by the present Government of India Act, or by an Indian Dominion Government, should such be constituted by an instrument amending or repealing that Act, from claiming pensionary recognition of the services which he has rendered and compensation for their unexpected termination. And apart from the fear that such consequences are intended in the matter of compulsory retirement, I understand that the passage is further regarded as closing the door on any hope of the renewal of an offer similar to that held out by the resolution, even on the occurrence of further legislation to amend the Government of India Act, which may have the effect of making a further stage towards the grant to India of Dominion status, and the combined effect of these impressions has been apparently to give colour to the idea that a leading motive which prompted the Secretary of State in Council and your Excellency's Government in framing the terms and conditions embodied in the orders of the 8th November, was a desire to induce as many as possible of the members of the All-India Services, for whose maintenance, welfare and efficiency these authorities are directly responsible, to abandon their employment at the earliest possible date.

Your Excellency's Government will, I am confident, share my deep regret that language could have been used which is capable of an interpretation so fundamentally at variance with our objects and intentions, and I trust that it is now clearly understood by the members of the Services that :

(A) Nothing in your resolution has reference directly or indirectly to the compulsory retirement of officers whose employment it may hereafter be decided, by whatever authority, to terminate for whatever reason, before they have completed such service as, under ordinary regulations and expectations, carries the claim to a pension.

(B) That when the time comes for his Majesty's Government to recommend to Parliament further legislation with the object of granting to India a larger measure of self-government, it will be the unquestionable duty of the Secretary of State in Council to consider fully the extent to which such changes affect the conditions of Service of those who will be bound by them, and whether they are such as to necessitate a re-opening of opportunities for voluntary retirement on pension, that it will further be his duty to take steps to secure the enactment of such provisions to that end as may seem just and necessary, and that nothing in your resolution was designed to absolve the Secretary of State in Council from this obligation, and,

(C) That, in fact, the intention of the passage in question was simply to emphasise the circumstance that the right to apply for a proportionate pension was an exceptional right, conferred on the express recommendation of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses with the implied authority of Parliament, in order to meet the conditions which have been brought about by the Act in 1919, or which may arise in the course of constitutional development under that Act, and, consequently, that the right was one which, once offered and exhausted, it would not be proper for the Secretary of State in Council to renew, save as the result of a similar mandate given on account of constitutional changes arising out of further Parliamentary legislation.

Security of Pensions

I desire, however, to take this opportunity of endeavouring to dispel other analogous anxieties which have been brought to my notice as being felt by members and ex-members, not only of the Indian Services, but also of the Home Establishment of the Secretary of State in Council, as to the security of their pensions (whether in the course of payment or in prospect) in the event of India's acquiring full dominion status, or such an approximation to that status as has the effect of transferring from the Secretary of State in Council to the Legislative Assembly some portion of the whole of that measure of control over the appropriation of the revenues of India and over the Services, which is by the present Act and statutory rules vested in the Secretary of State in Council.

It would, of course, be idle for me to pretend that any declaration by myself, by the Council of India, or by his Majesty's Government as at present constituted, would have the effect of binding any future Government or Parliament as to the measures which they should respectively propose and ratify to safeguard the existing and accruing rights of persons in the Civil Service of the Crown in India whose conditions of employment may be effected by whatever further legislation Parliament may in its wisdom decide hereafter to enact in pursuance of the policy inaugurated by the Act of 1919, but it is evidently not generally appreciated that no change in or diminution of the powers of control now exercised by the Secretary of State in Council in this regard, nor in modification of the law which now makes such pensions a statutory charge upon the revenues of India, could be effected without the fullest public discussion and by means of express Parliamentary enactment. It cannot be anticipated that His Majesty's Government and Parliament will treat lightly their obligation to ensure, as an essential part of such an enactment, that all pensions current at the time shall continue to be paid, that those officers whose services may have to be compulsorily terminated shall be adequately compensated, and that those who are entitled to pensions shall receive them, but, in any event, I desire to

Place on record, with the full concurrence of my council, my conviction that no further Secretary of State in Council of India will be found wanting in his duty of securing the fulfilment of those obligations, or will be found willing to surrender in the smallest degree the control which he exercises under the existing law, save on conditions which will adequately ensure that the rights and expectations which it is now his duty to protect are fully guaranteed.

The Mopla Train Tragedy

On February 21st Commander Kenworthy asked Mr. Montagu whether proceedings had been instituted against the persons responsible for the horrible murder of 64 Moplas in the infamous train tragedy of 17th November last: Mr. Montagu said that he was awaiting the Madras Govt's telegram. Sir J. D. Rees also tried to elicit some information on the manner in which Martial Law had been enforced in the Malabar, and Mr. Montagu gave only an evasive reply.

Com. Wedgwood put a question on the treatment of political prisoners and asked whether it was not true that Sir George Lloyd had managed to do without imprisonment in Bombay: Mr. Montagu in reply promised to make enquiries.

Further Grant of Reforms in India

Regarding the Indian Legislative Assembly's resolution asking for a revision of the constitution before 1929, Mr. Montagu proposed to send a reply following on the lines of the speech he made on the 14th Feb. on the amendment to the King's Address.

Lord H. Cavendish-Bentick pressed the point that it would go some way towards pacifying public opinion in India if the demand of the Assembly were acceded to. The only response Mr. Montagu made to this was to suggest that his questioner had misapprehended the wishes of the Legislature when, as a matter of fact, it was the Secretary of State himself who seemed not to grant the point at issue. Sir Henry Craik took the opportunity to shove in the Tory view of the matter by urging that "the only course or safety is a firm adherence to the decision already announced." Lord Cavendish-Bentick, however, insisted upon having an answer to his question whether the Secretary of State was going to grant a re-examination before 1929. Mr. Montagu again evaded the point by remarking that it was rather too early yet to say.

The amount of interest taken in the subject was indicated by the numbers of members who rose to put further supplementary questions. Mr. Speaker intervened at this point to stop further discussion but Colonel Wedgwood managed to get in a remark which indicated that the Labour Party has passed a resolution on the same lines which had been forwarded to the Secretary of State.



Chauri Chaura Riot

On March 10th. Colonel Yate, called attention to the fact that the police in Chauri Chaura on February 4th fired into the air when they were first attacked and thus merely made the mob infuriated. He suggested that all firing in the air should be prohibited in future. Sir Worthington Evans replied that standing orders for the conduct of the police in India strictly prohibited firing in the air.

Colonel Yate asked whether in view of the present state of India it was intended to sanction the bills for repeal of so-called Repressive laws in India, and declared that it was inadvisable to weaken the power of the Central Government at present. Sir Worthington Evans said that the bills had not reached him.

The Army in India

Replying in the Commons to Sir Reginald Hall with regard to Lord Rawlinson's speech in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Chamberlain said Lord Rawlinson had not asserted and had not suggested that the present military forces were inadequate to deal with any internal situation likely to arise. The strength of the British Army in India was 70,300 compared with 77,600 before the war. The Indian Army's strength was 147,483 compared with 155,395 before the war. The reduction was made on the understanding that the equipment of the army would be improved. The improvement had not yet been concluded but considerable progress had been made.

Replying to Sir Joynson Hicks, Mr. Chamberlain said recent events had interrupted the progress of the Committee on Imperial Defence in regard to Indian army. Some of the committee men were very busy and had found it difficult to find the necessary time but he hoped the report of the committee to the Cabinet would not be long delayed.

Treatment of Political Prisoners

On 27th March, replying to Sir Charles Yate with regard to the differential treatment of prisoners in India which he condemned, Earl Winterton said that the whole principle of distinctions was that while a deliberate inciter to violent crime deserved no less severe treatment than the actual committer of crime, there was a large class of cases in which a man who from presumably honest motives expressed political views the public expression of which was a legal offence should not be humiliatingly treated or classed with criminals whose offences showed moral obliquity. Sir Charles was, however, not satisfied and cried out that Gandhi ought to be stripped and oil poured over him, like the police victims at Chauri Chaura!



CSL

The Indian Loan Bill

HOUSE OF COMMONS—29TH MARCH—5TH APRIL 1922

On 29th March 1922 the House (sitting in committee) devoted an hour to the Indian Loan Bill. The Under-Secy. of State moved a resolution to authorise the Sec. of State to raise sums not exceeding £ 50 millions for the service of the Govt. of India (for Railway development) on the securities of the revenues of India. Lord Winterton explained that that was no new step. A number of similar acts had been passed previously, the last being in 1919, the proceeds from which would not have sufficed until now except that the War delayed the carrying out of capital expenditure on railways and irrigation. The measure was thus largely a matter of routine and was in no way connected with the Indian budget. Explaining that under the original Government of India Act money could only be raised in the United Kingdom to an extent authorised by the House of Commons, Lord Winterton declared that the previous, unexpended borrowing powers had fallen below seven millions. The present resolution increased the power to 50 although there was no question of borrowing the whole amount immediately. India's present financial difficulties were the result of world-wide causes in no way peculiar to India. Both the Government of India and the India Office were fully alive to the importance of restoring the budget's equilibrium.

The hon. Mr. Alexander Shaw said that before the money was voted the House ought to be informed whether a determined effort was being made to put Indian railways on an economic basis. He also suggested that the House was entitled to know what provisions the Government of India was making to deal with the financial position.

Lord Winterton in reply said the whole sum probably would not be raised for four or five years and would not necessarily be raised here. He deprecated Mr. Jack Jones' contention that the railways of India were mainly used for strategic purposes and he declared that Indian railways had been responsible for saving the lives of thousands of people through the devoted efforts of Indian and British civil servants. Lord Winterton admitted that the purchase of materials in England was a very important question but he was unable to give a pledge in this connexion in view of the Indian Legislative Assembly's resolution. Lord Winterton added that with improved world trade he hoped that the existing taxation

would yield a greater amount than at present. He thus hoped that it would be unnecessary to impose further taxation as a result of the raising of these loans.

On the report stage of the Indian loan resolution in Commons, Mr. A. M. Samuel said he thought the money might be raised in a better way than proposed and suggested that Indian finances were now being handled in the most unsatisfactory manner.

Colonel Ward was anxious for the money to be spent in Britain and not Germany. He was not a free trader to such an idiotic extent, he added, as to say that English investors should lend money to another part of the Empire for the purpose of destroying British trade and employment.

Earl Winterton replying dissipated the idea that the 50 million loan would be immediately put on the Market. On the contrary the Indian Government might not come to any immediate intention to use any part of the present renewal and its borrowing powers might suffice for seven years. As regards the purchases of material the Indian Government was bound to give attention to the resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly in September last regarding buying in the cheapest market. He would be a bold man who would say that the resolution could be absolutely ignored. There was no reason whatever to suppose that a very large portion of the material would not be purchased in Britain as heretofore.

The resolution was adopted by the House and the Bill embodying the terms was read for the first time.

On April 4th, on the motion for the second reading of the Indian Loan Bill, Earl Winterton took pains to impress upon the members that there was a likelihood of the bulk of the money being spent in Britain as heretofore. He quoted figures showing that the railway expenditure of India for 1921-22 comprised eleven million sterling under British contracts and only 157,000 sterling foreign. Earl Winterton categorically stated that the introduction of the Bill was in no way related to the Indian Government's budget deficit. It had been drafted weeks before the Budget discussion occurred. He emphasised the fact that fifty million sterling contemplated under the Bill was intended purely as capital expenditure and had no connection whatever with the Budget deficit and he pointed out that the amount only represented one half of the sum which the Indian Government would require in connection with the railway programme, and as hitherto a considerable amount of the balance would be raised in India. Earl Winterton quoted the Acworth Committee's Report as approved by the Legislative Assembly in support of raising the loan.

Next day, in the Committee stage on the Indian Loan Bill, Lieutenant Wilfrid Sugden protested against the Government of India's having preferential treatment in the London Money Market on the ground that it would raise the price of money at the time when British industry particularly needed cheap money. He declared that some Indian firms made profits six times the amount of the share capital in the last two years. Indians themselves were well able to finance the loans more than they had promised to do. Indian railway freights should be raised and railways should be made to pay.

Earl Winterton emphasised the fact that the Government of India were not asking for preferential treatment. He pointed out that the Government of India were compelled by a long-established rule, which might be abolished, to do what no other borrowing authority had to do, namely, to get permission before they could borrow in England. What Lieut. Sugden seemed to have in mind was the purchase of materials in Great Britain. It was a very difficult and delicate subject. He was anxious, on the one hand, to satisfy the legitimate public opinion, and, on the other hand, to consider the interests of the Government of India at one of the most critical times in its history, and what was even more important to consider the interest and very clearly expressed wishes of the people of India.

Earl Winterton went on to say that no body suggested that South Africa or other Dominion borrowers in England should be obliged to purchase material in England. He emphasised the fact that to convey the impression that the members had put pressure on the Secretary of State for India to insist on the Government of India's purchasing all their requirements in England would be most harmful and would defeat the object of promoting the good Indo-British commercial feeling. It would play into the hands of the Extremists, who would say that we were making India a close preserve for the British trade, and it would stultify the efforts of those in India who were doing their utmost to support the general and trade position of Britishers here. The figures of Indian purchases in England did not indicate that British workmen were having much difficulty in competing with foreign rivals. He had not the slightest doubt that much of the money raised would be spent in England. If the House wished to bring about the purchases of an increasing amount of Indian railway material there, it would be far better to leave it to the ordinary operation of the contract system established by the Government of India, which had resulted in the purchases of an enormous proportion of British compared with foreign goods.

Among the strong criticisms made in the course of the debate, one came from Mr. G. Terrell who was shocked at the idea that the

the Commissioner should be instructed to buy stores for India in the cheapest market. The view expressed by him and other members was that if the Government of India went for authority to Britain to raise a loan in England, it would only be fair to impose the condition that the money raised in that country should be spent there alone, and not in Germany or any other country where the collapsed exchange enabled foreign producers to undercut British prices. Colonel Ward was one of the foremost in urging that the consequences of this would be to destroy British trade in India and to enlarge the area of unemployment in Britain.

On the other hand Messrs. Jack Jones and N. Maclean took the labour view of the matter and wanted to know for what purpose precisely the money was wanted. Is the money wanted to repeat in India what has already been done in Ireland? asked Mr. Jones. If these millions were really required, he believed that the people of India, given the opportunity, would be able to raise it for all essential railway facilities. In this connection he delivered the truth of which the House of Commons takes little note, namely, that the Government of India is not the government of the people of India. He bade the House remember that it was a government imposed upon the people without their consent, the majority having practically no voice in or control of what they were forced to maintain. He called attention to the great poverty of the Indian peasant, who was taxed, he said, to a greater extent than any person in the world in comparison to his means. These were the people who, for the most part, would have to find the interest and make up the deficiency. Why not give the people of India power to raise their own money? said Mr. Jones. Lord Winterton interposed the remark that this was what the resolution before the House would do. Mr. Jones denied it. It would merely give the power to a comparatively small section to inflict further financial burdens upon India. He reiterated the right of India to control its own destinies and the right of its people to express themselves according to the principles of democracy.

Mr. A. M. Samuel, Sir J. D. Roes, Sir T. Bennett and Mr. J. J. Lawson (a Labour Member) opposed the imposition of stipulations regarding the purchase of goods in England. Sir T. Bennett urged that care should be taken lest color should be given to the charge that England was exploiting India and lest they collided with the Legislative Assembly of India.

The Bill was finally passed by the House. On April 12th the Lords passed the Bill without discussion and then Royal assent was given to the East India Loans Act.



CSL

The Resignation of Mr. Montagu

HOUSE OF COMMONS

9TH MARCH 1922.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert asked whether the Imperial or Indian Government had approved of the publication of the latter's despatch specifying modifications to the Treaty of Sevres.

Mr. Chamberlain (the Leader of the House) said that a telegram from Delhi was published by the Indian Government with the sanction of Mr. Montagu and that no other Minister had been consulted. He abstained from commenting on the matter of the telegram, though the terms exceeded even the demands of the warmest friends of the Turks. The publication of such a pronouncement, without the consultation or consent of the Cabinet, raised a different question, and this was all the more important because it was on the eve of the Conference in Paris when there seemed to be a prospect of laying that basis of peace between the Turks and the Greeks. The Government was unable to reconcile the publication of the telegram on the sole responsibility of the Cabinet Minister with the duty which all Governments of the Empire owed each other on matters of Imperial concern. Mr. Chamberlain declared that such independent declarations destroyed the unity of policy which was vital in foreign affairs, and gravely imperilled the success of impending negotiations. Mr. Montagu had tendered his resignation. (Loud and prolonged Unionist cheers, followed by a wild exhibition of indecent hilarity, cries, cat-calls, etc. by the Die-hards) His Majesty had approved of its acceptance, but when the Foreign Secretary proceeded to Paris to discuss the Eastern settlement with the Foreign ministers of France and Italy, it would be his object to arrive at a solution equitable to all parties. He would give due weight to the opinion of Indian Muhammadans as expressed by the Government of India, but he would not be able to hold himself down to accept any solution submitted by that Government.

After Mr. Chamberlain had announced Mr. Montagu's resignation, Colonel Wedgwood asked whether Mr. Montagu had resigned before or after the publication of the document from the Government of India.



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Mr. Chamberlain said that Mr. Montagu had tendered his
resignation to-day.

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[THE FOLLOWING IS THE ILL-FATED TELEGRAM

The Govt. of India Telegraphic Despatch

"After consulting and receiving the general concurrence of the Government of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar, and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam including their Ministers and the Frontier administrations, the Government of India despatched the following telegram regarding the revision of the Treaty of Serves to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on the 28th February last :—

"On the eve of the Greco-Turkish Conference we feel it our imperative duty to lay once more before His Majesty's Government the intensity of the feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Serves. We are fully alive to the complexity of the problem and the conflict of the interests that have to be considered. But India's services in the Great War, and more especially in Mesopotamia and Palestine, where success was largely achieved by her army with its complement of Moslem soldiers, the vastness of her Moslem population, the intense stirring of religious feeling over the Turkish question among it, the large degree of support the Indian Moslem cause is receiving from India at large—all these entitle her to claim the utmost consideration of her aspirations and their fulfilment in so far as they are just, equitable and reasonable.

"We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectations in their entirety, but we urge upon His Majesty's Government three points which, due provisions having been made for safe-guarding the neutrality of the Straits and the security of the non-Turkish populations, we urge as of the first importance, first, evacuation of Constantinople ; second, the Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Places ; third, restoration of Ottoman Thrace including the sacred Moslem city of Adrianople and the unreserved restoration of Smyrna,

We earnestly trust that His Majesty's Government will give these aspirations all possible weight, for their fulfilment is of the greatest importance to India."]

Mr. T. P. O'Connor asked whether an early opportunity would be given for the discussion of the despatch and the policy of the Government in the Near East.

Mr. Chamberlain said:—Of course, if it is the general wish of the House to discuss the policy of the Government, I must endeavour to find an opportunity, but I would earnestly press upon the House that the discussion of policy or action to be taken by British representatives at the Paris Conference, before that Conference takes place, cannot serve the public interest. Successful conduct of negotiations is impossible if the Government are to be asked before entering the Conference to state exactly what is to be the outcome.

Mr. Asquith said, "Is the House to understand that this very important document was published and communicated to the press on the sole authority of Mr. Montagu? Mr. Asquith went on to say: We have on paper to-day a motion for discussion on the Middle East supplementary estimates, and I suggest that the opinion of the House on that matter may be very largely affected by this pronouncement and action of the Government upon it. It would affect vitally, if it were adopted in any sense by the Government, the whole future of that part of the world, and shall we not be rather embarrassed in the discussion if we don't know Government's attitude?"

Mr. Chamberlain said: Mr. Asquith is correct in interpreting my answer which was explicit. The document was published by Mr. Montagu on his sole responsibility without consultation with any other Cabinet Minister. I don't think that if the House wished discussion on the Middle East and as Mr. Churchill is prepared to make a general statement that it would be prejudiced in any way by this very regrettable incident. I have stated the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the Conference in Paris, and I deprecate pressing the Government for more explanatory statement of their policy in anticipation of the Conference. A good deal of mischief was done at the previous conference by debates in other places with the object of pledging Ministers to particular solutions before they met the representatives of other nations.

Mr. Greeton asked whether, as the question regarding the Government of India was involved in the Supplementary Estimates, a day would be given for the discussion of the Indian side of that matter if it were generally desired.



THE RESIGNATION OF MR. MONTAGU [H. OF COMS.]

Mr. Chamberlain replied : I cannot accept Mr. Greeton's promises. The Government of India is entitled, indeed, it is almost bound to put its views before His Majesty's Government, and it is quite entitled to ask that their views should be published. But the question of publication should have been reserved for the Cabinet's decision. The responsibility had been taken by Mr. Montagu who authorised publication.

Major-General Seely pointed out the statement appeared in the press as a Reuter's telegram. How is it sent as a Reuter telegram, he asked, and yet Mr. Montagu is the only man to blame.

Mr. Chamberlain stated that the Government of India had asked that they might publish the telegram, and Mr. Montagu had authorised them to publish it in India. It had been published in India and telegraphed to this country.

Question of Publication in India

Replying to a question by Mr. Asquith, MR. CHAMBERLAIN said that the telegram was published in India before it reached Mr. Montagu, or it had been circulated. Presumably, it was published in India yesterday, but he did not actually know. He only assumed that, after seeing the telegram in the papers that morning, publication in India was authorised by Mr. Montagu and had led to his resignation.

Mr. G. Murray asked what form the publication had taken. Was it a proclamation to the press ?

Mr. Chamberlain replied that he did not know.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert emphasised the fact that he did not wish to embarrass the Government or Mr. Chamberlain in their views of a serious position, but he asked whether Mr. Chamberlain was aware that men, like Mr. Herbert, knew that this disaster was coming for the last two years, but the Government had denied all knowledge, while others had known exactly what the Government was going to do. (Here the speaker intervenes.)

Mr. Herbert asked if a day would be given for discussion of the question next week. Mr. Chamberlain was unable to promise that. He said that he gathered that Mr. Herbert wanted to discuss the policy of British representatives in Paris which he had already deprecated.



CSL

The Montagu-Lloyd George Correspondence.

The following correspondence passed between Mr. Montagu and Mr. Lloyd George :

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL.

9TH MARCH, 1922

Dear Prime Minister,—After our conversation this morning I feel it to be my duty to ask you to convey with my humble duty to his Majesty my resignation of the high office which I hold and to ask him to be graciously pleased to accept the same.

When I received last week the Government of India's telegram containing the views of the Government of India on the Turkish Peace, I circulated it to the Cabinet. It was only after I received an urgent telegram on Saturday, repeating the request for permission to publish and asking for an immediate reply, that I felt it my duty to accept the responsibility of sanctioning publication.

It is irrelevant to explain that I did not at that time expect an early meeting of the Cabinet, and that, indeed, what I read of the general political situation led me to think that no immediate Cabinet was likely to be held.

It is irrelevant for those reasons, that I did not see in the communication from the Government of India much, if anything, which had not been said by them and on their behalf again and again ever since the Peace Conference. India had been given separate representation at the Peace Conference, and having been a party to the original Treaty of Sevres, I did not conceive it possible that there should be any question that they would not be allowed to state their views upon a question which so vitally affected the peace of India, nor did I think that it was possible or right to prevent them informing the people whom they governed of the views that they felt it their duty to put forward on their behalf.

The Government of India would be the first to acknowledge that it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to take many wider aspects into consideration, and that peace cannot be achieved if the Indian point of view only is considered. Their object was, however, to ensure that the Indian point of view, among others, was given the fullest possible consideration, and that Indians who were so

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greatly concerned about the future in the East, should know that
their views were being put forward by those who had been granted
the right to speak on their behalf.

I have been fully seized of the grave difficulties which have resulted from the Treaty of Sevres in India, and I felt it to be my duty to do everything in my power to support the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. When, therefore, I was assured that the Government of India regarded the matter as one of great urgency and when I considered their request in this, as in all its aspects, with the recollection of the many decisions of every class of subject which the Government has found it inevitable to take without discussion in the Cabinet, I felt and feel that I was justified in the action that I took.

I believe that there is much to be gained and little to lose by publicity in these matter, and that that was the reason why the representatives of India had been given up till now the fullest freedom in expressing their opinions.

I need hardly say how deeply I regret leaving the Government and separating from the many colleagues to whose generous co-operation I owe so much. I have not the least doubt that, despite the difficulties and the dangers, the policy which, under your leadership, I was authorised to carry out in India will win through to success.

Yours sincerely
Edwin Montagu.

P.S.—I trust you will send this letter to the Press with a copy of my telegram of Monday which I sent in amplification of the short sanctioning telegram of Saturday. I annex a copy.

The Prime Minister's Reply.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, S. W. 1.

My dear Montagu,

I have received your letter. I can only say that I much regret the circumstances which have made it necessary for you to tender, and for me to advise His Majesty to accept, your resignation.

That you were actuated in the course you pursued solely by a sense of public duty I do not for a moment doubt; nevertheless, the fact remains that, without being urged by any pressing necessity

and without consulting either the Cabinet, or the Foreign Secretary or myself, or any one of my colleagues, you caused to be published a telegram from the Viceroy raising the questions whose importance extends far beyond the frontiers of India or the responsibilities of your office. Such action is totally incompatible with the collective responsibility of the Cabinet to the Sovereign and to Parliament, and I cannot doubt that on reflection you will share my view that, after what has occurred, we cannot usefully co-operate in the same Cabinet.

I must add, as you raise the point in your letter, that the right of the Government of India to state its views on the Eastern question is not and has never been in dispute. So far from resenting the expression of Muhammedan opinion the British Government has afforded the Indian Muhammedans every possible opportunity of urging their views. Not only was India fully represented in the British Empire Delegation at the Peace Conference, but a special delegation of Indian Muhammedans was then enabled, at our request, to lay their views before the Council of Four.

Neither at that time, nor at any time since, has the Government of India or Indian Muhammedan opinion in general been denied the fullest opportunity of stating their case for the consideration of the Cabinet.

The publication, with your sanction, of an official manifesto by the Government of India raises quite different considerations. If the Governments of the Empire were all to claim the liberty of publishing individual declarations on matters which vitally affect the relations of the whole Empire with Foreign Powers, the unity of our foreign policy would be broken at once, and the very existence of the Empire jeopardised. The constitutional impropriety of the precedent which your action, if unrepudiated, would have set in this respect must surely be apparent to you as a matter quite unconnected with the right of the Government of India to urge its views on any particular question, or the particular merits of the Government's case.

The moment chosen for your action is moreover indefensible from the standpoint, which must govern our action, of broad imperial interest. A conference on the Near East is about to take place. The questions that will be there discussed are of the utmost delicacy. The weight of responsibility which the Foreign Secretary will have to carry will, in any case, be most serious, and your action has added considerably to the difficulties of a task which was already difficult enough.



MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION

The public consequences of this course of action must inevitably be serious. Its effect upon our colleagues is, I need not say, painful in the extreme, but I am confident that everybody and not least you yourself, will feel that however painful, circumstances have made your resignation inevitable.

Ever sincerely,
D. Lloyd George

P.S.—I should add that the publication of the telegram from yourself to the Viceroy, which you suggest, would obviously aggravate the bad effects of the manifesto already published and the Government therefore cannot consent to such a course.



Mr. Montagu's Cambridge Speech

11TH MARCH 1922

Mr. Montagu, M. P. addressing a meeting of his constituents at the Cambridge Liberal Club on Saturday, the 11th March, afternoon, defended his action in publishing the telegram from the Government of India which led to his resignation of the office of Secretary of State for India. This speech was the subject of an exciting controversy both in Parliament and outside. A large number of Indian students were among the audience. Mr. Montagu said :

The orthodox beginning of my speech to you should be "Ladies and Gentlemen," but I like to begin by saying that I address you as my friends, men and women, who have stood by me and by whose confidence I have done the work I have done ever since 1906. I have come here to-day for the first time for many years as a free man to ask you what you think about it all, and to tell you what I think about it all. I believe, as I have only so recently told you, that the highest interests of the State demand that we Liberals should work on a common platform, and should invite the co-operation of all the forces in the State who are willing to work together consistently for the common good by sinking or postponing matters of difference, and work together to rescue this country and this Empire from the difficulties which now confront us. But I am going to devote myself to-day to the matter which is uppermost in your mind, and I am going to explain to you, dispassionately, and I hope calmly, the circumstances which have led to my resignation as a member of His Majesty's Government. And I want to say one word to the members of the Cambridgeshire Liberal Association who adopted me as their candidate at the last election. I want you, if you will, to consider what I am about to say, and I want to assure you that if as a result of what I am going to say, you wish it, my resignation is in your hands. (Cries of "No.")

Co-Operation with two Viceroys

Do not come to a conclusion until I have told you about it. Now, what is the fact? I have resigned the Secretaryship of State for India and delivered the Seals of that high office to His Majesty the King, whose devotion to the interests of his Indian subjects has been the inspiration of my work for the last four years and a half. (Cheers.) Why have I done that? Well, first let me say—because I have summoned you here as being entitled to know what is in my mind—I cannot tell you the regret with which I have left

that office, the colleagues in it who have worked with me and the colleagues in India who have worked with me. I cast my mind back to my relations of intimate co-operation with the two Viceroys—Lord Chelmsford and Lord Reading. I have had a lifelong and paramount interest in the well-being of the "Indian Empire" and belief in the Indian people. I am convinced that the policy I have been authorised to adopt is not only the right policy, but the only policy for the development of India, and I have a conviction to-day that it will succeed, and that it must succeed, and I deplore that I can no longer be officially associated with it.

Now I come to the reasons. The official reason, which is published in the newspapers as the direct cause of my resignation, is that I have been guilty of publishing to the world a telegram from the Government of India without consultation with my colleagues, and that, therefore, I have outraged that glorious principle of British Government which has been treasured by successive Governments, and never more than by this Government, the doctrine of collective Cabinet responsibility. I cannot help smiling. (Laughter and cheers.) First of all, I do not think I have outraged it. What did I do? I received a telegram from the Government of India expressing their views on a very important subject, and in it there was a request to be allowed to publish their views. Immediately, as soon as I could get the necessary copies on Friday week last, I circulated that telegram to the members of His Majesty's Government. They had it in their possession on Friday evening. I never thought, and I do not think still, for reasons which I will explain to you later, that the question of its publication, so far as I was concerned, was a matter for discussion in the Cabinet. Each man who holds his high office is entitled to the discharge at his own risk of this responsibility to decide what he shall bring before his colleagues, and what he shall not. I do not think, for reasons I will explain, that it was a matter for consultation with the Cabinet. There may have been colleagues who differed from me.

A Cabinet Meeting

But what happened? On Monday last there was unexpectedly a meeting of the Cabinet. It is true that, through a most regrettable illness, the Prime Minister was not present, but there was a meeting of the Cabinet. Every member in that meeting ought to have had the telegram from the Government of India asking for the publication of that telegram in his pocket over the week-end. No member of the Cabinet seemed to wish to discuss the question and the only member of the Cabinet who referred to it to me that day

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was that member who is most directly interested, Lord Curzon, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, during the sitting of the Cabinet—though in private conversation I told Lord Curzon I had on Saturday authorized the publication of that telegram. If he had wanted to, he could have resumed his seat in the Cabinet, which was still in session. He could have urged his colleagues to object to publication. I should have had something to say on the other side and if the decision had gone against me. It is an irony to reflect that there was ample time to send a telegram reversing my orders and stopping the publication of the telegram.

But what did Lord Curzon do? He maintained silence in the Cabinet, and contented himself that evening with writing to me one of those plaintive, hectoring, bullying, complaining letters which are so familiar to his colleagues and to his friends which ended with the request, what?—not to discuss the matter in the Cabinet, but, in future, not to allow publication of such documents without consultation with him. That was all. I say, therefore, that the Cabinet had ample opportunity to control the matter if they had wished. I did not raise it at the Cabinet, because I did not think there was any necessity to consult them, and I do not think so now.

After all, ladies and gentlemen, let us face this fact. Read that telegram from the Government of India. There is nothing in it which has not been expressed over and over again on their behalf by their spokesmen, by me, by His Highness the Aga Khan, and even really by implication by the Prime Minister himself when he was defending in the House of Commons the retention of Constantinople by the Turks. [He read then to the House the Prime Minister's Speech made in January, 1918, that Thrace, Constantinople, and Asia Minor should be left to the Turks, and he prescribed it as a pledge to the Indian Muhammadans, and, therefore, the latter had put forward on behalf of India really everything that the Government of India put forward now.]

The "Wizard's" Cupboard

But, however that may be, an accusation of a breach of the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility from the Prime Minister, of all men in the world, is a laughable accusation. It is grotesque. What are the circumstances? The head of our Government, at the present moment, is a Prime Minister of great, if eccentric, genius, whose contributions to the well-being of his country, and of the world have been so well advertised as to require no stress from me, whose achievements are so well-known, but who has demanded the price which it is within the power of every genius to demand—and



MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION

[CALCUTTA]

That price has been the total, complete, absolute disappearance of the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility ever since he formed his Government. (Cheers.) The wizard, as he is, from the cupboard in which he has locked this doctrine, brings it out conveniently and makes me the victim of this new creed. I am sure that if the country will welcome this manifestation that the Prime Minister is going to return to the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility, I have not been sacrificed in vain.

Let me give you a few examples. I have sat on the same bench with the Prime Minister and heard him criticise across the floor of the House actions taken by Mr. Asquith's Government, complaining bitterly of things said and things done by Mr. Asquith's Government—a Government of which he was a member, whose actions he was responsible for under the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility. It was only the other day that Lord Birkenhead—to whom I wish to pause to pay a tribute; I cannot over-emphasise my admiration for his brilliant ability or my gratitude for loyal friendship during all the years I have been privileged to be his colleague—only the other day Lord Birkenhead in a public speech attacked, and attacked bitterly, the foreign policy of Lord Grey of Fallodon. The Prime Minister and Mr. Churchill, on the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility, were being attacked by Lord Birkenhead when he attacked Lord Grey.

I come to other matters. Have you ever heard of the Milner Report about the future Government of Egypt?—a report on the merits of which I am saying nothing; a report which dealt with the vital question whether Egypt was or was not to remain part of the British Empire—published without the authority of the Cabinet? Was Lord Milner asked to resign? He remained in the Government for months afterwards, and by his remaining there prejudiced and, I think, decided the fact that the Cabinet became responsible, for the principle, at any rate, of the report which he had presented. Have you heard of the Amery Memorandum on the Geddes Committee Report? Where was the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility there? The memorandum had never been seen by the Cabinet, and I notice with interest that Colonel Amery—for whom I have the highest regard—is one of the men mentioned in the newspapers as my own successor. The other night my friend and colleague, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Winston Churchill, attended a dinner of the Kenya Club and made a pronouncement which had a most terrible effect in India, on the future of that Colony, and on the Indians in that Colony, without any reference to the Cabinet, who had never discussed the matter at all. Where was the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility?

I need not go into this matter any further. I would ask those who have been my colleagues in this Government to search their hearts and realise the numerous occasions upon which they prayed for the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility—the vital decisions of peace, the vital decisions connected with Ireland. Why, it is a commonplace of the political history of Europe—the confusion between No. 10, Downing Street and the Foreign Office about foreign affairs. Cabinet responsibility! Why, ladies and gentlemen, the thing is a joke. It is a pretext. We have been governed by a great genius—a dictator, who has called together from time to time conferences of Ministers, men who had access to him day and night, leaving out those who, like myself, found it sometimes impossible to get to him for days together. He has come to epoch-making decisions, and over and over again it is notorious that members of the Cabinet had no knowledge of such decisions, and if such knowledge came to them, it came at a time when they could make no effective use of their knowledge.

I came across the other day a description of a King of this country which I fear is applicable to the Prime Minister, genius though he is. "I fear," said Sir Gilbert Elliot "there is in this Prince the feature of his father, that he loves closets within Cabinets and cupboards within closets; that he will have secret advisers besides his ostensible ones and still more invisible ones behind his secret advisers—that he will be grateful to none of them and a most uncomfortable master to those Ministers who would really serve him." That is the price which we have paid for the great services of the great genius who presides over the State.

No, Cabinet responsibility is not the cause. What then is the cause? The fact that, with or without consulting my colleagues, I consented to the publication of this telegram? Well, I did. Why should it not be published? The Government of India were parties to the Treaty of Sevres. It was signed on their behalf. Had it produced peace the Government of India would have loyally accepted it, but when it showed—as I knew it always would show—that it could not produce peace, they pleaded for its revision, and as a party to the first Treaty they had every right to express their views—having been given separate representation on the Peace Conference—as to what they thought best in the interests of the country and, on behalf of those for whom they spoke, ought to be the guiding factors in the new peace. In international affairs, India, as a reward for its services in the war, was given Dominion status. Would the Government of Canada, would the Government of South Africa, would the Government of Australia have sat silent

when peace—so-called peace—was destroying the internal peace of a country they were governing? It seems to me that they had every right to express their views.

Middle East Policy

Let me remind you that the foreign policy pursued by His Majesty's Government in the Middle East has caused the gravest position in India. Over and over and over again the Government of India has made representations on the subject, mainly based on the fact that the Prime Minister's pledge to the people of India had been broken by the Treaty of Sevres. I say I am no believer in the doctrine of secret diplomacy. (Cheers.) I think it is better that the world should know what is going on. (Cheers.) I think that the Muslims in India were entitled to know of the efforts being made on their behalf by their Government. I think the British public were entitled to know what the Government of India thought of this important question. But I did not agree to the publication of the first telegram. I was considering the matter. It was only when I received, on the Saturday, another telegram urging an immediate answer in the interests of India that I said to myself: "Here is the Viceroy coping with a difficult situation. After all, he is no child in public affairs. Lord Reading, a member once of a British Cabinet, His Majesty's Ambassador once in Washington, a man who has had in his own keeping the vital interests, not merely of millions of the British taxpayers' money but the vital interests of the good relations between ourselves and the United States of America, a man who has successfully, to the admiration of the whole world, discharged these functions, a man with a full knowledge of what he was doing, asks me not once but twice, to assent to the publication of his views." I know the difficulties in India, and I say it was my duty to support the Viceroy. (Cheers.)

Now it is said that the publication of this telegram has committed the Home Government in the conference which is about to take place. Why publish it on the eve of a conference? Well, even the harshest of my critics will agree that it would be no use publishing it after the conference. (Laughter.) But I wonder why it is that His Majesty's Government have refused to publish the telegram in which I gave sanction to the publication of this document. If they had, it would have been demonstrated to the world that I recognised that His Majesty's Government had got to take wider facts into consideration than the interests of India alone; that these views could only be put forward for consideration, although I venture to think, when you reflect that Turkey was beaten in the main by Indian soldiers, that India is entitled to a

predominant voice in the consideration of such questions. (Cheers)
It would also have been seen that I told the Government of India that one of their terms—the religious suzerainty of the Caliph over the Holy Places—was not a matter in which, in my opinion, the Allies could interfere, but was a religious matter between the King of the Hedjaz and the King of Mesopotamia and the Sultan at Constantinople, and that the Prime Minister had agreed and had assured the Indian Muhammadans that there would be nothing in the Treaty to prevent such an agreement.

Lord Curzon's Foreign Policy.

It is in the power of the Government to keep secret such an official document, but I cannot understand why it was not published. I am sorry if the needs of India have embarrassed the foreign policy of Lord Curzon. How little he knows the disastrous effects that have been produced in India by the foreign policy—the missed opportunities, the bungled undertakings. I have tried my best. I have hoped and hoped for an amelioration in the position. I have waited patiently, feeling that, in the long run, things would come right, and that the inherent justice of India's cause would be recognised. I have been on the verge of resignation on this question again and again and hesitated because I did not wish to say to the Muhammadans of India that solemn pledges made to them were irretrievably lost. I say to them now—after this has been done—do not think for one moment that the anger of the British Government with me means that there will be any disregard of their views. There is still hope, and I beg of them to exercise patience. (Cheers.)

No, the publication was not the real reason for my resignation. What is the reason? Well, I have been pleading, arguing, cajolling, urging against the Prime Minister's policy in the East ever since the Peace Conference. I have never been able to understand from what motive his pro-Greek policy was dictated. Pro-Greek it is called. I do not believe that it is in the interests of the Greeks. I do not know in whose interests it is. I am certain it is calamitous to the British Empire. Well, I suppose one day we shall understand the motive (a Voice: "Never"); but I want to seek the real cause for the fact that I stand before you to day a free man, asking for your continued support.

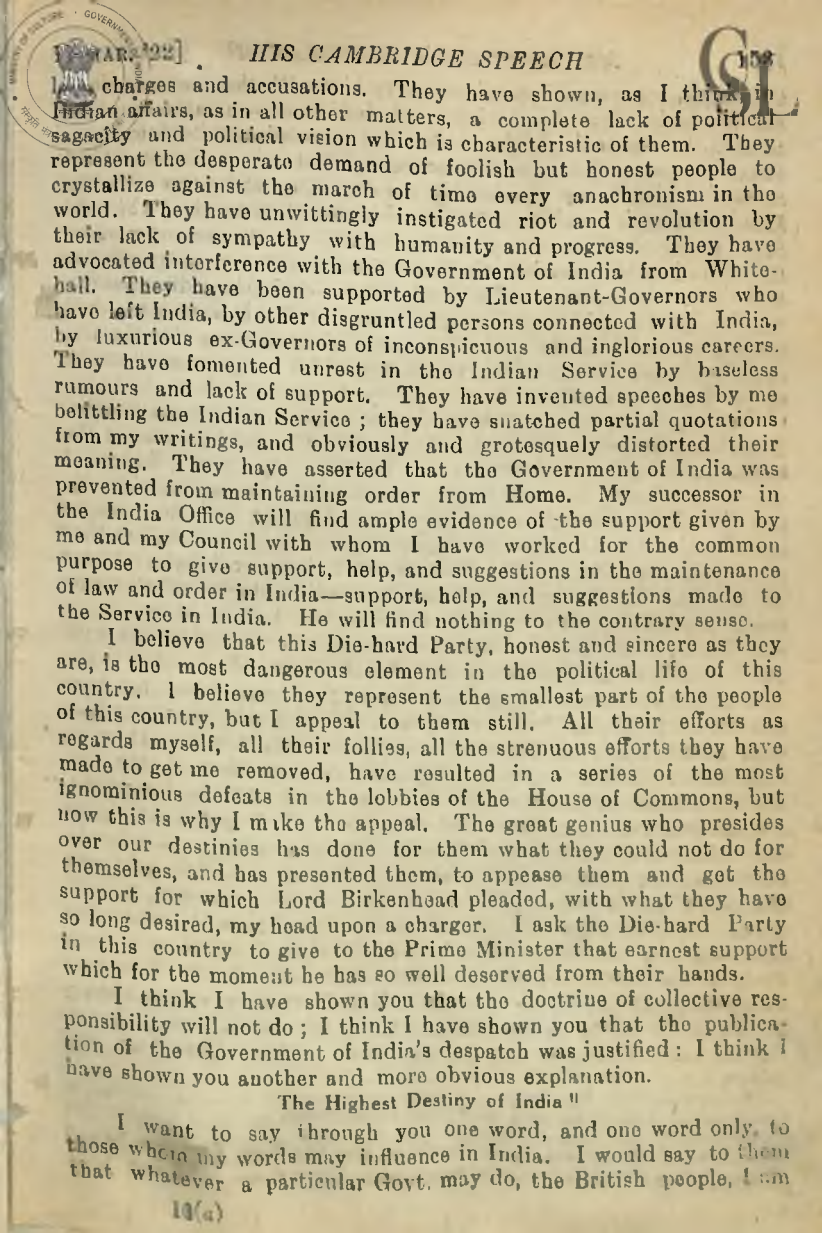
I seek an explanation in the political situation of the day. You know what has been going on. (A Voice: "Intrigue.") You know how dangerously near collapse the Government was. I am a believer in Coalition as I have defined it. I owe much, too much, to Progressive Conservatives and loyal Conservatives in this coun-

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 tency and all over England to wish to part with their co-operation ;
 because I said at the beginning of my speech that co-operation must be
 consistent. Believe me, you make the principle of Coalition ridic-
 culous if you try to apply it by standing first on one leg and then
 on the other ; by making up for and paying the price of every
 Liberal measure by doing something for the Conservatives the next
 day. (Cries of "It is a Tory Government.") At the present moment
 the Liberal members of His Majesty's Government are long suffering
 and they are patient. They see their colleagues disappearing
 one by one. But the Conservative wing of the Coalition has had
 a lot to swallow in the Irish policy—the greatest thing this Govern-
 ment has done and the thing that will redound longest to the credit
 of our Prime Minister.

It has been a very serious step for some Conservatives to take.
 I am not referring to them ; I am referring to that wing of the
 Conservative Party which is known as the "Die hard" Party. I
 want, if I may, to appeal to that wing of the Conservative Party,
 and the appeal, I hope, will be effective. I should like to make an
 appeal to that part of the Conservative Party on behalf of that
 great genius, the Prime Minister. The other day, at the luncheon
 in the City to Sir Arthur Balfour, another great Conservative who
 has contributed to this Government one of its epoch-making suc-
 cesses, Lord Birkenhead assured us he would never wish to part with
 the "Die hard" section of the Unionist Party. Well, that is the
 section which is most restive. That is the section which has been
 worried most by the Irish settlement. That is the section which
 does not like me. (Laughter.) The Prime Minister gave them an
 appetiser of what was coming when, on the occasion of the last
 Indian debate in the House of Commons, getting up to defend me,
 a member of his Government, the exponent of a policy which, on
 the doctrine of collective responsibility, he was responsible for, he
 paid compliments to the men who had attacked me, but said not
 one word in defence of me. (A voice :—"It is like him, a back-
 hander !") They must have been familiar, recently, with concealing
 expressions of opinion given by him privately to members of their
 Party at the dinner table even in the precincts of the House of
 Commons. There he stands—the greatest strategist in the history
 of the world—scenting the air, waiting for the pursuit, and throw-
 ing to the wolves the most convenient cargo. (Laughter and
 cheers.)

An Appeal to the "Die-Hards."

I want to make this appeal to the Die-hard Party on behalf
 of the Prime Minister. They have made against me wild and base-



HIS CAMBRIDGE SPEECH

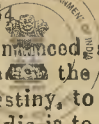
charges and accusations. They have shown, as I think in Indian affairs, as in all other matters, a complete lack of political sagacity and political vision which is characteristic of them. They represent the desperate demand of foolish but honest people to crystallize against the march of time every anachronism in the world. They have unwittingly instigated riot and revolution by their lack of sympathy with humanity and progress. They have advocated interference with the Government of India from Whitehall. They have been supported by Lieutenant-Governors who have left India, by other disgruntled persons connected with India, by luxurious ex-Governors of inconspicuous and inglorious careers. They have fomented unrest in the Indian Service by baseless rumours and lack of support. They have invented speeches by me belittling the Indian Service ; they have snatched partial quotations from my writings, and obviously and grotesquely distorted their meaning. They have asserted that the Government of India was prevented from maintaining order from Home. My successor in the India Office will find ample evidence of the support given by me and my Council with whom I have worked for the common purpose to give support, help, and suggestions in the maintenance of law and order in India—support, help, and suggestions made to the Service in India. He will find nothing to the contrary sense.

I believe that this Die-hard Party, honest and sincere as they are, is the most dangerous element in the political life of this country. I believe they represent the smallest part of the people of this country, but I appeal to them still. All their efforts as regards myself, all their follies, all the strenuous efforts they have made to get me removed, have resulted in a series of the most ignominious defeats in the lobbies of the House of Commons, but now this is why I make the appeal. The great genius who presides over our destinies has done for them what they could not do for themselves, and has presented them, to appease them and get the support for which Lord Birkenhead pleaded, with what they have so long desired, my head upon a charger. I ask the Die-hard Party in this country to give to the Prime Minister that earnest support which for the moment he has so well deserved from their hands.

I think I have shown you that the doctrine of collective responsibility will not do ; I think I have shown you that the publication of the Government of India's despatch was justified : I think I have shown you another and more obvious explanation.

The Highest Destiny of India "

I want to say through you one word, and one word only, to those whom my words may influence in India. I would say to them that whatever a particular Govt. may do, the British people, I am

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 commenced are sympathetic above everything with the people of India, and in the hands of the British people India will win to its appointed destiny, to the only destiny I think it is possible to contemplate if India is to succeed at all—freedom within the British Empire. There is no obstacle, in my opinion, if the appeal is made to the British people—there is no obstacle to the achievement of the goal which has been promised them except disloyalty and Non-co operation. I beg of the Indians to remember that race-hatred will only delay the day, and their only chance—and a good chance—is in the confidence that will be begotten between the great people of this country and the great people of India by common action and common co-operation.

To the British people I would say: "Do not, above all things, allow your Government in your name to vacillate in their Indian policy". I do not believe it is in danger. Even the Die-hards admit that promises must be kept. They will be satisfied with my disappearance. It was their day on Thursday, and everything was done to make it a success. Mr. Chamberlain, in announcing the decision, did it in such a way as to avoid any expression of regret in order that the House might enjoy the uninterrupted vociferations of the Die-hard Party without any counter-cheers or dangers of that kind to spoil the day. But the policy I believe to be safe. Rouse yourselves before it is too late to avoid what I believe will mean the destruction of the British Empire.

Britishers to keep their Pledge !

You can adopt an education policy and advertise it to the world and then cry "Hold." * You can urge a Minister to build houses and then throw him over because he has built them. * But you cannot build up an Indian policy one day and vacillate with it the next. The British people have a right to demand, and will demand, loyalty and the preservation of order. If they get these, I implore them not to be dismayed by temporary difficulties, but to pursue the path to which we have been pledged and to let no Government betray us into breaking these pledges. The only way to concentrate the attention of the people in India on Indian affairs is to give them the right and chance to earn the control of affairs in their own hands.

The cultural Conquest of India.

Above all, remember the great work which has been done by our countrymen in India. Remember that, perhaps, one of the greatest achievements is the dissemination through that country of

* Reference is to Mr. Fisher, Education Minister & Dr. Addison, Minister of Public Works, both of whom were at first pitchforked by the Prime Minister and then sacrificed. The Prime Minister's career has been marked by big promises to secure votes and little performances. He has broken pl dge after pl dge but never ceased from indulging in high talk.

British ideals and the worship of British institutions. Our best books are in the schools, our books are read in the universities, the teachers are English. It has been slow progress for lack of funds, but it has been Western education which for the last 150 years we have been spreading in India. Do not turn round to the Indians now and say, "We have lost faith in our democratic institutions. All our teachings was a mistake and we are now going to deprive you of what we have taught you to work for and what will be the fulfilment and logical goal of all British endeavour in India."

That is all I have to say. I do not believe that my disappearance means any alteration in Indian policy. I do believe that it has nothing to do with the doctrine of collective responsibility. I do believe that it was in the main an effort to preserve this Government from the fate which must attend it if one of its wings crumbles. Whether those methods will be successful, it is not for me to say. Whether this Government will adjust its own initial differences is not for me to say; whether it will be easy to create a national party without leaving out a single Die-hard and with as few Liberal Ministers in it as possible, it is not for me to say, but that does not mean for one moment that an honest co-operation between Liberals and Conservatives is not one of the things we ought to strive for in the difficult times in which we live.

I have spoken to you with all the sincerity that I can command. I have told you all that is in my mind. I am a free man. Having made this explanation to you, I propose to do what no man in office can ever do—get a holiday, and I propose after that to take my seat in the House as a Liberal believing in honest co-operation with that part of the Conservative party which has demonstrated its willingness to co-operate. I shall support this Government or any other Government when I think it right. But I want you to take counsel with yourselves; I want you to consider this matter among yourselves. I appeal to you last as a supporter and a member of this Government. My views have not changed. I have pursued consistent policy. I have pursued that consistent policy patiently, and with only, in latter days, a partial support from those who were equally responsible with me for that policy.

My share in public affairs has only been possible by the support which I have had for so many years from my constituents in Cambridgeshire from all parties. My seat in the House of Commons is at the disposal of Cambridgeshire, and must ask for an expression as I can hope and pray, of your confidence and for your opinion in order that I may be entitled to contribute in the future as I have striven to contribute in the past, my small share to the well-being of our country and of our Empire. (Loud cheers.)



MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION [H. OF COMS.]
HOUSE OF COMMONS

CSL

13TH MARCH 1922

Mr. Chamberlain, asked by Sir J. D. Rees whether, in view of the unfortunate effect upon Muhammadans in India of the resignation of the Secretary of State following immediately upon the publication of the Government of India's pronouncement, some signal and decisive repudiation of any want of sympathy with the Indian Moslems on the part of his Majesty's Government could be devised and might be expected, said:—If my hon. friend will look at the letter by which the Prime Minister accepted the resignation of the late Secretary of State for India, he will see that the resignation had nothing to do with the merits of the policy advocated by the Government of India, but only with the publication, on the sole responsibility of Mr. Montagu, without consultation with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, or the Cabinet, of a telegram raising a question whose importance, to use the Prime Minister's words "extended far beyond the frontiers of India; or the responsibilities of the Office of Secretary for India." As recalled by the Prime Minister in the same letter, the views of the Government of India and of Indian Muhammadans have been laid fully before his Majesty's Government and the Peace Conference and have received the most careful and sympathetic consideration of His Majesty's Government. Our object has been, and is, to secure a just and honorable peace between the belligerents.

Colonel Wedgwood.—(Newcastle-under-Lyme, Lab.) later asked the Leader of the House whether he had anything to say as to the charges made by the right hon. gentleman, the member for Cambridge (Mr. Montagu).

Mr. Chamberlain.—Notice of this question was sent to my room at the House and only reached me a short while ago. May I take this opportunity of appealing to the House to send private notice questions to Downing-street? If they will do so, it will put me in a better position to deal with them. The speech which my right hon. friend, the late Secretary of State, made at Cambridge on Saturday night covered such wide ground that I can hardly deal with it fully, if it were desirable that I should deal with it at all, in answer to a question. But there is some information which, I think, I ought to give the House at once. May I first of all deal with a minor matter which concerns myself? In the course of his speech, my right hon. friend said:—"Mr. Chamberlain, in announcing the decision, did it in such a way as to avoid any expression of regret in order that the House might enjoy the uninterrupted

verification of the Die-hard Party without any counter-check or dangers of that kind to spoil the day." (Cheers.) Nobody would gather from that statement of my right hon. friend that before making the answer, I had submitted the terms in which I had drawn the answer to my right hon. friend and he had made no objection to them. (Cheers.) The hon. and gallant gentleman (Colonel Wedgwood) apparently thinks that is an observation of no importance. He was in the House, and other hon. members were in the House, and they will judge whether I sought—indeed, those who know me will know that if by any words of mine I could have avoided it I would have avoided such a demonstration as that. (Cheers.) I pass from that which is, after all, a very small matter, but one which I cannot have wholly unnoticed—I pass from that to what is a graver matter, the statements made with regard to my noble friend, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. My noble friend is laid up in bed in the country, but he has telephoned that he shall, under any circumstances, come up to London to-morrow in order to be in his place at the first sitting of the House of Lords to make a statement in regard to what has been said respecting himself. (Cheers.) I will at once, however, tell the House what I know about the sequence of events. I have ascertained that the first telegram from the Government of India—the one which was subsequently published—was received in the India Office on Wednesday March 1st, at 8 A.M. The instructions of my right hon. friend, the Secretary of State, to circulate it appear to have been given on March 3rd (Friday) two days later. At any rate, the Paper circulated to the Cabinet, which has a heading "Circulated," this paper and that minute are dated March 3, two days after the receipt of the telegram in the India Office. The actual circulation took place at 2-30 P.M., on Saturday—that is to say, the papers were placed in the Cabinet boxes that were sent out from the Cabinet Secretariate at 2-30 P.M., on Saturday, the 4th.

On the same day a second telegram was received from the Government of India by the India Office asking permission for the immediate publication of their first telegram. My right hon. friend, the late Secretary of State for India, was, I believe, in the country when that telegram was received, and it was forwarded to him there. He authorised and directed the India Office to send a telegram in his name authorising the publication on that same day (Saturday). That was a private telegram in consequence of his absence in the country. He stated he would telegraph officially and fully on Monday. There was a Cabinet meeting on Monday, and before the business began my noble friend, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, called my attention to the

telegram from the Government of India and represented that it would be contrary to the public interest to have it published. I said I entirely agreed with him that such a telegram could not possibly be published at the present time. In the course of the Cabinet or at the close of the Cabinet, I am not quite certain, he spoke to the late Secretary of State for India, and he at once said, "I have already authorised it; I authorised it on Saturday." The late Secretary of State for India gave no hint to my noble friend that there was still time to stop publication of the telegram. Had he done so, of course, my noble friend would have consulted me, and we should, if necessary, have consulted the cabinet or acted on our own responsibility, and at once have sent a telegram stopping publication. I imagine the late Secretary of State for India did not suggest that there was still time to stop publication because he himself did not believe it. The Indian Government had asked leave to publish immediately. He had given that authorisation on Saturday, and it was only afterwards, for reasons into which I do not go, that the Government of India delayed publication. I have only one further thing to say. My right hon. friend, the late Secretary of State for India, in his speech at Cambridge took the very unusual course of referring to a private letter sent to him by Lord Curzon—such a private letter as Ministers often send to one another. My noble friend wrote the letter as one Cabinet Minister to another, and did not even keep a copy of it himself. I think it is regrettable that the right hon. gentleman, the member for Cambridge, should have referred to a private communication of that kind. (Cheers.)

COLONEL WEDGWOOD.—Is it not a fact that the noble lord the Foreign Secretary in writing to the ex-Secretary of State for India did not protest against the lack of Cabinet solidarity in publication, but asked that in future any such despatch should not be published without Cabinet authority; and would the right hon. gentleman therefore get permission from the noble lord to have that letter published so that we can see exactly what attitude was taken towards this shocking breach of tradition before it was found advisable to get rid of the Secretary of State for India.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—The hon. and gallant member is entitled to ask a question, but he is not entitled to make insinuations of that kind when using the forms of the House professedly to seek information. (Cheers) (COLONEL WEDGWOOD.—What was the insinuation?) The hon. and gallant gentleman insinuates that the reasons publicly given for the resignation of the late Secretary of State for India were a mere pretext. The sugges-

tion is absolutely unfounded. (Cheers.) I have told the House already that not only have I not seen the letter written by my noble friend to the Secretary of State but that it was such a private letter from colleague to colleague that he himself did not keep a copy of it. I cannot say anything as to the publication of the letter. My noble friend will no doubt deal with it in the House of Lords to-morrow. But I do say there is indeed an end to Cabinet responsibility if one Cabinet Minister* is to allude publicly to a private letter received from another Cabinet Minister and is by so doing to force publication.

CAPTAIN WEDGWOOD BENN (Leith-L.)—May I ask whether the Government have any objection to the full publication of this letter? Does the latter request the late Secretary of State not to bring these matters before the Cabinet, but to consult the Foreign Secretary on the matters? (This was the crux of the whole matter in question).

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—I have said I have not seen the letter. I have no doubt my noble friend will say whatever he thinks necessary on the subject in the House of Lords to-morrow.

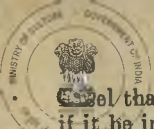
COLONEL WEDGWOOD—The right hon. gentleman suggested that I made an insinuation. May I ask how he reconciles the action taken towards the late Secretary of State for India and the action taken in exactly similar circumstances towards the speech of the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Churchill on Kenya Indians see before) in connection with a similar subject?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—The hon. and gallant gentleman having made an unfounded allegation now tries to cover his action by an argument. I state that his allegation is unfounded. (Cheers.)

THE SPEAKER.—I have received a notice from the hon. member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) that he wishes to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House. I do not know whether what had occurred just now may alter his view, but I think I ought to point out that his motion ought not to raise questions of Government policy, and only this immediate matter of incorrect attitude between individual Ministers.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR.—The Leader of the House has made an appeal to me not to put this motion in a letter which was sent to me only this morning, and I am very much impressed by his suggestion, especially at a critical moment like this for my right hon. friend.

* This is clearly a prevarication, Mr. Montagu made the statement after his resignation.



MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION [H. OF COMS.]

Feel that I ought to ask the opinion of the House upon my motion if it be in order, as I understand it is, because I think it is necessary we should have a frank discussion on an incident so remarkable; and, secondly, to put ourselves right with peoples of India and of Eastern Europe and for that reason I hope my right hon. friend will make no opposition.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—May I say that my appeal to the hon. gentleman not to make his motion was based on two grounds? One was that we are pressed for time in our financial business. The other and the more important ground was that I thought it contrary to the public interest that we should have a discussion upon policy to be followed in the Near East in anticipation of the Paris Conference. That I understand, would not be in any way in order, and accordingly that falls to the ground. I shall not raise any objection if the hon. member wishes to discuss this matter. I confess I should have expected my right hon. friend the member for Cambridge to be in his place after the speech he made at Cambridge.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR.—May I say that I sent my right hon. friend (Mr. Montagu) a letter saying that I was going to make this motion?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—It is desirable, when we do discuss his speech, that he should be in the House.

THE SPEAKER.—I must again point out to the hon. gentleman (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) that his proposed motion does not raise, and it would not be in order to raise the question of policy in the Near East. It raises only some alleged incorrect action on the part of the Minister without the consent of the Cabinet, and to that the debate must be confined. (Hear, hear.)

After further discussion it was settled that Mr. O'Connor would move for an adjournment of the House to discuss the matter on Wednesday next, *i. e.*, the 15th March '22 after Lord Curzon had made his statement in the Lords next day.



LORD CURZON'S STATEMENT
HOUSE OF LORDS

14TH. MARCH 1922

The following is Lord Curzon's Statement in the Lords:—

The Marquess of Curzon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said:—My Lords, I am sorry to have to ask your Lordships' attention for a few moments to a personal matter arising from the reference to myself contained in a speech made by a late colleague of mine, Mr. Montagu, on Saturday last. I had thought, my Lords, that a Foreign Secretary who is about to proceed to Paris for the discussions on the Eastern question was the chief sufferer by the astonishing act of the late Secretary of State for India, in as much as the authorisation by him of the publication of the manifesto of the Government of India could not but gravely affect the position of the British representatives in the forthcoming Conference. But I learnt, greatly to my surprise, from Mr. Montagu's speech, that I am deemed in some way to have connived at this injury to the public interest in my charge, and this amazing proposition Mr. Montagu endeavours to establish by a public reference to private correspondence with me and to private conversation in the Cabinet Chamber, which I cannot help thinking must be without parallel in the history of Cabinet procedure. (Hear, hear.) I am compelled, therefore, to state the facts.

In common with my colleagues, I received on Saturday afternoon, March 4, from the Cabinet Office, a copy of the telegram from the Government of India, in which they sought permission to publish their manifesto about the terms of peace with Turkey. Knowing that there was to be a Cabinet meeting at the beginning of the next week, and not deeming it possible that Mr. Montagu could conceive of publication without reference to his colleagues, I regarded it as certain that the question would be brought up at the meeting on Monday. On that day before the proceedings began I mentioned the Viceroy's telegram to Mr. Chamberlain, who presided in the absence of the Prime Minister and expressed to him the view that, when the permission of the Cabinet to publication was sought, it must be unhesitatingly refused. In this he concurred. A little later, in the course of private conversation of a few seconds only with Mr. Montagu, I said, "Of course you will not authorise publication without reference to the Cabinet." To this he replied, "I have already done so, on Saturday last." I was so dumbfounded at the avowal that the Secretary of State had already given his sanction, as has since transpired, before the telegram from the Government of India could even have been seen by many of his



MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION [H. CECILS

colleagues, that I closed the conversation and returned to my seat. Had Mr. Montagu given the slightest hint that there was still time to cancel or to postpone the order which he had sent to India by telegram two days before, or had I regarded such a suspension as possible, I should at once have brought the matter before the Cabinet, but I assumed that publication had already, under Mr. Montagu's authority, taken place in India, all the more so as the Government of India pressed for immediate sanction to publish. I presumed therefore—and in the circumstances no other presumption was possible—that it was too late for me to intervene. Furthermore, the responsibility for the step was not mine. It was for the Secretary of State for India to explain and to justify his own action, already taken, to the Cabinet. He was the Secretary for India, not I. Whether he then or afterwards proceeded to do so or not, I do not know, for, being ill at the time, and having only risen from bed to attend the Cabinet for certain Foreign Office matters, I left the room as soon as those had been disposed of.

The Private Letter

Feeling however, profoundly disturbed and dismayed at the action which Mr. Montagu had just revealed to me, I wrote to him a private letter the same afternoon, deploring the action that he had taken and protesting against the repetition of any similar occurrence. Of so intimate a character was this letter, written by one colleague to another, that I did not even take a copy of its contents. I regarded it as no less confidential than scores of similar letters which Mr. Montagu had addressed to me while we had served together, sometimes at the rate of two or three a week, the character of which I will not follow his example by attempting in public to describe.

I awaited the reply to this letter throughout Tuesday and Wednesday, before deciding what further steps, if any, it might be desirable for me to take. Neither then, nor since, did Mr. Montagu favour me with any answer. Instead of this, the late Secretary of State, reversing the ordinary procedure by which the Minister who has resigned makes his explanation in Parliament, where his statements can be checked or answered (cheers), went to his constituents, addressed a political club of his own supporters, publicly referred to and travestied both my private conversation with him and my private letter, vilified the colleague whose advice in relation to Indian matters and Indian, foreign, and frontier affairs he had not ceased to solicit and receive in unstinted measure in most weeks in recent years, and endeavoured to shift some portion of the responsibility for his lamentable indiscretion on to my shoulders.

11 MAR 1922]

LORD CURZON'S STATEMENT

My Lords, I have this morning received from Mr. Montagu a copy of my letter, and I hold it in my hand. It was marked by me "private." My Lords, it seems to me intolerable, as I believe it to be an unprecedented thing, that an ex-Cabinet Minister should, by quoting and distorting in public a private letter written to him under the seal of confidence by a colleague, compel its publication to the world (Cheers). Such a proceeding appears to me neither consistent with the confidence which should prevail between Ministers, nor with the honor of public life. But Mr. Montagu has left me with no alternative, and I will now read the letter to your Lordships. But first let me ask your Lordships to recall Mr. Montagu's description of it. This is what he said at Cambridge:—"But what did Lord Curzon do? He maintained silence in the Cabinet and contented himself that evening with writing me one of those plaintive, hectoring, bullying, complaining letters which are so familiar to his colleagues and to his friends, which ended with the request, what?—not to discuss the matter in the Cabinet, but in future not to allow publication of such documents without consultation with him. That was all." I will now read the actual terms of the letter:

Private

March 6, 1922.

"DEAR MONTAGU,—I much deplore that you should have thought right without consulting the Cabinet to authorise the publication of that telegram, even as amended. Had I, when Viceroy, ventured to make a public pronouncement in India about the foreign policy of the Government in Europe, I should certainly have been recalled. As it was I was once rebuked for making a casual reference in a speech.

I consulted Chamberlain this morning in the absence of the Prime Minister, and found that he entirely shared my views. But it was too late. That I should be asked to go into the conference in Paris while a subordinate branch of the British Government 6,000 miles away dictates to the British Government what line it thinks I ought to pursue in Thrace, seems to me quite intolerable, but the part that India has sought to play or been allowed to play in this series of events passes my comprehension. Moreover, it is of very dangerous import, for if the Government of India, because it rules over a large body of Muslims, is entitled to express and publish its views about what we do in Smyrna or Thrace, why not in Egypt, Sudan, Palestine, Arabia and the Malay Peninsula or any other part of the Muslim world? Is Indian opinion always to be a final court of Muslim appeal?

I hope this may be the last of these unfortunate pronouncements, but if any other is ever contemplated, I trust at least that



MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION [H. OF LORDS]

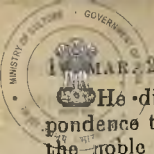
will give me an opportunity of expressing my opinion in **Can not** before the sanction is given.

Yours ever, Curzon."

Your Lordships can form your own opinion as to the tone of the letter I have read. (Cheers). But you will observe that instead of requesting, as alleged by Mr. Montagu at Cambridge, that he should in future discuss such matters with me without bringing them to the Cabinet, I said, on the contrary, precisely the reverse. I urged that it was before the Cabinet. I should be given an opportunity of expressing my opinion before any action of this sort was ever again taken by the Secretary of State for India. Such, my lords, are the facts of the case, upon which it is open to anyone who hears or reads my words to pass his own judgment. They leave me still quite unable to determine whether the private or the public conduct of the late Secretary of State for India has been the more inexplicable and surprising, and in using those adjectives I am astonished at my own moderation. (Laughter and cheers.)

Lord Crewe's Views.

The Marquess of Crewe said he desired to express the sympathy which he was sure their Lordships all felt with the Foreign Secretary in the circumstances in which he had come to the House. The noble Marquess had been seriously ill, and they all watched with sympathy the difficulty and emotion with which he made the statement he had thought it was his duty to come down and present to their Lordships at the earliest possible moment. On the actual circumstances of this most unhappy event he did not wish to say much. He had been a colleague both of the noble Marquess and of Mr. Montagu, and he had no desire to engage in any personal criticisms of the action of either. The noble Marquess had stated his case with the utmost fairness, and he felt bound to say that so far as the original cause of his indignation was concerned he would receive the universal sympathy of the House. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Montagu had rendered, at any rate in the opinion of many of them, great services to India in the past, and he could not mention his action on that occasion without paying that tribute to him. But it was, he believed, the universal opinion of their Lordships, and as it appeared to everybody outside, that in having sanctioned the publication of this particular telegram—the manifesto as the noble Marquess described it—of the Government of India, expressing the views they were known to hold but which they were not entitled to give formally to the world, Mr. Montagu committed a breach of the ordinary proprieties of Cabinet Government to which, like the noble Marquess, he (Lord Crewe) could recall no precedent.



LORD CREWE'S SPEECH

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He did not desire to enter into the circumstances of the correspondence that ensued. He would only say this, that the letter of the noble marquess, as read by him, did not appear to deserve the particular epithets applied to it by Mr. Montagu. (Cheers.) If he had to criticise the letter, he would have said it was rather more formal in tone than was perhaps customary between men who were in the habit of sitting round the same table several days a week and perpetually working together. That was the opposite kind of criticism to that which the recipient had levelled at it. He had no desire to say anything more on the personal question, but he could not help observing that action of this kind on the part of a Minister, surprising as it might be, was less surprising than it would have been from a member of a Government in which the old tradition of collective responsibility had been more uniformly respected. They could not help recalling other cases in which his Majesty's Ministers seemed to have arrogated to themselves the right to make speeches, either on the platform or sometimes even in Parliament, conveying views distinct from and even opposed to those which were understood to be entertained by the Government as a whole. (Hear, hear.) If this particular Minister had gone too far, as they all thought he had, in the assertion of this independence, he (Lord Crewe) was afraid he had been encouraged to do it by the manner in which No. 10, Downing-street had conducted the system of Cabinet Government. What really mattered, after all, was what was going to be the effect upon India, and what was going to be the effect upon Europe. That was not the moment to discuss what the possible effect on either might be. The most that anybody could do was to review the whole of this episode as soberly as possible, and trust that when it came to the discussions regarding Greece and Turkey it would not be allowed to enter into the question at all. He hoped that the episode would be completely blotted out of the mind of the Conference which was to take place in Paris. There was this much to be said, that the particular opinions of the Indian Government went far beyond the merits of the case, and, that being so, he trusted that this most unfortunate publication would not in the event interfere with the smooth progress of the Conference. (Cheers.)



MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION [H. OF COMMONS]
HOUSE OF COMMONS

15TH MARCH 1922

At 8-15, Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Liverpool, Scotland, Nat.) moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to what he described as the serious lack of co ordination of His Majesty's Ministers which had brought about the resignation of Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India. He said the position in India was sufficiently serious to impose great restraint on every man with any sense of responsibility. He was not going to make a personal attack on Mr. Montagu, nor did he propose to make any suggestion of disagreeing with the general policy of his right hon. friend in India. As a matter of fact, he was in entire sympathy with that policy, as were most of his friends. The object of the motion was to bring out the want of co-ordination between the late Indian Secretary and different members of the Government. As he understood it, the reason for Mr. Montagu's disappearance from the Indian Secretaryship was that he was regarded by the Prime Minister and his former colleagues as having made a deadly assault on the principle of collective responsibility of the Cabinet. He demanded from the Government a clear statement that they would not carry obedience to what were supposed to be Muslim opinions to the extent of abandoning the principle of the protection of the people of the East from massacre. (Cheers.) Mr. Griffiths (Pontypool, Lab.) seconded the motion.

Mr. Montagu's Speech in Defence

Mr. Montagu (Cambridgeshire, C.L.), who rose in the shadow of the back bench beneath the gallery on the Ministerial side, came down to the bench in front in response to calls from members. He said :—

I do not propose to take part in the debate on the interesting topic which Mr. O'Connor has raised, but I will deal with some of the very grave personal charges that have been made against me. My right hon. friend the Leader of the House says that I have complained of the statement made to the House announcing my resignation, and that I had no right to do so because he told me of its terms beforehand. It is true that he consulted me as to the terms and that I took no exception to them. Did he expect that I should say, "I have served with you four and a-half years. I have been on close and intimate relations with you and your colleagues. You might be kind enough, generous enough, to put in one word of regret at the severance of this colleague-ship"? Would it have been of any

what to me if he had put it in at my suggestion? I took note of the effect of what he proposed to say, and I left his room with the hope that he might say something, but, of course, I did not expect that he should tell me of the personal side of his remarks. I left his room after what was, of course, a painful conversation, with memorable, unforgettable recollections of his personal kindness, sympathy, and consideration. That attitude I shall always remember, but I shall find it equally difficult to forget the scene in this House (Labour cheers) when that was all he could tell the House about our parting.

My right hon. friend gave to the House a time-table of the events in connection with the publication of the despatch. I make him a present of his time table. He will find on inquiry at the India Office that I gave instructions verbally the very moment I saw the telegram of the Government of India that it must be at once circulated to the Cabinet. I take it from him that delays occurred between my verbal instructions and the actual duplication of the telegram and its submission to the Cabinet, so that it was not till Saturday that he received the telegram. I do not think that alters my argument at Cambridge. It is true that before the Cabinet on Monday every single one of my colleagues had had, or ought to have had, that telegram in his possession for at least 48 hours—Saturday till Monday.

Lord Curzon's Impudent letter

I come to the most serious charge, that I committed a grave impropriety by referring to private letters and private conversations. Does not the right hon. gentleman understand that that is really my charge against the Government? They say that I had committed a constitutional outrage which unfitted me to continue as their colleague, that I had allowed this telegram to be published without consultation with them. How do the Leader of the House and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs deal with the matter? They deal with it entirely and absolutely by private conversation. That is what I complain of. This telegram was received by the Cabinet on Saturday.

It was known by the Leader of the House and by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that I had authorised the publication on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. I was seeing my colleagues every day. Not one of them ever said to me that I had committed a grave constitutional outrage. The only action that was taken was the private letter written to me by Lord Curzon. Let me ask my right hon. friend this: Supposing I had gone to the public and said: "I committed this constitutional outrage, and the Govern-

ment and no member of the Government said anything." They would have said: "What a misrepresentation of the fact. Did not Lord Curzon write and tell you?" I had no choice. Do look at it from my position. I have committed a grave constitutional outrage, not discovered, apparently, by His Majesty's Government until Thursday, when the Prime Minister returned to active business. During the whole of that time the only action taken by the Government is this letter. I have never been given an opportunity by those who believe so convincingly in the doctrine of joint Cabinet action of confronting my colleagues—(Labor cheers) of arguing my case with my colleagues. (Labor cheers.) I saw the Prime Minister on Thursday, and it was made plain to me that I could no longer remain a member of His Majesty's Government. Do have some thought of my position. You tell me I have committed a constitutional outrage and the only action you take until you see the effect in the newspapers and what the Press tell you is a private letter, and then you tell me I must not allude further to that private letter:

Resignation, a Pretext

I say I was justified and could not avoid proving—May I say this? I believe and I cannot cure my mind of the belief that this reason for my resignation was a pretext. (Labor cheers.) I was there to prove that your action between that Monday and that Thursday was evidence that it was a pretext. Unless I took Lord Curzon's private letter and referred to it I could not make out my case, and I say with great emphasis to the Leader of the House that the fault lies in the methods of the Government which dealt with what they say to-day is so grave a matter by no other method than by private letter and by private conversation. (Cheers.) I have said, and I say again, that in my view, rightly or wrongly, the publication of this telegram was not a matter that I need bring before the Cabinet. Rightly or wrongly, it is obvious from Lord Curzon's letter that he took a different view. I shall never be able to understand this, and I beg the House to see if they cannot get to-day some answer. Take the ordinary meeting of any Board of Directors or any trade union or any private business in the world on any well conducted affair. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the man primarily concerned in all this matter, knows I have committed a grave constitutional outrage, and he goes back to the Cabinet, which is at the moment sitting, and instead of saying one word about the grave constitutional outrage that I have committed, sits silent there in the Cabinet and contents himself with writing me a private letter that same evening. What is the explanation of that? Could I raise it in the Cabinet? I do not think it was a Cabinet

major. He (Curzon) does. There is another Cabinet on Wednesday. By that time Lord Curzon and the Leader of the House had ample opportunity of acquainting their colleagues of the outrage that I have committed. No reference is made to it at that Cabinet. What is the reason why what is alleged to-day to be so grave a constitutional outrage is never mentioned by those people who are most affected by that outrage? (Labor cheers.)

Before passing from that I would add that I agree with the Leader of the House that Lord Curzon could not have known on Monday—and I did not know—that action taken at that Cabinet would be in time to stop publication of the telegram. But I do say that, supposing that a Cabinet discussion had taken place and the Cabinet had decided that it was a grave constitutional outrage to publish this telegram, if a telegram had been sent to India immediately after that Cabinet saying: "Clear the line; His Majesty's Government take strong objection to the publication of this telegram. If it is not too late, stop it," I believe—and I said so on Saturday—it is an irony to reflect that there was a chance that the telegram would have come in time, and there was more than a chance that publication would have been stopped.

The Charge of Misrepresentation

There is a more serious charge made against me than that I referred to this private correspondence. It is said that I misrepresented it. I hope that even my sternest critics will acquit me, however low an opinion they take of my character, of having intentionally committed the folly of misrepresenting such a document. I am profoundly sorry that for one moment there should have been any misunderstanding on that matter. It never occurred to me that there could have been, until I saw the newspapers on Monday. Let me tell the House exactly how this very curious mistake arose. It is said that I stated that Lord Curzon in his letter had asked me not to bring this matter before the Cabinet. I made no such statement, and nobody who heard me would imagine I did so. Let me ask the House to consider an expanded version of what I said. The point I was making to my audience was that, on Monday when Lord Curzon knew of this grave constitutional outrage, he did not think—something happened between Monday and Thursday which made him think—that I had done something which would not permit my continuation in office, because at the end of his letter was, "Don't do it again," which showed clearly that he thought I was going to remain and would have the opportunity of doing it again. That struck me as the lamest possible ending to a letter coming from a man who thought that I had been guilty of an unpardonable constitutional outrage. Lord Curzon ended his

MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION [H. OF COMS.]

letter with a request to do—what? Not to hand my resignation to the Prime Minister, not to recognise that it was impossible that I should continue in office with him, not to come with him to the Prime Minister and discuss the matter, but merely and only a request not to do it again. Therefore the House will see, if you look at it from the point of view of the expanded version, that I said that Lord Curzon ended his letter—I was not quoting; I did not quote because I did not want the letter to be published—with a request—what? Not to bring it to the Cabinet, but not to do it again, or not to do it without consulting him. It was a clumsy, loose rhetorical expression, but if you will look at the verbatim reports of *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, I submit that the interposition of the word “what” after “request” with a note of interrogation after it, showed that what I was saying was that Lord Curzon ended with a request—What? Not to bring it to the Cabinet, but to do something else. (Hear, hear.) Think of the grammar. Supposing that I had said that Lord Curzon made two requests—(1) not to bring the matter to the Cabinet; and (2) not to do it again. The proper conjunction would be “and” but the word which I used was “but.”

I say that what happened between Monday and Thursday was a pretext. I do not want to make any use in this debate of Lord Curzon's letter. I did not want it published; I think it was a very foolish letter. But what the House must remember, and what Lord Curzon forgot, is that for the purpose of this matter and for no other purpose the Government of India cannot be correctly described as a subordinate branch of His Majesty's Administration. India is a member of the League of Nations; the Treaty of Sevres was signed on behalf of India independently as well as on behalf of Great Britain and the Dominions, and I think it is the greatest folly to suggest that India, which has been given Dominion status for this purpose and was a party to the original Treaty, should not be allowed to express its opinion as to the modification of the Treaty. If it is allowed to express its opinion, what is the use of bushing it up? It is no use making that opinion after the Conference. The only time is before the Conference, and I think, as Lord Reading thinks, that the people in India and the people in Great Britain were entitled to know what are the views put forward on behalf of the people of India by the Government of India. It is not true to say that they were dictating to this country or to the Government of this country what the terms of the Treaty should be. What they did seek to do was to have their views given the fullest weight and authority and the fullest consideration. Of course, they would be the first to recognise that their views have to be harmonised

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with other and wider views. But India is entitled to a predominant share in the settlement with Turkey because no other country is so interested or has so great a part in it. I do not believe that it will hamper the British Government ; I believe it will help it. I believe that if His Majesty's Government had found it possible to publish my telegram in answer, they would have seen that I myself recognised that it was impossible for the Allies to fulfil all the terms.

Cabinet Responsibility

I am conscious of the right of the Leader of the House to say, as he said last Friday, that if my views of the Government were what I expressed them to be, why did I not resign long ago. I did not raise the doctrine of breaches of Cabinet responsibility of which this Government has been guilty as a charge against them. That was not my intention. I was proud to be a member of this Government. I rejoiced in its achievements, and I am proud to have taken some part in them. What I object to is that this Government, which has flouted above all other Governments the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility, should have used that as an excuse for asking for my resignation. (Liberal and Labor cheers.) Therefore I have no cause on the grounds of Cabinet responsibility or its absence to resign from the Government.

My second reason for not resigning before was this. I fundamentally differed from my colleagues—that is notorious—on their policy in the Near East, but my colleagues had treated me very considerately. I had been given one of the most difficult positions a man could ever fill, the position as head of one of the Departments of his Majesty's Government and head of the Indian Peace Delegation. I believe I have used with moderation and with a recognition of the difficulties the right to freedom of expression on affairs in the Middle East so far as they affected India. My position would have been intolerable without it, and, moreover, rightly or wrongly, whenever I was at the point of resignation on this subject, I thought that the resignation on this issue of my Secretary of State for India would have meant that he despaired of getting these peace terms in conformity with our pledges, and would have had a disastrous effect on Muhammadans in India. I cordially agree with my right hon. friend, and I wish to emphasise his remarks that my resignation at this moment does not mean the rejection of the right to consideration of the terms put forward on behalf of the Moslem people.

The third reason why I have never thought it necessary to resign until now was that until quite recently I had every right to think that I had the loyalty and the confidence, not of some of my late colleagues, but of all of them. And, lastly, I loved my work ! The fascination of Indian problems has obsessed me all my



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The Princes and the Native States with their individual history and characteristics, the people of India awakening, striving, often for ill-defined ideals, so varied in their developments, in their races, in their history, in their views, the glorious conception—as I thought it was, and as I still think it is—of a British Commonwealth of Nations bound together by its very freedom and the mutual respect of all its partners, acknowledging no differences of race and creed, of constitution or institution, owing allegiance, unswerving and devoted, to one King and one King-Emperor; the grave dangers of being rushed on the one hand to chaos and on the other of being frightened to reaction; a record unparalleled in the history of the world for unselfishness and personal sacrifice of the British effort in India. I wanted, I longed for nothing better than so long as I could to devote myself to these all-absorbing problems, and not to leave undone or half done at the most critical moment the work in which I gloried. (Cheers.) I have parted this week from colleagues in the India Office and in India with whom I worked for a term of years with uninterrupted accord, and I have laid down the proudest title that in my belief an Englishman can hold—the title of Secretary of State for India which means the right in particular to serve the King, this Parliament, and India, and this is the unhappiest moment of my life. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Derby, Lab.) said that he did not believe that the explanation of Mr. Montagu afforded sufficient justification for quoting from a private letter. (Hear, hear.) No graver injury could be done to public life or to any public man than that a private letter written under the circumstances in which private letters were written should be quoted in public.

Mr. Montagu.—I quite understand the point of view, and I presume that the Right Hon. gentleman would say the same if I said that I did not quote, but that I referred. The point is this, if I may say so. How much easier it would have been for me if I could have quoted it. The whole controversy, so far as the letter is concerned, has arisen because I could not; because it was a private letter. The whole of my case is that this is not the way in which the Government ought to transact its business.

Mr. J. H. Thomas said his answer was that there was the opportunity for the Right Hon. Gentleman to have come to the House and there stated the whole position. (Cheers.) At the same time, it was only fair to ask what excuse there was for Lord Curzon not bringing the matter immediately before the Cabinet when he had been told that this telegram had been made public. (Hear, hear.)



Mr. Chamberlain said he had never been called upon to take part in a discussion so infinitely painful. On the part of it which dealt with the reference by his Right Hon. friend, Mr. Montagu, to the private letter sent to him by Lord Curzon and the explanation which he had given, he desired to say the least that he could say. His right Hon. friend referred to a private letter without the consent of the writer, having, as he had told them, no desire that the letter should be made public. There were obvious reasons why a letter so written from one colleague to another should not be made public. It was not written for publication, and he did not know exactly what the consequences of the publication might be (Hear, hear.) But Mr. Montagu must realise that he could not challenge the honor of a colleague by reference to a private letter from him and by so doing, call for and enforce the publication of that letter (Cheers). Referring to Mr. Montagu's conversation with Lord Curzon, he asked: Did his right hon friend hint to Lord Curzon that there was any possibility of stopping that telegram authorising publication? No. Why, asked Mr. Montagu, did not Lord Curzon at once announce to the Cabinet what had been done? Would it have been a satisfaction to Mr. Montagu or a congenial task to Lord Curzon? The mischief was done. Responsibility for the action rested in other hands, and Lord Curzon left it there.

The Prime Minister first knew of the publication when he read it in the London morning papers on Thursday. He sent for Mr. Montagu, and immediately after that interview the Prime Minister came to see him. He had never seen him so perturbed or disturbed about any public incident. The Prime Minister regarded the action of Mr. Montagu as a grave national misfortune—(hear, hear,)—and also as wanting in that loyalty from one member of the Cabinet to another which was essential to the smooth working of Cabinet Government. (Hear, hear.) No tradition of public life justified a Minister in publishing a telegram of such importance without first communicating it to any other Minister who was immediately concerned in the matter, and also submitting it to the Prime Minister, if not to the Cabinet itself. (Hear, hear.) Another lapse on the part of Mr. Montagu was that while he circulated the telegram he never circulated his reply to it, nor the telegram from the Government of India pressing for immediate publication. The responsibility for the whole unfortunate business rested not upon the Cabinet, but upon Mr. Montagu who did not let them know of the action he had taken. (Hear, hear.) It was for the Prime Minister and no other person to act, and the Prime Minister did act the very moment he became aware of what had been done. It was



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the universal opinion that the Prime Minister was right in accepting the resignation which Mr. Montagu tendered. (Hear, hear.) His right hon. friend could not absolve himself from his responsibility in the matter by trying to charge Lord Curzon with failing in his duty. (Hear, hear.) It had been said that Mr. Montagu was sacrificed to the Die-hards clamour—(hear, hear)—and to the subservience of the Prime Minister and his colleagues to the Press. (Hear, hear.) That was not so. His right hon. friend resigned on the question of constitutional propriety and Cabinet responsibility. (Cheers.) If he had thought that by introducing other words into the statement he made in the House he could do anything to mitigate the pain of Mr. Montagu's position, or give consolation to him, he hoped the right hon. gentleman would believe that would have been done. One knew how profoundly he was interested in India, and how earnestly he had striven, and how deeply painful it was to him to sever his connection with that work while it was still unfinished. His right hon. friend was not the only Minister who had to resign. He was not the only Secretary of State who had found it was not compatible with his duty to remain in office. He (Mr. Chamberlain) sympathised with him, and he deeply deplored the right hon. gentleman's misconception of his duty to the Cabinet and the effect of his action in public affairs which rendered his severance with the India Office inevitable. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Asquith (Paisley, L.) said that he regarded the procedure adopted by the late Secretary of State for India as incompatible with the elementary rules of Cabinet Government. At the same time he expressed his sincere regret that a career which had been associated with so much fruitful work in the interests of India and the Empire had for the moment been checked. (Hear, hear) Those who sat on the front Government bench had suddenly discovered and solemnly proclaimed to the world that there was such a thing as Cabinet responsibility. (Hear, hear.) That was most remarkable. (Laughter.) This affair was not an isolated incident, but a climax. The whole thing demonstrated the moral and political impossibility of attempting to govern by a Coalition which had no common cementing principle or policy. The moral he drew was this : that they should get back once for all to the old straight way when people were divided by real differences founded upon conviction and principle.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor then withdrew his motion for the adjournment.



MR. MONTAGU'S THATFORD SPEECH

17TH MARCH 1922

Subsequently Mr. Montagu in presiding over a political and party meeting at Thatford in support of Sir Richard Winfrey, M. P. for Southwest Norfolk, delivered a long speech lasting over an hour, in the course of which he said :—

I do not propose to pursue any personal matter, because on that I have on more than one occasion said my say. I do not propose, for instance, to weary you with my views about Lord Curzon (laughter), except to this, that his letter to me show anew, what I have always felt, that he will insist upon looking at Indian problems and the Indian Empire with the light behind him. He sees over that great land his portentous shadow, and he remembers as the high water mark, in his opinion, in its history the great days when he was Viceroy—days from which he wished that it had never changed !

This attitude on his part accounts for the fact that I have not, I am afraid, appreciated as much as he would wish what he would call, I suppose, "unstinted advice and assistance," and what I should describe, if I were so minded, by a more accurate and rather different term. (Laughter.)

As for the Prime Minister, I again propose carefully to avoid any personal issue. Last week, when I was addressing my own constituents, I sought to make an appeal to that section of the Conservative Party known as the Die-hard section. To my regret, if not to my surprise, the appeal that I made does not appear to have been very successful. They had the exquisite satisfaction of receiving my head on a charger, but they hardly paused in their pursuit of the Prime Minister sufficiently long to devour the corpse !

The meal was followed in rapid succession, first, by that remarkable meeting of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons,* which did not result, at any rate, in coming to an enthusiastic vote of confidence in the Prime Minister. Secondly, we read that two great and distinguished Conservative statesmen—men whose

* This refers to a meeting of 200 Unionist members of the House for the purpose of expressing confidence in their leaders and re-iterating pledges of support to the Coalition Govt. The discussion was a long and exciting one, and although it was expected that it would end in a triumph for Mr. Lloyd George, it was found that the Tory members did not want the Prime Minister unambiguously but only on their own terms which were not easy. In the end no vote of confidence was passed, no resolution moved, and the conference ended in a melee.



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His achievements would have made everybody hope for success—have neither of them soon their way to accept one of the highest offices in the country.

We have seen them refusing the office on the grounds, it is alleged, with what truth I do not know, that they doubt the permanency of the Ministry. We should remember and admire the tremendous and almost unparalleled achievement of the Prime Minister for the benefit of this country and this Empire, and the world must sympathise with him in his well merited holiday at Crickieth, where he is bound to recognise that all the expedients which he is using to help him in maintaining the Government (which, I believe, is almost indispensable to the well being of this country) are leading to what looks like a dangerous degree of humiliation and difficulty.

Mr. Montagu further said that there was hardly a matter of supreme importance to this country which really divided parties. And if they asked any ordinary citizen what were the supreme needs of the people of this country at the moment, he would reply first, peace, secondly, better trade, and thirdly, lower taxation. (Cheers.) The great word peace really covered the other two.

Lancashire's Losses in Eastern Markets.

Probably the most difficult position of the world to-day, so far as peace was concerned, was the position between Greece and Turkey, which not only disturbed the whole of the East, but had a vital effect upon the export trade of our country. There was no doubt that Lancashire was suffering to-day largely, if not mainly, because of the effect upon its exports of cotton goods to the East as a consequence of the foreign policy which we had been pursuing.

He said it last week—and he would say it again—he could not understand, and it had never been explained why it was that we alone of the Allies had been pursuing in the main what was called wrongly a pro-Greek policy. He said "wrongly," because he could not understand that it was of any use to the Greeks. It was certainly of no use to the British Empire.

We are at the last stage of the endeavour to get peace in the East, said Mr. Montagu. Lord Curzon was going to Paris next week, and it was because I authorised the publication of the views of the Government of India on this matter that I am addressing you no longer as Secretary for India, but merely as the owner and inhabitant of Beccles Hall, Norfolk. I have long ago dismissed as quite ridiculous the doctrine of Cabinet Responsibility as preached by my colleagues. I have given some instances, but I have been debarred from giving other striking instances which have involved this country

in my expenditure, because the instances which I gave were not done without a decision of the Cabinet, whereas the instances I should like to give are not known to the public as coming within that category yet.

Returning to the subject of the Viceroy's telegram, Mr. Montagu quoted from a speech of Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of the Government of India, on February 21st. 1921, in which he (Sir William) quoted from a speech by Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy, who said, "Shortly after the Armistice I wrote to the Secretary of State that feeling in India was most disturbed over the question of the Turkish peace terms, particularly with regard to the Holy Places and the future of Constantinople. In the same month my Government again cabled to the Secretary of State urging upon him the importance of another settlement of the Turkish peace terms, considering the effect upon the Muhammadan opinion in India."

"At that date it will be seen that the Government of India," said Mr. Montagu, "were doing what Lord Curzon would call dictating to the Home Government." Mr. Montagu referred to a speech, of which he read considerable extracts, by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 22nd February, 1920, in which he recalled the solemn National pledge given to the Muhammadans of India during the War in January, 1918. That pledge was:

"Nor are we fighting to destroy Austro-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race."

"But", said Mr. Montagu, "in view of the so-called pro-Greek policy of the Prime-Minister—his own peculiar and special policy adopted ever since the Greeks were invited to Smyrna, he (Mr. Montagu) did not remember on what Cabinet decision we were in danger unless it was remedied at the coming Conference of breaking irreparably our word to the Indian subjects who played so prominent a part in the defeat of Turkey."

"For heaven's sake," said Mr. Montagu, "let the British people know the facts and don't let them go hoodwinked and blindfolded under the leadership of the Prime-Minister." Mr. Montagu added that the publication of the view of the Indian Govt. could do no harm but could only do good, and said: "I am afraid I am unrepentant."

"If you want peace in India," said Mr. Montagu, "and good trade in India, you must have peace in the Near East. If you are to have peace in the Near East, there is one absolute essential, that you must keep your promises, and my hopes are high that in the coming weeks peace will be assured there, and that it will have repercussions throughout the world."



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India in the House of Commons

HOUSE OF COMMONS—27TH MARCH 1922

In the House of Commons on March 27th, in the course of the debate on the Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill, during which was discussed the whole of the British policy at home and abroad, Col. Wedgwood spoke as follows on the subject of India :—

As one who, fortunately, has throughout taken the right line and has now been proved right—I have always said in this House that it was essential that Constantinople should be restored to Turkey and that Smyrna should be part of the Turkish Dominions, ever since the Debate began two and a half-year ago—I should naturally like to point out to the Government that, although they have finally, as I believe, in these Paris terms, come down on the right side of the fence, yet their hesitation which has been due very largely to their being incorrectly informed during the last two and a half years, has done more than anything else in foreign affairs to shake the credit of the British Empire, not only in the Middle East but in the whole of the Far East as well. It is very lamentable that only now, under a particular form of pressure which I for one am very sorry to see, has the Foreign Office finally adopted the just solution of the Middle East question. It must not be thought that I and my friends have been advocating the resolution of Constantinople to Turkey, or the restoration to Turkey of that part of Thrace and that part of Asia Minor which is occupied by the Ottoman Turks—it must not be supposed that we have been asking for that as the hon. and gallant member for Melton (Sir C. Yate,) has always asked for it, because it would soothe down the Moslems of India. Our object throughout in urging the settlement which I hope has now been arrived at has been that it is an eminently just settlement, and that our prestige and reputation depends, as an hon. Member has said already, not upon our Army, not upon our Air Force, but upon our traditional sense of justice even to the under-dog. If we had only done this two years ago, how much better would our reputation have been, how much better would our traditions be for the future.

I want to-day to say a word or two about the pressure that has been brought to bear from India to secure this solution at which the Noble Lord has arrived, and to which this country is, I hope, now committed. I have said that we on this side always wanted that solution, because we believe it to be the right solution. I

think it is very unfortunate that we have given the impression now to the whole world that we have only taken up the position of justice to Turkey in deference to the pressure brought to bear by Moslems of India. It is an example of feebleness which ought not to have been given. As a matter of fact—and I think that this ought to be said here in this House—people who have studied the question in India know perfectly well that you will not be able to soothe down Moslem opinion in India by giving way to the demands of the Khilafat agitation as regards the settlement of the Turkish question. The Khilafat agitation used the Turkish question, but it was not because of the Moslem unrest in India. The Moslem unrest in India will continue. They will find some other excuse, and they will merely despise the British "Raj" who has given way to them so obviously on the Turkish question—who has given way to pressure instead of accepting the just solution. We should not have conveyed this impression to the Moslems of India. I am certain that the founders of the Moslem agitation will not be mollified by your settlement of the Turkish question. Their attitude towards England remains now what it was before the Paris Conference. It is one of insistent hostility and you cannot soothe down that hostility by accepting the telegram from the Viceroy or the theories of the bureaucracy in India. For the last three years every Anglo-Indian official in India has been begging this Government to accept the Moslem demands—the Khilafat demands—on the Turkish question. They have hoped that thereby they would be able to placate the Moslems. Let me assure the House that they will not thereby be able to placate them. The Moslems of India are committed to something far more tremendous than the settlement of a country which shares their fate, but in which otherwise they have no direct interest. They are out for their "Swaraj." They are out, I am afraid, in the case of the Moslems, with very frank hostility to this country, to get rid of the English control over India. I do not think you have improved the situation by giving way to the pressure, accepting as gospel what has been stated in the Viceroy's despatch and advocated by Sir W. Vincent and others of the permanent officials in India.

The Chance of Authority

The fact of the matter is that India is becoming day by day a more dangerous problem for this Empire, and while I am very glad to see the Noble Lord opposite in charge of Indian questions, I do not pretend that the change which has been made in the conduct of the India Office has made things any the easier in India or has thrown any more hopefulness into my attitude towards the Indian



Emergency. I am afraid those of us who love India, and justice for India, and the development of real democracy in India, must say that the late Secretary of State was of all the Members of this House far and away the best fitted to hold that post, and that the substitution for him of the Noble Lord in the other place, who knows nothing of India and whose past has been reactionary in this House—I do not know what it has been in the other House—is not likely to bode good for India or for the tradition and reputation of this country. We have put our hands to the plough in India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are not a step which can be withdrawn. We have got to go on on those lines. You are pledged by the August Declaration of 1917, honourably pledged to set India on the road to Freedom and to work for Dominion Home Rule in India, not at once, but by stages. That has been our declaration. Our honour is bound up in it. I see the "Times" pointing out that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms show signs of breaking down in practice, that the attitude of the Indian Legislature towards the Budget, towards the question of raising additional money for the Army in India, is an intransigent attitude taken up through hostility to the British Rule, and must make it more difficult to pursue the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and may lead us to reconsider the whole question of those reforms. That alone is lamentable. It will be used on platform after platform, as an illustration of what they are always throwing in our teeth, namely, British bad faith. They will say—"Here you see again. There was a promise of the British Government and now a suggestion has already been made in unofficial quarters that the step should be reviewed, and the policy should be revised." That is not all. It is a matter of enormous pity that the very day that the Secretary of State, who loved India, resigned, there was notified in India the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. Anybody who has closely studied the Indian question recently will know that the Government in India, Lord Reading's Government, was playing a very difficult game with extreme skill. For month after month they were urged by irresponsibles in this country to deal with the non-co-operation movement by force, to imprison the agitators, and to close down the agitation. Of course, you cannot close down an agitation by imprisonment. Lord Reading and his administration were dealing with the agitation on proper lines.

Character of Indian Agitation

The House should understand that the agitation in India is not an agitation solely against Western rule, but that it is an agitation against Western civilization, and not merely against Western rule. Gandhi's agitation, if carried to its logical conclusion, means

the abolition of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. It means the abolition of civilisation and the return to Tolstoyan institutions of the Middle ages. As that agitation proceeded, people in India who possessed a stake in the country became alarmed. As the agitation developed in one case by means of the Moplah rebellion, where the Moslem murdered the Hindu, and in the next case by the massacre of the police in the United Provinces, more and more of the moderates said: "It is all right to be anti-English, but this is a bit thick." They became naturally reconciled to the Government as the excesses of the Non-co-operation movement went on, and then, just as things were moving admirably, the disaster came. The Viceroy was forced—I will not say how he was forced—to do exactly what Gandhi was playing for, and imprisoned Gandhi. There is no lack of people in India who are prepared to go to gaol. You can fill every gaol in India five times over, voluntarily. That is what Gandhi did in South Africa. He filled the gaols in South Africa in order to break the Transvaal Government, but in South Africa the Indians were in a minority, and they did not succeed altogether. At any rate, they only succeeded partially. In India the Indians are in the majority, and if you once get it into the heads of people in India that the most patriotic thing that they can perform for their country is to go to gaol, you will fill all the gaols.

Failure of Impression

That is what is proceeding in India. The agitators have now been arrested, but the agitation goes on. There is no end to the repression, just as there is no end to the agitation. You have locked up Gandhi and given him six years' imprisonment. My friend Lajpat Rai and every one of my friends in India are in gaol. It is, unfortunately, becoming almost the right thing for an Indian to be in gaol. That is a horrible thing instead of, as there was a chance three months ago, working through the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and gradually getting the Indian people in favour of those reforms, and getting them out of the Non-co-operation movement, into Co-operation and friendship with this country. The future there is black, and one does not know what is to be done. I urge upon the Under-Secretary of State that he should take every possible measure to alleviate the lot of the political leaders who are in prison. It is all very well to imagine that an Indian prison is like an English prison. It is not. An Indian prison is more nearly an approach to hell than any prison in this country. Anybody who has read the reports of the Andaman and other Indian gaols will not consider that going to prison for conscience sake in India is to be compared with going to prison for conscience sake in this country.



DEBATE ON INDIAN POLICY

[H. C. COLLINS.]

I do hope that the Michael Collinses of India are not being treated as felons, but are being treated as gentlemen. It may be necessary to put them in prison—I do not say anything about that—but let there be no indignity; let there be no unnecessary hardship. Let there be a deliberate distinction drawn for the first time in India between the political offenders and the ordinary common or garden felon. At present there is no distinction in regard to food, and there is no distinction in regard to quarters.

The attitude of the administration towards the political offender is almost, one might think, one of vengeance. That will not do. It will not do for this country and it will not do for our future relations with India. We have got to the imprisonment stage. These people have gone to prison, they have filled the gaols but the agitation goes on. The next step has already been advocated from the benches below the gangway, and that is to muzzle the Press. The Press Act is to be repealed. You are now having an agitation to prevent the repeal of the Press Act. The Press is becoming daily more important in India. Its circulation is going up, and, what is far more important, the Press is being read in the agricultural villages and is being used for agitation purposes among the cultivators and among the uneducated people in India as never before. Every stroke of policy which led you to look up the agitators must drive you inevitably to proscribe the Press as well, and when you have proscribed the Press and when you have proscribed meetings, there comes the next stage far more damnable than anything that has been gone through in the past, and that is, the stage of secret organisation and assassination. You will get to that just as you have got to the other stages.

Potential Danger for Empire

What is the future of the British Empire to be if we are going through all these stages? It will be worse than the Irish terror, because when you get a race war it is much worse than war between two white races. When you get to that the end is the same. You may hold on for a few years, but the end is the same contemptible surrender to force what you would not surrender to justice. That is what I want to avoid. The Noble Lord the Under-Secretary of State for India is a Tory, but I think he agrees with me on nearly every subject of foreign and colonial affairs. I do put it to him that he might attempt to use all his influence with his Noble Friend the Secretary of State to get something done that shall not be mere repression. Something can be done, and I am quite certain that what ought to be done is to give the pledge of a time limit



for the granting of the next step in the reform scheme. The next scheme in the reform scheme is complete autonomy for the provinces and control over finance in the Legislative Assembly. They have control over finance in the Legislative Assembly now, not by law, but by practice. The best thing that can be done now is to insist on fresh elections both for the Legislature and for the Council.

Failure of Council Boycott

I believe that, if fresh elections were held now, the non-co-operation movement, so far as the Councils were concerned, would break down. You have now already in the Councils, and in the Legislatures, the beginning of a regular opposition. For the first time Indians are beginning to realise that acting through the Councils does not mean going into the Government, that it does not mean taking part in the governing machine, and that there is just as honourable service to be rendered in the opposition as in the position of a Right Hon. Secretary or Minister. If fresh elections could be held now, it would not be a repetition of 1920. You would get these people returned to the Councils, and taking part in those Councils as an opposition, and as part of a democratic machine. Our fight now is to grant direct democracy to India, and not to save for ever British administration in India. It is not good either giving any pledge for the future or having new elections now, unless at the same time the non-co-operators dropped their non-co-operation. What I would do would be, though Gandhi is in prison, to approach him, now that the Khilafat business is out of the way, with a view to putting an end to non-co operation, provided that he would be satisfied with a pledge as to when the next step will be taken to give complete Dominion Home Rule, coupled with an immediate opportunity of taking some part in the administration by having fresh elections to the Councils, and to the Assembly. Though it is a risk, though unfortunately things may be so far embittered that there is no chance of any settlement by agreement, that is the best chance we have got of avoiding that Irish terror, which is the alternative, as I see it, to an amicable settlement of this problem.

Two Future Essentials

Two things are necessary if we look forward to a British Commonwealth in the future, of which a free India shall form a part. First of all complete self-government, complete Dominion Home Rule. Second, for unfortunately Dominion Home Rule is not enough, that all citizens of the British Empire whether they be European or Indian, shall have equal rights throughout the British Commonwealth, because they will not stop inside the



DEBATE ON INDIAN POLICY

[H. OF COM.]

British Empire, if Indians are not treated as equals in the Empire. That is the obvious test that every patriotic Indian would apply. "Is it worth while being in the British Commonwealth? If we go into Kenya and are not treated as equals, then as soon as we get Dominion Home Rule we will take the next step and declare an Indian Republic." The only chance of keeping them in is to show that there is no colour bar, and that there are advantages in being a British citizen just as in the old Roman Empire there were advantages in being a Roman citizen. That can be done still, but is being blocked at present. The whole future of the British Empire is being endangered at present by the ridiculous prepossessions of a small band of settlers in Kenya. I know that the Under Secretary of State for India likes those settlers. I know them myself and I like them, but you cannot have all these risks, you cannot have the prospect of ruling for the British Empire weighed 'in the balance' against the prejudices of a handful of settlers. It is not good enough.

Kenya Question

Kenya is under our rule. It is a Crown Colony. The Legislature has a minority of elected members, and a majority of nominated members, so that the Colonial Office, which means this House, can still dictate the policy of the administration of Kenya. We pass the laws and unfortunately we have got to force through the equality of citizenship in Kenya which was recognised by the Conference of Premiers last year as being the Magna Charta of our Commonwealth, and is only being resisted at present by the Colonial Office and by the local administration in Kenya. If the Noble Lord is going to play the game for the Indians he must put up against the Colonial Office as good a fight as the Right Hon'ble Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Montagu) put up. It had become before he resigned a duel between the Right Hon'ble Gentleman and the Colonial Secretary, a duel in which the whole future of this Empire was at stake. This is a small point, but it is typical of the struggle that has got to be settled one way or another. The late Secretary of State for India was not going to accept defeat. His attitude in the last resort was that this question of Kenya must be decided by the Cabinet and that he could not submit to defeat from the Colonial Office without the Cabinet deciding the matter. If he had been out-voted in the Cabinet, undoubtedly he would have resigned, and I hope that the present Secretary of State and the Noble Lord will fight the same good fight. It does not much matter whether they are consistent with their past. What do matter far more are the traditions of our Empire and the future of the amicable relations between India and England.



Earl Winterton

In winding up the debate, Earl Winterton, the Under Secretary of State for India, made the following reply to the points raised in the debate :—

May I point out that both my noble friend the Secretary of State in another place and I in this House represent not merely a great department but the Government of India which as a result of the powers willingly, I think, accorded by the Parliament of this country, in performing the most important of any functions have admittedly been passing through a period of stress and strain as great as that which any Government in any country has ever faced. My Hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Newcastle under Tyne (Colonel Wedgwood) whom I thank for his particular references to myself, made a reference which I rather regret, to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India. He said that the India Office was now in an important position ; and he then went on to speak of possible reactionary tendencies. I think it is most desirable that at the very outset of my speech I should clearly assure the House, which I have the greatest pleasure in doing—though I think it is hardly necessary—that the appointment of my Noble Friend the Secretary of State does not involve any change in the policy of the Government and that, as before, the Government and the Secretary of State will carry out in the spirit and the letter the policy laid down in the Government of India Act, 1919. Speaking for myself—not merely because I represent the Secretary of State in this House—I would call the attention of the House to the fact that I spoke and voted in favour of the Act of 1919 at every one of its stages through this House, and, so far as a private member could be, was identified with its policy by voice and vote.

“Cannot give a pledge to agitators”

A very interesting speech was made by the hon. and gallant Member as to the position of the Government in India, a speech with which in many parts I am not in great disagreement. He spoke of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and other prominent people in India whom the Indian Government have thought it right to arrest, and he made a lengthy and theoretical statement on the duty of the Indian or any other Government when dealing with agitation. I think this matter may be best summed up by saying that the Government of India like every other Government at the present time and in the past, were obliged, in the exercise of their ordinary duties of authority and obligation both to India and to this country, to carry out the arrest of certain people. Every Government has

primary duties which it is bound to perform, and while it is regrettable that in carrying out these duties there is sometimes involved the arrest of people whom one would wish in happier circumstances had co-operated with the Government, rather than otherwise, it is the duty of any Government which feels it ought to take certain steps to take them. My hon. and gallant friend said he hoped that I would be able to say something as to the action of the Government in this and other matters. I can assure him that any Secretary of State standing at this box would say exactly what I am about to say, and that is that everyone connected with the Government of India, either in India itself or at the India Office in this country, is anxious, as I have already said, to see the spirit and the letter of the Act of 1919 carried out by mutual good-will on both sides and as little as possible of what my hon. and gallant Friend opposite called repression. He then went on to say that in his opinion the best way of dealing with these matters, as I understood him—and I listened very carefully—was that we should buy off the opposition to the Government of India by giving a pledge that if certain people would abstain from opposition, we would immediately advance another step on the road to self-government. I, of course, could give no such pledge without consultation with the Secretary of State, but I cannot avoid saying that the suggestion was the least useful that could be made in the circumstances, that self-government of any country could be carried out by giving a pledge to agitation of that kind.

Colonel Wedgewood: In order to bring the agitation to an end.

Earl Winterton: That is exactly the same thing: "buy off the agitation." I recognize fully that my Hon. and gallant Friend is as anxious as any Member in the House to see the best done both for the interests of India and of the whole Empire. But I cannot think that the plan suggested is either a peaceful one or that any Government could possibly adopt it and continue to receive the support of a large section of opinion in this country.

Indians in Kenya

My Hon. and gallant Friend made reference to what is admittedly the very difficult question of the position of the native Indians in Kenya. I shall, of course, represent his views to the Secretary of State, but I can assure him that this question is engaging—and necessarily must engage—close attention. I do not think either the interests of India or of the Kenya Colony would be served by my making any statement on this matter at this stage. Quite obviously, it is a question which from the point of view of India, and of this country, and of the Indians in Colonies overseas other than Kenya, is most acutely felt, and which I hope sooner or later—I do

not myself say it is outside the bounds of possibility—sooner or later there may be an agreed solution. I speak unofficially. But looking at the question from several points of view, and from my own knowledge, there must be at some time or other an agreed solution. In order to arrive at that, certainly it is very necessary at this stage that matters should be conducted carefully, and nothing done to interfere with the attempt to arrive at a solution.

Discontented India

Before I turn to the speech of two Hon. Members representing Lancashire constituencies about cotton duties, I should just like to make one reference to the speech of the Noble Lord the Member for South Nottingham (Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck.) I was sorry to hear some of it, and I make mention of this because it will get coupled in the Indian papers and go out as the views of members of this House. The Noble Lord, speaking with all the authority which appertains to a Member of this House, said that all the elements in India make for a discontented people and very few for a contented people. I can only say that I am very sorry that an Englishman with the advantages of an education and general knowledge possessed by the Noble Lord should have so described the work of thousands of his fellow countrymen, and so signally failed to realise that the work of the civil servant is not only a monument of national unselfishness, but a monument of national efficiency.

Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck: Did I ever say it was not? I said that there were many elements of discontent in India and many causes for discontent.

Earl Winterton: The Noble Lord said that there were all the elements which made for discontent and few for contentment. Speaking as he does, with the authority of a Member of this House, and with the position he fills, I say that his statement is not one which should be allowed to go without contradiction.

Cotton Duties.

I now turn to the speech made by the Hon. Member for Royton (Mr. Sugdan). Those who have spoken in this Debate for Lancashire have put this case for the abolition of the cotton duty with great moderation and force, although I must say I do not agree with all their arguments. The Hon. Member for Royton began his speech by regretting that there had been in the past accusations of unselfishness in the matter against Lancashire Members, and they had been told that all they cared for was the interests of Lancashire. All I wish to say is that such an accusation has never been made by me, and, so far as I know, I do not think they have been made by



the late Secretary for India, or by my Noble Friend in another place. I know that the late Secretary for India had not made any such accusations, because I read recently the reply which he made to the deputation of which my Hon. and gallant Friend was a Member about a year ago. Then my Hon. friend went on to use an argument which I might describe as a sub-argument, because it was not his main contention, and pointed out that India was able to obtain money in this country more cheaply than many of the English counties or boroughs. That is quite true, but he should have explained that that money is subscribed by public loan in this country, and if the people here subscribed so readily to those loans I think that is a tribute to the financial soundness of India. It is not a very sound argument to say that because India is able to raise money more cheaply here than some English boroughs or counties, that that involves an obligation on India to make certain alterations in her tariffs. I think the Hon. and gallant Member is stretching his example on financial soundness a long way in order to apply to his argument. I am sorry that the Hon. Member for Rossendale, (Mr. Waddington) is not present, because, I observe that he has been addressing some arguments to his constituents, on the subject of these duties, and he said very little about the duties themselves. Instead of that, I observed suggestions as to how the poor, illiterate, ignorant natives of India might be led into better paths.

Mr. Sugden: I pleaded that they should be educated to give us that Imperial preference which I believe they will in regard to tax.

Earl Winterton: Surely my description was accurate that they should be led into better paths. I notice that the Hon. Member opposite was somewhat restless when this reference was made in relation to a cause which he has always so valiantly championed in this House, but I would remind the House of the argument that was used by the Hon. Member for Rossendale the other day. Addressing his constituents, he said that the Government had power they possessed under the rules arising out of Section 33 which refers to transferred subjects, and not to central subjects at all.

Lancashire and Indian Fiscal Commission.

Let me now come back to the speech of the Hon. Member for Royston opposite. His accusation is that the Government of India ought to have raised this money by other means than by suggesting an increase in the cotton duties. I can answer that point very shortly. In the first place he said that their taxation is protective. It is perfectly true, and we do not deny the fact that the taxation proposed is protective but I wish to point out that it has not been

settled yet, and there is a fiscal Commission sitting at the present time inquiring into this subject.

Mr. Sugden : Is it not a fact that we have no representation on that fiscal inquiry, and is it not also a fact that the two practical Lancashire men, who could have been sent over, will not get any representation, and there will only be Indian representation ?

Earl Winterton :—That is most emphatically not the case, but there is no more reason why the particular interest of this country should have representation in regard to this matter than there would be for India to have representation on a Royal Commission appointed to deal with factories in Lancashire. Of course, Lancashire interest have every representation on that Commission. This is a very important matter, and if my Hon. and gallant Friend can point out to me that there has been any difficulty put in the way of the representatives of the Manchester cotton industry stating their case—if he can show me that anything has been done to prevent their giving evidence before that Commission—I will represent the matter to my Noble Friend who, I am sure, will at once telegraph to India, and have it put right. I must say my information is altogether different from that of my hon. Friend. Every opportunity, I am told, was offered to the two representatives to give their evidence and I understand they have decided not to do so.

Mr. Sugden : I and my co-secretary of the Lancashire Committee made representation to the then Secretary of State for India asking for facilities for a deputation of employers and employed to go out to India to give evidence before the Commission. We were not granted those facilities ; neither did we get any definite suggestion as to how we could present our case. We had a direct indication, however, that no official facilities would be offered in respect of that deputation.

Earl Winterton : My information is that an opportunity was given—and it was stated in black and white—to the great cotton industry of Lancashire to give evidence before that Commission, but for some reason with which I am not acquainted it has not been taken advantage of. For my part, I will discuss the matter with the Secretary of State. I am sure he will do all in his power to see that facilities are given. But this is a Commission set up by the Government of India. It must be realised that it is an Indian Commission, and not a Commission set up by the Government of this country, and it has to consider the matter specially from the Indian point of view.

No Other Source to Tap

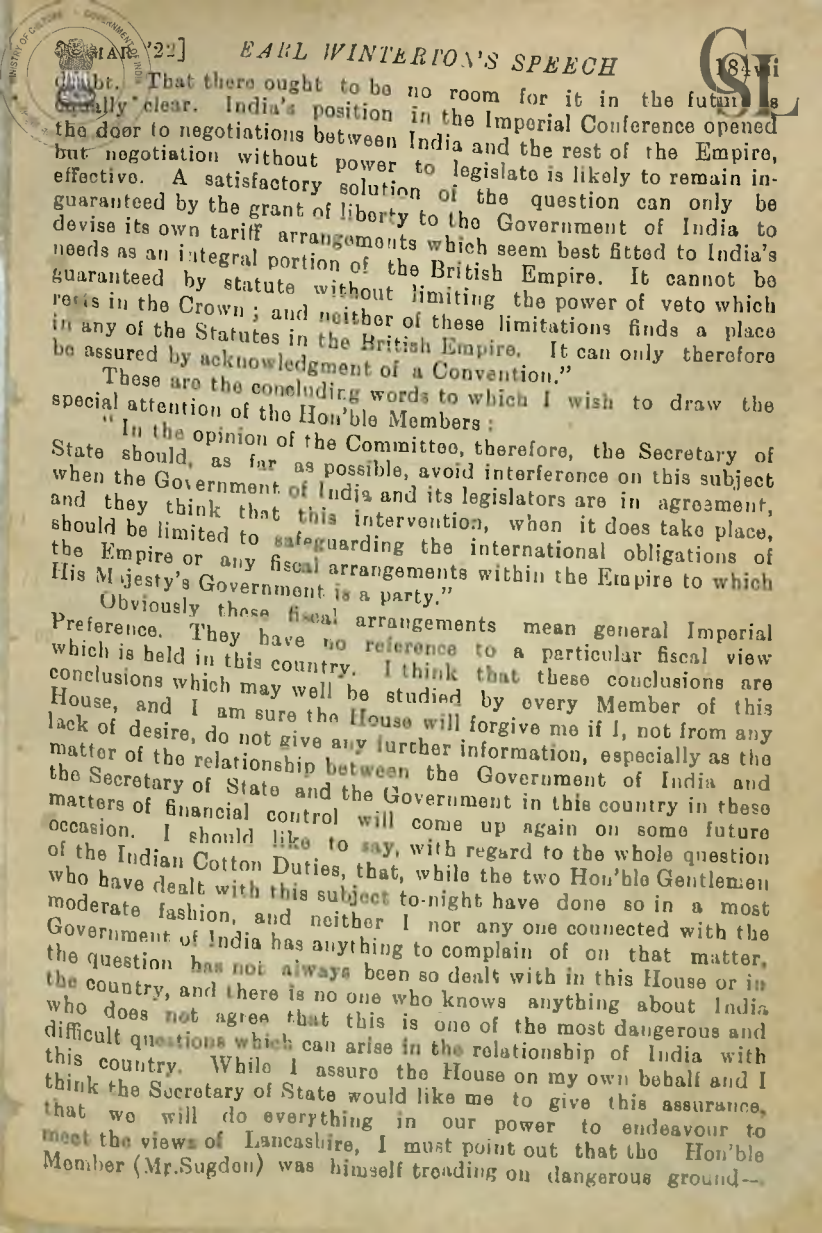
I now come to deal with the question whether or not we could have raised our revenue by other means than those adopted by the



Government of India in its recent Budget. No source of revenue in India has been unexplored during the last few years. The only possible main sources are first the land revenues and opium, and as to the latter, obviously we could not add to the duties. As to salt the Government of India did propose to increase the salt revenue, but it was rejected by the Legislature. The salt Tax in Eastern countries probably hits hardest the poorest people in those countries, and the taxation of salt is a form of taxation we ought to be careful not to increase too greatly. Then there is the Income Tax and the Super-Tax. It was pointed out that these taxes are not so high in India as in this country, but can any one suggest, having in mind the varied circumstances of the two countries that the Income-tax and Super-tax in India should be on the same level as in this country? Then the Post and Telegraph Taxes have been considerably increased, and are as high already as we think they should be. The same may be said with regard to the railways, while as to the contributions by the Provincial Governments to the Central Government, they are fixed by Statute.

There remains that great source of taxation, Customs and Excise. The point is that there was a general increase proposed to operate on all goods sent from this country and it must be borne in mind that the manufactures of other goods might just as strongly object to these duties as the cotton manufactures. We have to look at the great cotton industry from the point of view that it is one of our main props of taxation and livelihood. But manufactures in other industries have to consider their own position, and their interests are as important to them as are the interests of the cotton industry to the cotton manufacturers. It is unfair to talk as it this was an increase only on cotton goods. It is a general increase. Now I must ask the House to give me every facility for dealing with a delicate constitutional point, and not to request me to say more than I am going to say as to the relationship between the Government of India and the Secretary of State and the Government in this country in the matter of taxation. I cannot do better than quote the Report of the Joint Committee which sat on the Government of India Bill under the chairmanship of Lord Islington. My Hon. and gallant Friend does not, I think, agree with the Report of that Committee, but other people do and the Report shows the great attention which was given by the members of the Committee to the problem. The Committee says:

"Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no



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EARL WINTERTON'S SPEECH

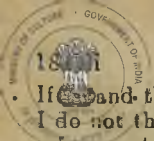
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doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is generally clear. India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiations between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise its own tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by statute without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown; and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the Statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be assured by acknowledgment of a Convention."

These are the concluding words to which I wish to draw the special attention of the Hon'ble Members:

"In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should, as far as possible, avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its legislators are in agreement, and they think that this intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."

Obviously these fiscal arrangements mean general Imperial Preference. They have no reference to a particular fiscal view which is held in this country. I think that these conclusions are conclusions which may well be studied by every Member of this House, and I am sure the House will forgive me if I, not from any lack of desire, do not give any further information, especially as the matter of the relationship between the Government of India and the Secretary of State and the Government in this country in these matters of financial control will come up again on some future occasion. I should like to say, with regard to the whole question of the Indian Cotton Duties, that, while the two Hon'ble Gentlemen who have dealt with this subject to-night have done so in a most moderate fashion, and neither I nor any one connected with the Government of India has anything to complain of on that matter, the question has not always been so dealt with in this House or in the country, and there is no one who knows anything about India who does not agree that this is one of the most dangerous and difficult questions which can arise in the relationship of India with this country. While I assure the House on my own behalf and I think the Secretary of State would like me to give this assurance, that we will do everything in our power to endeavour to meet the views of Lancashire, I must point out that the Hon'ble Member (Mr. Sugden) was himself treading on dangerous ground--



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If ~~and~~ those with whom he is associated say some of the things— I do not think they will say them, although I did not like his reference to the poor, ignorant and illiterate people of India—if they say some of the things which have been said by their predecessors, they will do more than anything else to put back the cotton trade and injure the cause of the policy embodied in the Act of 1919. I think that the vast majority of this House would regard it as a great misfortune that any such injury should be done. I would further point out that this subject has been one of bitter controversy for 50 years. The Secretary of State, the India Office, and the Government of India realise, as I hope the Hon'ble Member for his part will realise, the stress and strain of the present period in India, and I hope we shall not be pressed to make, at untimely moments, further statements on this most difficult and intricate subject.

[Regarding the views of the two Lancashire Members referred to above, see the Lancashire Deputation to the Sec. of State given in the following pages.]



The Lancashire Deputation To The Secretary of State

LONDON—29TH MARCH 1922

After the installation of Lord Peel, a tory Peer, in the India office, in place of Mr. Montagu, the Lancashire M.P.'s taking advantage of the change of policy met to press their views upon the new Sec. of State once more.

Accordingly on March 29th, 1922 a deputation of Lancashire M. P.'s and others interested in the cotton trade waited on Earl Winterton, the Under-Secretary of State, at the India Office to make representations concerning the differentiation in taxation now enforced in India against foreign piece-goods. Earl Winterton received the deputation in the absence of Lord Peel.

Sir John Radles, in introducing the deputation said :—

Generally speaking, I think you will find that our attitude is one of a desire to help your Department and not to put difficulties in your way. We realise the importance of the new arrangements in India. We do not expect you to go back on what has been done, we cannot expect that you will declare that the policy of your predecessor is to be reversed. We are not looking for that kind of thing, but we do think that it is within the province of your Department, in view of all the circumstances of the case and the great importance to the industrial community which is represented here to day to hold somewhat of a balance between conflicting interests. If, for instance, the Bombay cotton manufacturer puts undue pressure on the Government of India we look to you to rectify that undue pressure, and to see that there shall be a balance held as between Lancashire—If you like to call it so,—or between the United Kingdom and this great Empire which may be affected or deflected in its policies by the particular interests in India as distinguished from the interests of the whole Empire.

The Constitutional Position.

Mr. Waddington said :—

We represent all sections of opinion in Lancashire. The membership of this Committee is extended to the whole of the Lancashire members, whatever views they may hold on particular questions, and while we have never expressed, as a Committee,



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any views on the subject of Imperial Preference, nor have we expressed any views on the subject of Free Trade, what we are united upon is the necessity, as far as practicable, of absolute free trade between this country and India. Upon that we are all united, whatever our fiscal theories may otherwise be. Sometimes it is put up against us by other members of the House of Commons that Lancashire acts rather selfishly in connection with cotton questions, but there is a double reason for that. One reason is because of the immense importance of the Lancashire trade, and the second reason is that probably within twenty miles of Manchester there are more people who have personal experience and knowledge of India and Indian affairs than all the rest of the United Kingdom put together; and having that close personal contact with India from commerce, from the erection of machinery and from the selling of goods there, it makes a closer relationship between that part of the United Kingdom and India than with any other part. So that we are naturally more interested than other people in whatever affects India. Now Mr. Montagu's policy under the Government of India Act, we consider, has exceeded really the terms of the Act and has thereby created a false position among certain people in the House of Commons and in the country, and an equally false position in India. I refer more particularly to the question of fiscal policy. Under the Act there is no suggestion of granting fiscal autonomy. It seems to have been settled upon the Report of the Joint Committee which considered the Government of India Bill, and we suggest that the opinion of that Joint Committee is really contrary to the preamble of the Act and to the general intention of the Act itself. You spoke in the House of Commons on Monday night, and I was interested to notice that in giving a quotation from the Report of the Joint Committee you gave the whole of the paragraph with the exception of one sentence. You quoted the Report of the Joint Committee down to the word "convention", and then you went on to say:—"These are the concluding words to which I wish to draw the special attention of hon members." It was instructive to me to see what the words were that you had omitted, and they were these:—"Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa." I am not sure whether those words were omitted intentionally.

Lord Winterton: Oh no.

Mr. Waddington: I was hoping they were, because we

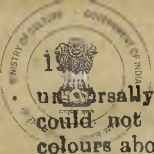
has always held that to be one of the weak spots in that Committee's Report. The very fact that a Committee should suggest that the Government of India Act was conferring upon India the same powers as had been granted to the other self-governing Dominions was to suggest something which was totally contrary to fact, and made the Report of the Committee, so far as that particular paragraph is concerned, quite useless, and quite hopeless from an administrative point of view. What is actually the position in India and in the other self-governing Dominions? Under the Government of India Act the Budget has to be introduced by the Governor-General. The Legislative Assembly, or the Legislative Council, have no voice in introducing the Budget. They have simply to vote certain proposals, and the Governor-General can veto those proposals which they either carry or do not carry. Now what is the position in the other self-governing Dominions which this Select Committee say are equivalent to India? In all the other self-governing Dominions we have the party system. The candidates go to the country; they put forward their policy and one or other of the parties is elected. They form the Government, they administer, and they legislate. But in India those who are elected have no powers either of administration or legislation otherwise than on the sufferance they receive from the Governor-General. We say that to suggest that the principle of self government guaranteed to India is equal to the self-government guaranteed to the other self-governing Dominions is really playing with terms. With regard to the question of whether we have granted fiscal autonomy and self-government to India, I should like to quote from Mr. Montagu's abridged version of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals which was issued by the India Office in 1918. This is what he says on Page 10: "The development of legislative bodies in India has led to occasional attempts to impugn the supremacy of Parliament; but on various occasions when the question was raised by individual members of the Government of India or local Governments, or by the Government of India as a whole, the Home Government asserted their rights both of legislative and administrative control in uncompromising terms." That is what the position was before the reforms. These are the proposals after the reforms: Mr. Montagu says:—"It is not part of the writers' plan"—that is of Lord Chelmsford and himself—"to make the official Governments in India less amenable to Parliament than hitherto." Then he goes on to say: "On large matters of policy there can, of course, be no such delegation." We suggest that fiscal policy is a very large matter of policy and that it involves so many interests, both

for the welfare of India and of the rest of the Empire, that there cannot and ought not to be, with the limited self-government which has been extended to India, any real fiscal autonomy in India. The preamble of the Act has been referred to ; we know that it is to take India by measured steps on the road to self-government. With regard to the rules which were made under Section 33, as you know, there are two sets of rules. The first set, if they are made, deal with the central subjects and the next set deal with the transferred subjects. Now, under the transferred subjects certain rules have been made and whilst those subjects have been deliberately transferred to the Governments in India yet we have by those rules established the right of Parliament to interfere when matters involving any dispute between this country or any other part of the Empire and India are at stake. If we have made those rules in connection with the transferred subjects giving the positive right of this Government to interfere, how much more power have we to interfere in the central subjects about which we have not made the rules? In order to show the importance that Parliament attached to these two sets of rules and how it intended to keep its grip over central subjects whilst it parted with some of its responsibilities over the transferred subjects, I should like to say that the first set of rules over central subjects have to be presented in draft to the House of Commons. They have not to be issued as Orders and laid on the table in the usual way but they have to be presented in draft. The other set of rules for the transferred subjects can be made and they are only presented as a matter of form in the House of Commons, so that the House of Commons when it passed this measure did really intend to maintain a strict hold upon those central subjects which concern the Central Government and this country.

The question also of what was intended, whether we did give self-government to India, can be dealt with by a short extract from the King-Emperor's Proclamation after the Act had been passed. In the Proclamation the King declared : "The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength, but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment". Now I suggest Lord Winterton, that that declaration of the King Emperor means that we did not give self-government to India, fiscal autonomy and the severance of the right of this country to take any part in her affairs. We did not, and never intended to give that. And we have gone wrong as a Parliament

is holding too much of our judgment to the judgment of the Select Committee. Now with a change in office we hope there may be a reconsideration of these problems and we hope that we may get back to the actual terms of the Act, to the actual intentions of Parliament relying upon the Act of Parliament and disabusing our minds of the opinion of the joint Select Committee. Now Indians themselves do not consider that they have fiscal autonomy. I have here a quotation by a very prominent Indian, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, an important and active member of the Legislative Assembly. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey in the course of his examination by the members of the Fiscal Commission "declared that at present India enjoyed fiscal autonomy only on sufferance and asked that they should have complete self-government in this direction meaning thereby that the Indian Legislatures should have the final word on all fiscal questions including Imperial preference." Another member Rao Sahab Sahasrabudhe who is a member of the Advisory Board of Industries, said: "He was humbly of opinion, with due respect to the higher authorities, that fiscal freedom should be granted to India to commemorate H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' visit."

We have been told that the whole of India considered that she had not got this right to fiscal autonomy and fiscal freedom. It has been impressed upon us that we had no right to interfere, that we were jeopardising the position of the freedom of India and this country, and the good relationship between them if we interfered. But here we have evidence within the last six weeks of two important Indians holding public positions who declare that they have not got fiscal autonomy in India and who are asking that fiscal freedom should be granted. The electorate of India has been referred to so frequently—the small electorate and the small proportion who vote—that I will not labour that point at the moment, but I would like to refer for a moment to a point in the East India (Progress and Condition) 1920 Report. On page 66 a description is given of the electorate of India and the manner in which that electorate had to record their votes at the last election. This is what is said in that report, which is an official report, issued by the Government of India, "Ingenious machinery was devised for enabling illiterate voters to record their votes. In the case of Bombay, for example, it was decided to adopt the coloured box or symbol system. There was a separate box at each polling station to which was allotted the colour or the symbol given to a particular candidate. Where the number of candidates was five or fewer, the boxes were coloured white, black, yellow, red and green. Where the number of candidates was greater than 5, to each was assigned a symbol such as a horse, cart or sword, or some other



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universally recognisable article, for it was found that country voters could not be trusted to recognise with certainty more than the five colours above mentioned".

Now the point I would make here is that where you have an electorate limited to only 900,000, and where you have electors of a class who have to vote according to a symbol such as a horse, a cart, or a sword, it is quite out of the question to suggest that self-government exists in such a part of the Empire as you have in the rest of the self-governing Dominions.

While we disagree with the theory that we have granted absolute self-government to India, we have no desire to assert that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms should be scrapped. All we desire is that they should be carried out in a way which would be best for this country and for India. They should be carried out in a spirit of co-operation. We believe that it is necessary for India to co-operate with this country. We believe that the best advantages will be obtained by using this country's wide experience, its capital, its skilled labour and its facilities for the development and the improvement of India. It is rather on those lines that we would like to go—by India recognising that she is not so independent, and by our recognising that we have ceased to hold the dictatorial and autocratic policy of previous years when the Government was entirely in the hands of the Secretary of State. We do now want to go with them and to follow them on the road to self-government, to act with them and to build them up, because by building them up we shall be building ourselves up. It may be selfish or otherwise, but if we can give a benefit there is no reason why we should not also obtain some part of the benefit for ourselves.

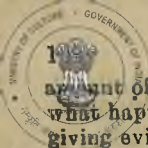
So far as the policy of the development of India by those protective duties being necessary is concerned, I suggest that India is so developed now that, even assuming that she had the power to protect herself, she does not need protection, and those assumptions are borne out by fact. If you take out the figures from the "Statistical Abstract of British India" for 1920 you will find that there were in 1909 74,757 looms in India. In 1918, without any protection in India, with the countervailing duty which was equal to the import duty, the looms in India had increased from 74,000 to 1,08,000 an increase of 48 per cent. India was able to extend her domestic industry so far as her capital and her labour was available, and no country could protect itself to any possible extent beyond those two things. It is suggested by witnesses before the Fiscal Commission that protection is not necessary. Mr. Mehta, Director of Industries, Cawnpore, in giving evidence before the Fiscal Com-

mission in December said that he considered that cotton mills in India had arrived at a stage of full development and did not require protection.

Then, as one of the dangers of this system of protection being given to India, we should recognise the possibility that the Provincial Legislature will, from their diversity of interest with Bombay in course of time come to demand protection against Bombay and the splitting up of India into fiscal autonomous areas within India itself. We have that suggested by Mr. Calvert, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, who, in giving evidence before the Fiscal Commission, said: "It seems to him what might be advantageous to Bengal and Bombay might be detrimental to the Punjab. If the Punjab was ever to have cloth mills it would be more important for it to secure protection against Bombay than against Lancashire."

Surely it cannot be to the interests of India that it should be possible that an agitation should arise in India to secure that extra walls are to be set up within India? If you are going to have protection for the province of Bombay you may equally have the Punjab and the other provinces asking that they shall be protected against Bombay in order that they may cultivate their own areas. We must not lose sight of the fact that when we speak of these Legislative Councils in India we are dealing not with small bodies of one million or two million men, but we are dealing with bodies that have the rule and the control over twenty million and thirty million of people, and as they get educated and more alive to the responsibilities of their position they will begin to ask for these powers which are now being controlled largely by the influence of the Bombay people.

Now I want to say a word about the methods of the Indian people so far as cotton goods are concerned. It was declared by Mr. Wadia who is a well-known Indian cotton manufacturer, and who is also well-known for his views on currency, when he spoke here in this very room, I imagine, at a Deputation when Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India in July 1910: "The Indian consumer, as a rule, lays aside a certain amount of money for clothing during the year and whatever the price, he can only buy the amount of cotton cloth to the extent of the sum laid aside for the purpose." We are suggesting that to make cotton cloth dearer by the imposition of this duty is to make it extremely difficult for the masses of Indian people to purchase the necessary amount of cotton cloth which they require. The conditions of life which operated then are, I understand, still operative, and a certain



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amount of money is still allotted to the purchase of clothing. Now what happens under present conditions? This same gentleman in giving evidence before the Fiscal Commission, of February 24, made this statement: "The witness contended that millions in India were to-day in a state of semi-starvation and semi-nudity due to the economic and currency policy of the Government. He did not think that the raising of the import and excise duties on cloth would make the position of poor people much worse." I am sure that we cannot sympathise with an attitude of that sort; we cannot agree with a policy which is going to affect millions of people in a state of semi-nudity and semi starvation through the imposition of these duties.

Practical Suggestions.

Now what practical suggestions can we make to you? It has been suggested that if the duty of 11 per cent. on customs was reduced to 6 per cent., and the excise duty was increased from three and half per cent. to 6 per cent., you would then get as much revenue as you are getting from the 11 per cent. and from the three and half per cent. You would by that means reduce the price of cotton goods in India by 5 per cent., enabling more goods to be produced both in this country and in India, producing greater employment in both countries, and the masses of the people being able to have more clothing. Also, it is a fair criticism that the Government of India are not administering India in the best interests of the people, judged solely by its Budgets. I look at the particulars as given by Mr. Montagu on last year's Budget, and I notice the revenue from intoxicants. I desire to say in this connection that I am not using these figures as any teetotal argument, because the Lancashire members are not all teetotalers. I assure you that I am not a teetotaler myself. I just mention it because whatever may be our views on temperance or otherwise, we do like to have some relationship between the articles on which taxes are imposed. Now in India the imposition of taxation on intoxicants amounted to 27,000,000 rupees. On cotton manufactures, that is, imported cotton goods only, not including excise, the taxation was 59,500,000 rupees. I think there is reasonable room for suggesting to the Government of India that they have a means, by looking at the duties upon wines, spirits and beer, of obtaining revenue which would at least be as easily paid as in the other case, and if they reduce it in the case of cotton goods they would certainly make it easier for those cotton goods to be bought by the masses of the people.

I only desire to state in conclusion that what we Lancashire people wish is that there should be close co operation between this

Government and India, that this country should by all means *GL* *193* *GL* assist India by helping in its irrigation works and by the extension of railways, that we should assist her to increase her material wealth, and by the increase which we can bring about in that way we shall certainly do more to contribute to the welfare of India and the welfare of Lancashire than by means of these tariffs which cause so much loss to both countries.

Mr. T. Shaw (M. P. for Preston) said :—It is not my intention to make a long speech. The organised cotton workers in Lancashire at any rate have no doubt at all about their standpoint on this question. Conference after conference and congress after congress has occupied itself with the question and some of us have an experience of it dating back 30 or 35 years. I do not think the Government will try to shelter itself behind the Act of the ex-Secretary of State for India because the imposition of these duties took place prior to that Act being passed. Over and over again Lancashire, both so far as the employers and employed were concerned, approached various Indian secretaries when proposals for these taxes were being made and on every occasion, after hearing the statement of the case, the Indian Secretary admitted that the tax without a countervailing excise was wrong in principle. We were faced by Mr. Chamberlain when he was Secretary of State with a *fait accompli*, although there was a distinct understanding that on this question, at any rate, Lancashire should be heard before final decisions were taken. It is useless for the Government to try to shelter itself behind the passing of the Act by Mr. Montagu. I draw attention to these facts because when I said that there was no doubt about the position of the organised workers in Lancashire we formed that opinion not on the Act of Mr. Montagu at all but on what had gone before. The action of to-day is what would have been the action of yesterday if we had not been powerful enough in argument to convince Indian Secretaries that the thing was wrong. We are told that this tax is necessitated by Indian public opinion. Our reply is that we do not believe a word of it. We believe that the vast mass of the people in India under normal circumstances require their cotton goods as cheaply as they can get them. They are probably the poorest civilised people in the world needing the cheapest of goods, and we do not believe that the vast majority of Indian people demand these taxes in the way they are imposed. That is a plain statement of fact as we see it. We do not believe the argument that the vast majority of the Indian people have any interest at all in a protective duty against Lancashire cotton goods because we believe in normal times they want their goods as cheaply as possible.

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Was it because India needed a protective duty to build up her industry? Why, at the very time we were confronted with the *fait accompli*—I am speaking from memory—I think the average profits of Indian cotton firms were 90 per cent. So that it cannot be argued that India needs this protection because without it she cannot make her industry pay. That I think has been proved to be wrong over and over again. The India Office is in possession of sufficient figures on that point without it being necessary for me to attempt to use any at all. Now, what the Lancashire workers say is this plainly and simply: "We do not want any preference over India; all we want is equality. If 10 per cent is put on our goods then we claim that 10 per cent should be put on the goods produced in India." We claim that Indian industry in cotton is profitable enough without having an added protective duty. We also claim—and the figures are in the possession of the India Office—that the method of imposing the tax is such as to impose a very considerable burden on a finished piece of Lancashire cloth that enters India, and it is very much open to doubt as to whether the protective duty in actual fact does not amount to much more than the difference in the percentage. I want again to emphasise the fact that so far as the Lancashire workers are concerned they ask for no preference for anybody. All they ask for is fair play and to be placed on the same basis as everybody else, Indian manufacturers included.

We ask ourselves, what has Lancashire done to have become the Cinderella of the trades? All through the war without a complaint, without a murmur, we suffered: we were the only big trade in the country which did suffer. We did make representations, but we never murmured and we never complained, although our industry was stopped to a very considerable extent all through the war. We did not ask for protection for the workers in our trades. The large standard trades sent every man of military age who was fit into the Army without a murmur or a complaint. We bore the burden of our unemployment during the war and arranged in the trade itself to carry that burden, not asking the Government to intervene to any material extent at all. As a matter of fact we not only suffered during the war without complaint; we not only gave all the men in our principal industry to the Army and Navy without complaint, but we managed the unemployment without asking the State to put a big staff at our disposal. We were and are now the Cinderella of the trades, and when we come along to the India Office when these

are placed upon us and you say that the Act prevents us from interfering, we reply that at any rate you can make friendly representations that these things are unjust. We have never had yet the slightest announcement that any representation of a friendly character has ever been made to India at all. Now that is the position of affairs we find ourselves in. Let me repeat again the position that we hold and hold most strongly. It is that India, in its cotton industry, has no need for protection; that if cotton is the one thing that will balance the Budget by taxation, then a countervailing excise should meet the duty placed on cotton goods. We ask for no preference over anybody. All we ask is that we should be put on an equal basis with everybody else, and we think we have a claim from the record of our trade during the war and from the sacrifices that it has made since the war.

Sir William Barton: I would like to recall the fact that this is a very old agitation. Many of us have been in this room time and time again, year after year. Up to 1916 our efforts did succeed in repelling taxation in India which was not counter-vailed by an excise. I want to represent, if I may for a moment, what I believe to be the true Indian view. I quite recognise that there is scarcely a politician in India who is not a Protectionist. I have not met one—and I have met a great many—who does not strongly desire protective duties for India. But I have some personal experience of India and of the intense poverty of the people of the country. They live in a state of poverty unknown in this country at any time or under any conditions, and I have no reason to believe and I have never heard any observations that would lead me to think that the ryot in India knows anything about this taxation. If he did know about it, and if he knew what has been admitted so fully to-day by Mr. Waddington, that it must of necessity increase the price of his clothing, I feel sure that, so far from it being a popular tax, it would be an intensely unpopular tax. Up to 1916 we did manage to oppose this taxation. I agree with what Mr. Tom Shaw has said that I think Mr. Chamberlain did treat badly at that time. It was an old agitation. Government after Government had yielded to Lancashire representations. Surely when there was to be a change of policy the interests concerned should have been consulted. I admit that it was done during a time of war, and that there was an offer of a hundred millions from the Government of India to assist in the war, and that being so we reluctantly in the end agreed that we would say nothing more about it. Then, Lord Winterton, I want you very specially to bear in mind that we had a perfectly definite promise



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at that time that before anything further was done all interests concerned would be taken into consultation. The next thing we were confronted with was a further increase of taxation without any consultation whatever. I understand the justification for that to have been the new Government of India Act. The last time we were in this room, Sir, the experts brought forward by Mr. Montagu did not plead that Act; what they did say was that it was purely a fiscal measure, that the money had to be found and that it was considered that this was the best way to find the money; so that they were in clear conflict with the promise which had been made to us. Reverting for a moment to the Government of India Act, it does appear to me that there is nothing on the face of that Act which reduces the power of the Secretary of State in Council to intervene in these matters. I am aware that the report of the Committee does indeed imply such a power, but are we to be guided by the report of a Committee or by the legislation on the Statute Book? There is a clear conflict of opinion on that matter. I have read the Act many times and it seems to me quite clear that we have practically the same power although perhaps in a different spirit,—more a power of co-operation but still a power—and that we are still joint trustees with the Government of India for the condition of India. With that power in your hand I think we can fairly ask you to take into consideration the whole problem both from the Lancashire side—or rather I should like to say from the British side—and the Indian side. We do not contemplate anything in the way of antagonism between London and Delhi; nothing of the kind. Indeed, Sir, I think I may tell you this that a Sub-Committee of the Lancashire Members met in Manchester some little time ago and we were confronted with the fact that there was an intention amongst the manufacturers to raise an extensive public agitation. They had established a Publicity Committee, and we as a body came unanimously to the conclusion that we would do all we could to stop it or at any rate to postpone it and the deputation to you to-day largely arises from that. We are most anxious that there should be no public ill-feeling because we feel sure that it would do nothing but harm. But we also feel sure that you can do something to help us in this matter and that the past record of your predecessors in itself justifies you in doing so. What I do want to ask you is this: Do you think that under the Government of India Act you are able to come extent to help us in this matter; are you willing to do so, are you seized with our case and do you realise that Lancashire still has the same right of intervention which she had in the past? We come here with that friendly appeal asking for your friendly help.



An Impartial Observer & a threat !

Sir Ryland Atkins:—I speak for the moment as one who has no personal connection with the cotton trade but whose duty and whose inclination it has been to watch what is the effect of this controversy upon the Lancashire public of all kinds. I feel it my duty to assure you that what my friend Sir William Barton has said is perfectly true, that we have used every influence to prevent public agitation and to make our constituents and our friends realise the difficult position of Government as between India and England. At the same time we are anxious to impress upon you that the feeling of Lancashire in this matter is far graver, is far more widespread, is far more intertwined with the life of the country than would appear to be the case when there has been so little conspicuous public agitation. It goes beyond political differences. It transcends them. It affects dozens of businesses whose actual and personal connection with the cotton trade is not as close and intimate as is the case with many others. I do not want to lay stress on what has happened in the past but impressions have been given by Government in difficulties that they would do things that they were unable to do. There is a widespread impression that under the guise and the appearance of self-government, our Government is being compelled to do what an oligarchy of Bombay cotton merchants and cotton manufacturers require and is not doing that which is necessary or really required by the mass of the people. I cannot put the case quite comprehensively by referring to the well-known passage in one of Sir Walter Scott's novels, with which Lord Winterton will be familiar, when King Richard Coeur de Lion was asked which was the more dangerous, Prince Kenelm of Scotland who was then under his influence or the Sultan Saladin, and the famous phrase was then used: "A wild cat in the chamber is more dangerous than a lion in the desert." Lancashire is close to help if it is not actually at the heart of the Empire, and we desire from you, My Lord, from Lord Peel, and from the Cabinet an expression of what we know to be your sense of statesmanship that real content at home is as vital, even more vital, than anything else for the preservation not only of Great Britain but of the Empire !

The Under-Secretary's Reply

Earl Winterton:—No Government in power in this country could possibly under any circumstances afford to ignore representations made to it by such an important interest as that of the Lancashire cotton interest, even though it may not feel able to act upon those representations. I should like first of all to deal very



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I fully with the constitutional point that has been raised. I will at once say that of course the ultimate financial responsibility under the Government of India Act rests with the Secretary of State, but I think it will be generally admitted that the Government of India must have wide latitude in deciding the steps to be taken in particular instances. I think no one would quarrel with that. I turn from that to deal, if I may do so, with the point of view of the deputation itself on this matter. If I were inclined to do so—but I want to avoid it if possible—I think I could put some of you in rather a dilemma. It is quite obvious that the universal teaching of history is that real self-government in the long run is based upon fiscal autonomy. That is obvious. I regard this deputation as a friendly deputation but if I wanted to put you in a dilemma I would say this to you: All your arguments are really arguments against ever granting fiscal autonomy to India; therefore they are arguments against advance along the path to self-government which has been referred to by the late Secretary of State and others. If you accept my argument, real, complete, self government must always be based on fiscal autonomy. However, do not let us raise that point at this moment. I would only venture to say with all respect that sooner or later—when this question comes to be the subject of public controversy and public debate, not perhaps in this Parliament but in a future Parliament, when the advance is again made, which, I suppose, we all hope will be made as anticipated by Parliament—then Parliament will have to make up its mind when the question is most emphatically brought up of the cotton interest of Lancashire, with all its magnificent record of service and devotion to the Empire, on which leg it stands, whether it is prepared to say it will grant complete fiscal autonomy to India or not. I admit the question does not arise at the moment, but I think it is legitimate to refer to it at this point. Sir William Barton said that it is known to everyone who knows India that there is not a politician in India who is not a Protectionist, from which it follows that if a future Government—it may be a Labour Government or any other Government—gave complete fiscal autonomy, it would be assumed that it would be the wish of the people that they should have a protective system. So that while some of you may think it is dangerous ground for the India Office, it is also dangerous ground for the Lancashire cotton interest because sooner or later in the long run it will put you in a dilemma. I come now to a much easier part of the case from your point of view, and my point of view, in which you ask—and if you will allow me to say so, I think it is a perfectly fair request—that there should be the closest co operation between the Government of this country and

In these matters. I am sure you will agree that it would be wrong for me to make any statement on that subject in the absence of the Secretary of State, but I may say that I feel convinced in my own mind that the Secretary of State would agree most fully and freely to the suggestion that the closest co operation should exist. The other matter that you dealt with was of somewhat the same kind. You asked that the views of your great industry might be represented very clearly to the Government of India, and that they might at all times be kept in close touch with your views, and particularly with your views, on particular instances that may arise. I think I can without committing any breach of rules of etiquette in the absence of the Secretary of State give a complete assurance on that subject. So far as my humble duties in the House of Commons are concerned, I consider it is one of the most important of them to keep in touch with the honourable gentlemen who form the deputation and constantly to hear their views, and, although I may not agree with them, to represent them to my chief, and to ask him, as I know he will do, to represent them to the Government of India. Having dealt with the question in principle, I now turn to one or two matters that have been raised with regard on the duties themselves. I should like to point out in the first place that as a result of the action taken in the Legislative Assembly both the Customs Duty and Excise Duty are in status quo, that they are in the same position as they were last year. Relatively you are no worse off than you were last year.

Mr. Ben Tilghat : We were better off then. There is not much comfort in that statement of yours—is there ?

Earl Winterton : Except this, that if your arguments are correct, you would have been worse off had they passed the increased duties. That is my only reason for referring to it. As a matter of fact you are slightly better off because the rest of the tariff has been raised. I think it is fair that everyone should realise that the cotton duties will now be 4 per cent below the general tariff ; so that, taking the case of a gentleman not coming from the Lancashire district but from some other part of England who is an importer into India of other goods, he might say : " I am worse off relatively than the Lancashire cotton interest." That is the effect of what has happened in connection with the Budget, so that Mr. Shaw's point that the cotton trade has become the Cinderella of the trades does not apply so far as India is concerned, because cotton is 4 per cent better off than other trades. It is no part of my duty to speak as regards the attitude of the Government here towards the matter generally.



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Mr. Tom Shaw : There is no comparison between the cotton and any other trade in India.

Earl Winterton : I was well aware of the predominance of the cotton trade ; I was not so ignorant as not to be aware of that, but still there are other imports into India from this country, and no doubt the persons who run those trade here are anxious to increase those imports; they wish to do trade.

Mr. Greenwood : May I ask the noble lord if he will deal for a moment with the point raised about splitting the difference between customs and excise?

Earl Winterton : I am afraid you will not regard this as satisfactory because I can make no sort of promise or statement as to alterations of the duty in the Budget next year: I can only make representations. I will put your representations before the Secretary of State. I should like before I sit down to make a suggestion. It is sometimes said that the Members of the Government (I am afraid it is true of some Ministers, I do not mean in this Government, but in Governments I have seen) are not always willing to have a discussion in the House of Commons, but I venture to say in this case that I think it would be very useful if these questions were raised in the House of Commons and we had a discussion. I would welcome and I believe my honourable friend would welcome an opportunity of having a further debate on the subject when it can be explained more in detail.



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The Indian Debate

HOUSE OF COMMONS—15TH JUNE 1922

The House of Commons went into Committee of Supply on 15th June 1922 when on the motion for the India Office vote a general debate on the Indian situation ensued. The following are important extracts from the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £75,000, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1923, for a contribution towards the cost of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council including a Grant-in-Aid."—(Note: £45,000 has been voted on account.)

The Under Secretary of State for India (Earl Winterton): As the Committee is aware, this Vote is almost the only occasion within the Parliamentary year when the affairs of India, as a whole can be discussed in this House. The Debates which arise from time to time on Adjournment Motions, the Consolidated Fund Bill, and the like, are usually, from the nature of the case, of a desultory kind. Consequently, following precedent, I propose at the outset this afternoon in my capacity as representative in this House of my Noble Friend the Secretary of State for India, to give a review of the political, financial and general situation in India. I will endeavour to compress my remarks as much as possible, realising that the Committee is rightly intolerant of lengthy statements, and further, having at the back of my mind recollections of the dim and distant past of having made speeches from the benches in another quarter of the House protesting against the undue length of time occupied by prominent speakers on both sides. I admit that a subject which at one time in our Debates were considered dull in the extreme is to-day, I am afraid, of vivid, painful, and ever-present interests to the inhabitants of almost every country in the world with the possible exception of the principality of Monaco—I refer to taxation and finance. I am afraid that I shall have to ask the Committee to bear with me while I give a good number of figures in this connection.

India Government finance for the financial year which has just closed, i.e., the year 1921-22, has come under the full blast of the world trade depression, and it is inevitable that India, which has always



be a large exporter of raw material, should feel the effects of such times as the world has been experiencing in a very special degree. Throughout the War years, really until the end of 1920, India enjoyed what is generally described as a favourable balance of trade in respect of her exports and imports of merchandise. In the year 1919-20, the favourable balance in respect of merchandise excluding treasure, was as high as 119 crores. In the year following 1920-21 the pendulum swung round violently, when the Indian trade statistics of net imports of merchandise amounted to 78 crores. In 1921-1922 there was, fortunately, some improvement as the adverse balance had been considerably reduced, and the figures for the year showing a net import of merchandise of 23 crores. Further, in that connection, it is satisfactory to note that in February and March of this year there was actually a net export of over 8 crores; and even, allowing for transactions in treasury of which India normally imports a great deal, the statistics for the three months, February to April last, in goods and treasure combined, exhibit a favourable balance to India amounting to three crores. These figures suggest that the corner has now been turned as all of us connected with India most devoutly hope that it has been and it is particularly satisfactory that the export figures for March and April last indicate an improvement over the position in the corresponding month of the year 1921. I would add in this connection that the reaction from the abnormal conditions prevailing during the War has been of serious financial concern to the Government of India as to any other Government of the world, that the position in India was complicated by the fact that this world reaction almost exactly coincided with the introduction of new political and financial machinery by the putting into operation of the 1919 Act.

Financial Situation

Indian finance has always been handled on conservative lines, and to the fact must be ascribed the high credit that the Government of India has for many years enjoyed in the markets of the world. In 1921-22 the Government of India had to face a financial problem aggravated by a heavy fall in the exchange, an unprecedented rise in prices, and large military expenditure necessitated by unsettled frontier conditions. They hoped, by means of careful economies and by the imposition of fresh taxation, amounting to 175 crores, to obtain in 1921-22 an equilibrium Budget. Unhappily, those hopes were not fulfilled, largely owing to the world trade slump and to heavy but absolutely necessary military charges. There was also in the same year a decline in the Estimate of Customs receipts amounting to over four crores and under the net receipts

from railways of thirteen crores, while losses under exchange in non-commercial Departments amounted to nearly six crores. The upshot was that a small budgeted surplus of 71 lakhs was converted into a deficit of 33 crores, the revenue for the year amounting to 109 crores while the revised estimate for expenditure came to 142 crores.

I will now deal very briefly with the situation in the present financial year. The estimates foreshadowed a deficit of 31 three-fourth crores on the existing basis of taxation, including an allowance for the yield of the taxes imposed in the preceding year. The proposals of the Government of India for new taxation which were laid before the Legislative Assembly last March, were designed to yield fresh revenue amounting to 29 crores. The new revenue is to be found under the following heads: Customs, salt, taxes on income, railways, postal telegraph, amounting together to 29 crores. Of proposals for new taxation, the Assembly rejected the increase of duty on salt, the increase from 3 three-fourth to 7 three-fourth per cent on cotton excise, and the increase on imported machinery. The total amount they thus cut out was 956 lakhs. The upshot of the discussions in the Assembly and Council of State was that additional taxation amounting to 19½ crores was accepted, because some fresh taxation was accepted.

The Committee will observe from what I have just said that the Government of India in the last two years have succeeded in carrying measures calculated to increase their revenue by no less than 37 crores, which represents 25 per cent of the budgeted expenditure for 1922-23. I think that fact shows that the Government of India are as alive to-day as ever to the imperative need of rehabilitating their financial position and that they are going to justify the confidence which their handling of Indian finance in the past has established. I make a special point of that fact, because I was challenged in previous debates by several hon'ble gentlemen who take an interest in Indian finance, to make some statement about the attitude which the Government of India were adopting towards this question.

Before I leave the subject of finance, I want to express the great satisfaction and delight of the Government of India and of my Noble friend the Sec. of State that Lord Inchcape, whose public spirit has been so often demonstrated in recent years, and who was for some five years a member of the Viceroy's Council in India, has consented to go to India in the autumn to preside over a Retrenchment Committee, on which he will be assisted by eminent men of affairs who have a thorough, practical acquaintance with Indian conditions. I need not refer to the names of the Committee or to the terms of reference, because they have been already announced, except to observe that I



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I think they are such as to inspire confidence. The terms of reference follow closely those of the Geddes Committee. They are widely drawn, and it will be within the scope of the Committee to investigate expenditure on defence and all other issues that appear relevant to.

Railway Development.

I explained, when speaking on the Loans Bill some six weeks ago, the urgent need that there was for increased railway development in India, and it so happens that my speech to-day almost coincides with the issue of an Indian Loan under the powers recently granted by Parliament. The money for which we are asking will be entirely devoted to Indian railway purposes, and the Committee will be interested to know that in the Budget this year the Government include 30 crores for their railway capital programme. I believe that the expenditure of this money will abundantly repay itself, not only directly from the railways, but also indirectly by increasing the prosperity of the country which, in its turn, will enhance the Government revenue through Customs and in many other ways. Having regard to the great natural wealth of India and to the increased recognition of the scope for developing that wealth, I look forward to a renewal of Indian progress in all directions. Indian public men are fully alive to the possibilities of India's commercial expansion, and I am sure that the increased association of Indians with the Executive Government is bound to lead to developments that will add strength and security to Indian finance. I have only one other word to say on the question of finance, and that is to anticipate question that will no doubt be asked at a later stage in the Debate with regard to the action that the Government of India are likely to take with respect to this uncovered deficit to which I have referred. I think it would be premature to make any announcement at this time. It may well be that a revival of trade and an increasingly peaceful internal situation will materially improve the revenue prospects within the current year. But, whatever the situation may be, it will be faced in the future by the Government of India.

Khilafat Question.

There are two other questions to which I am going to make only a brief reference. One is the question of the Cotton Import Duty. I have already on previous occasions explained fully the attitude of the Government of India and that of my Noble Friend in this respect, and I shall be ready to reply to any criticisms that may be made during the course of the Debate. The other matter is that of military policy. I do not propose now to speak of it, but

I will of course reply to any questions, though I have no fresh announcement to make with regard to any change of policy. Let me now say a word or two about two questions, the importance of which no one connected with India can fail to realise. The first is the Khilafat question, and the second is the position of Indians overseas. With regard to the first of these questions everyone recognises. I hope and believe, the sympathy of Indian Moslems for Turkey as a great independent Moslem power under the Sultan. His Majesty's Government fully realise the position, and they desire to show all possible respect to those beliefs and feelings. It is no part of their policy, and it never has been in the past of the British Government—it has never been the policy of this Government, and it never will be—to pit one religion against another, and it is not for them a question of rival religions; their sole concern is to secure conditions which will as far as possible do justice to all parties.

Indians Overseas.

Scarcely less important is the question of the political rights to be accorded to Indians overseas. It excites the most intense interest in India, and, in claiming the full rights of Imperial citizenship, Indians of all shades of political opinion are united. I would go back for a moment to the situation at the time of the last Imperial Conference. While that Conference left undisturbed the principle that each Government should be left free to determine the composition of its own population, it embodied the new and most important principle that Indians lawfully domiciled in any part of the Empire should enjoy the rights of citizenship. The Resolution was not accepted by the representatives of South Africa, and it would be folly to ignore that acute difficulties still remain in that Dominion. We can only trust to time to provide a solution. But I would make an announcement to the Committee which, I think, has not yet been made public. I am not sure whether it has or has not. The Government of India have recently, with the full concurrence of my Noble Friend, entered into direct communication with the Union Government on this question, and it is hoped that now that each Government can frankly explain to the other its own embarrassments, some satisfactory solution of this difficulty will be reached. I might say that there have been several speeches in South Africa, and notably one by Mr. Patrick Duncan, which would lead all who take an interest in this question to believe that the Government of South Africa are at any rate alive to the difficulties of the situation.

As regards the other Dominions, I think that the outlook is brighter in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The representatives of all those Dominions accepted the Imperial Conference



Resolution, and it only remains to provide means and methods of translating into practice a new principle. For that purpose Mr. Sastri is visiting Canada, Australia, and New Zealand on the invitation of the Dominion Governments and his task will be to inform public opinion and consult with the three Governments as to the best way of giving effect to the Resolution. I should like to say that as the adoption of the Resolution was largely due to the earnestness and eloquence of Mr. Sastri, it is, in my opinion, very satisfactory indeed that he should be conferring, or about to confer, with these Dominion Governments on this question. As regards the Crown Colonies and Dependencies, the position is somewhat different because, as the Committee is aware, the application of the Imperial Conference Resolution in that case lies with his Majesty's Government, and in some cases we are concerned not only with political but also with economic questions. Just recently two deputations from India have visited in the one case British Guiana, and in the other case Fiji, to examine whether those countries are suitable for Indian colonisation. The inquiries have been largely directed to such matters as the cost of living, rates of wages, and the terms on which land can be held. Neither of these two deputations has yet submitted its report, and it is not possible therefore, to anticipate their findings in any way. When they are received by the Government of India they will be referred to the Indian Legislature, and it will be for that Legislature to decide whether, and, if so, on what conditions, emigration can be allowed to those two Colonies.

There was recently passed into law in India an Emigration Bill which has to a great extent altered the situation and by it systematic emigration of unskilled labourers to all parts of the world will be controlled and prohibited unless such emigration is specifically permitted by notification. The notification, however, cannot be issued by the Government of India without the approval of the Indian Legislature which will be advised by a Standing Committee on Emigration. For this reason the reports submitted by these two deputations and any schemes put forward by other Colonial Governments will be closely examined in the light of the conditions under which Indians live in the countries in question. The Committee will see at once the importance of these new provisions to safeguard particularly the interests of the poorer class of Indian workers who go to other countries in the Empire.

As regards the question of Kenya and the position of Indians in that Colony the matter is still under the earnest consideration of the India Office and the Colonial Office. In these circumstances it is perhaps better not to comment on the unfortunate differences

which have arisen between the European and Indian settlers in that colony. The prospect of a solution, however, is very hopeful, and I trust and believe that a settlement satisfactory to Indian opinion, and indeed a settlement which will be satisfactory all round may be reached in the near future.

The Indian Services.

I come to perhaps what is one of the most difficult of all the questions with which those connected with India have to deal at the present time, and on which I know there is a great deal of no unnatural anxiety in this House—I refer to the position of the Services in India. The members of the Indian Civil Service have to contend with great difficulties with which my Noble Friend the Secretary of State for India fully sympathises. Prices have risen enormously in India, just as they have risen elsewhere, and the old amenities and attractions of life to British Civil Servants in India have largely disappeared owing to a variety of circumstances. In many cases these men find themselves worse off financially than they were 10 years ago and actually some of them find difficulty in meeting their obligations, and I am afraid in some cases in meeting the obligations they owe to their families apart from themselves. Unfortunately, it is the fact that the revisions of pay have not fulfilled expectations. The position in their respect is not peculiar. The Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India are limited by the resources at their disposal, and the Budget of the Government of India and other provincial Budget showing a deficit. Committees are sitting all over India to advise the Government where they should lop and prune their expenditure. In these circumstances I fear there can be no expectation of a great increase in Service charges at the present time, but signs are not wanting that economic conditions are beginning to improve and the Services, like the rest of the community, must reap their share of the benefits.

So much for the material side of this question. But there is an equally if not more important side to this question in India. I do not know that the material side is the real Service difficulty. You cannot expect good and contented service from men in any part of the world, whether under the Government or under a private individual who feel that their service is not wanted, and whose every-day task, hard and exacting as it is at the best, is carried out under a constant stream of vituperation, misrepresentation and active or passive hostility which some at any rate of the responsible leaders of opinion have done something to foster and little to check. In that connection may I say that anyone who has lived in a tropical country, as I have done must realise that the conditions of



service are infinitely harder than in this country because you have a hostile climate that is fighting against you. This may not be so apparent during the short visit, and it is only when you live there for about two years through hot and cold weather as I have done that you realise what men are up against who have to spend their lives in that country, and when you superimpose upon all the conditions with which Indian civil servants are faced you have a state of things which very much affects the spirit and the health and the good work of those who are serving in that part of the world.

I make every allowance for Indian impatience over the question of Indianisation and for the lack of balance arising from the sudden acquisition of powers of effective criticism and considerable control. I make every allowance for the Indian disappointment at the synchronising of this acquisition with a financial stringency unparalleled in the experience of anyone living, and yet I am afraid that the fact remains that, whatever the future may have in store, no responsible Indian in his heart would deny that the need of the assistance of the All-India services was never greater than it is to-day, and the need will continue to be greater throughout and beyond the period of transition.

Race hatred will not and cannot hasten the advent of responsible government. If any condition could point to a certain delay and is capable of destroying the chances of Dominion status for India, that condition is race hatred. There is good enough reason, unfortunately, for the belief on the part of the Services that Indians including some whose position ought to guarantee that they would act reasonably want to get rid of them. I can only say in conclusion on this matter, with the greatest emphasis, that there is no reason whatever for the belief that the Government of India, or my Noble Friend the Secretary of State for India, want to get rid of them, or ever will get rid of them. I think it is of importance that that announcement should be made in view of the accusations which have been made in certain quarters.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks : How can you stop it ?

Earl Winterton : I was not referring to anyone in this House.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks : I merely asked, what are you going to do to prevent it ?

Retirement Scheme.

Earl Winterton : I shall come to that point later on. I wish to say a word or two now about the retirement scheme. I am betraying no secret when I say that the late Secretary of State for India agreed, with reluctance, to a general option to retire which was open for a limited period. The present Secretary of State for India has agreed, not without reluctance, to the removal of the limitation of

the action. On this point the exact terms of the announcement will be made by my Noble Friend in a few days in another place. In view of this, I ask that I should not be pressed for details now. It is a complete misapprehension to suppose that this offer represents a desire on the part of the Government of India or on the part of the Secretary of State to "thin out" British members of the Service. I think it is important to emphasise this because the original offer was made on the insistent demand of the Services themselves and of some Members of this House who had made themselves spokesmen in this matter. That is the history of this question.

The extension which I have just mentioned is not due to a desire for a more effective thinning out, but it is in the hope that the numbers who avail themselves of the offer will be smaller than if the time limit had been maintained. The number of applications for all Services up to date to retire is 97, and this includes 40 from the police and 30 from the Indian Civil Service. I admit that this is regrettably large, but I think there is ground for the hope that it will not greatly increase. Let me say one word further on this question of the Services in India. In my opinion, whether they be officials, non-officials or ex-officials who by speech or action do anything to help to increase the difficulties and help to prevent fresh British blood from coming forward to fill the gaps they are really not helping India or this country, but they are putting back the clock of progress. I think it is most desirable that I should make that announcement.

Internal Political Situation.

I now come to the last question I have to deal with, which in itself is divided into two sub-questions, that of the internal political situation and the agitation and unrest in the recent history of the policy under the Act. As the Committee is aware, after a long period of unrest, characterised by much sporadic lawlessness and by several more serious outbreaks of violence, Mr. Gandhi was arrested on the 10th March, and was promptly tried and convicted, having himself accepted the justice of his sentence. Since his arrest the country has become progressively quieter. The members of the Moplah rebellion have been stamped out, although a few outlaws still lurk in the jungles. At the end of March the dangerous Akali Sikh movement in the Punjab was dealt with. Commencing as a religious movement for the better management of the Sikh shrines, it had taken on a political complexion and threatened to develop into a system of armed and organised terrorism. These manifestations have been checked, and quiet has been restored in that province.



The Aika movement in the United Provinces—a parallel agrarian movement—which was also taking on a threatening aspect and which took the form of mobs of tenants and labourers assembling to overawe landowners and general manifestations of that kind has also been put down, while the genuine underlying grievances are being investigated by the local government. An excellent spring harvest was followed by an equally abundant one last autumn. Prices are falling and signs are not wanting of some alleviations of the extreme trade depression of the past year. All these things mean a returning contentment to the country and consequently some improvement at any rate in the tone of political controversy. Those who have adopted the extreme gospel of non-co-operation have in some cases been assailed by doubts as to the efficacy of their faith, and they are beginning to consider whether much of what they desire might not be accomplished by a proper use of the Constitution recently provided for them. I am inclined to think myself that that movement will increase and may headway. Before I sit down I propose to say a word about the use which has been made of it by Indian public men and Indian public opinion. I was challenged by the Right Hon'ble Member for the City of London (Sir F. Banbury) to say why Gandhi had not been arrested before. I suppose my Right Hon'ble Friend desired I should deal with this subject.

Sir F. Banbury: No, what I said was that it was a pity Dr Valera had not been arrested.

Gandhi's Arrest

Earl Winterton: I am glad to say that particular responsibility does not rest on my shoulders. My Noble Friend did not assume office until after the arrest of Gandhi, and if I am challenged as I have no doubt I shall be in the course of the Debate, I should like to say now quite frankly that I am not concerned with the expression of any opinion on the policy previously followed. It is understood that the view of the Government of India was that to have arrested Gandhi at the height of his triumphant career, when he was almost universally regarded as having more than human qualities, would have involved risks of grave disorder, without any certainty of stopping his propaganda. The Government of India preferred to wait until the barrenness of his political faith and its total failure to produce any constructive results had disillusioned his more intelligent supporters. Then his downfall was accepted by his followers with comparative coldness, while with the ignorant men who had been taught to repeat his name, and had been expecting the date of his promised Swaraj, and several times seen it pass, the bubble of his

supernatural attributes was summararily pricked. I neither criticise nor endorse this policy, but under existing circumstances, the Government of India are naturally in a position to say it has succeeded for the reasons I have just given. It is only fair to them to give those reasons and to point to the moral to be learned therefrom.

The Reforms Act

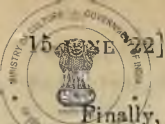
With regard to the policy of administration in India, of course it would not be in order, on an Estimates discussion, to deal with the Government of India Act, but I am entitled to deal with the question of administration, and I wish to emphasise again this afternoon what I said soon after I became Under-Secretary, that there has been no change of policy as a result of the change of personnel at the India Office. Parliament recorded its declaration of policy in the preamble of the Act and the Government in general and the Secretary of State in particular are the servants of Parliament in this as in all other matters, and were bound to carry out, both in its spirit and in its letter, the Act which had been passed. I should like in that connection to deprecate equally strongly two opposite contentions which have been advanced, not so much in this House, although they have been made here inferentially, but more strongly in the Press outside. The first is that practical experience of 18 months' working of the new Constitution is sufficient to show that that Constitution needs amendment to remove restrictions. The second is that the same amount of experience shows that the Act has failed and ought to be scrapped. Both these contentions are absolutely fallacious. The only reasonable answer is to say that the charge has not been proved. It is idle to deny that the Indian Legislature has established for itself a legitimate place in the machinery of the British Empire, and if one has read, as I have very fully, the Debates that have taken place in it, he is bound to admit that they have been conducted with dignity and courtesy, and have reflected great credit upon the Assembly. I may say in that connection that many members and officers, both of the Indian and the Provincial Legislatures, take the keenest interest in the working and proceedings of this House, and are constantly coming here to meet members and officials. I have singled out in particular the Indian Legislature, not in derogation of the importance of the Provincial Legislature, but because the point of contact between the Central Legislature and the other Councils in the vast machinery of the Empire is necessarily much closer than it is in the case of the Provincial Councils. The Indian Legislature has been in existence only for three Sessions, and it is only now beginning to find the power it has. Every day of its existence is disclosing new points.

realities and I think that that will continue to be the case. ~~And it should be so.~~

But it is reasonable to continue to say or even to have begun to assert that the best way to keep this great machine going is to take it to pieces so soon to see if it cannot be improved by putting in some new parts or leaving out some of the existing parts. It is absurd to suggest such a thing and I do not believe that if any other Government sat on this bench it would be prepared to advocate such a policy. Any Government would fail greatly in its duty if it did not allow the scheme to work out its own salvation in its own way. There is, however, one point in this connection which I should like to mention. However capable the Legislature, however capable individual Members of it may be, the capabilities of the electorate are still practically untried and unexplored, and the immediate urgent task before India's non-official legislators should be to form a live and independent electorate in India, because, after all, such an electorate is the basis of real responsible government in any country. In this country we all take the utmost pains to educate the electorate; sometimes they do us credit, at other times they do not. In the 1906 election I thought the electorate appeared to be extremely and deplorably ignorant. In the 1918 election I thought it seemed to be extremely well-instructed.

Mr. Acland : And it will be ignorant next time.

Earl Winterton : I am not so sure that next time it may not carry out fully the instruction we give it. At any rate we can do our best by supplying the electorate with the facts as we see them out of our own mouths or by means of our printing presses. Really, the situation is this, that the electorate in India as a whole has had very few opportunities of being instructed in policy. As a rule, it has only heard one side. It is not to be expected that the new machine with a new and different motive power behind it, is going to perform exactly the same evolutions as the old machine with the old motive power. We have in this country generations of sound, constitutional government behind us. In India they have the model of generations to follow and it would be wrong and unfair to expect them not to make experiments. I do not think it should be said they are not to be trusted, because they show signs of departing slightly from the pattern, but at any rate we ought to do everything in our power to assist them to lay the foundation of sound Indian Government, and we might well take the motto from the Book of Common Prayer, which tells us to take the mean between the two extremes of too much strictness in refusing and too much ease in giving. That is the attitude of mind which I think we should adopt to this problem.



Indo-British Friendship

Finally, I come—no doubt to the relief of hon. Members (Hon. Members: "No, No!")—I shall have an opportunity of replying later—I come to my last words on this question, and I should like to say something on the very delicate subject of the relationship between Great Britain and India. I have been struck by the persistency with which the enemies of Great Britain throughout the world in every country and even, I am afraid, in the British Empire itself, cherish the belief that this country has lost faith in itself. That is an idea which is fostered to some extent by people at home who claim to be super-patriots, and by men who had no experience, either in the Great War or in the South African War which preceded it, of what is, after all, the real crucible in which patriotism has to be tested, namely war itself. It is these people who are helping these enemies of ours to foster this illusive dream that this country has lost faith in itself. I believe, on the contrary, exactly the opposite is the case. Thousands of British men and women who took part in the War realised for the first time the worth of their race, its courage, patience, resourcefulness and above all, its moral qualities. With this revelation went no foolish assertion of race superiority. On the contrary, we all realised the wealth of good qualities in other races of the Empire and especially so did those of us who had the inestimable advantage of fighting day after day and month after month side by side with the troops of other races of the Empire, and especially anyone who, like myself, fought alongside the Indian troops. We realised their good qualities, and consequently after the War there was an almost passionate desire to co-operate more fully with those other races than we had done before the War, while not abating by one jot our belief in our own race and our world position. This new conception of the relationship between the people of this country and the peoples of this great Peninsula of India will, I believe, succeed despite difficulties, despite all the efforts of malignancy and perversity to prevent it, and I believe that 10, 15 or 20 years hence people looking back will say that we in this Government, in the years immediately following the War, were right in our conception of the true relationship between Great Britain and India.

Mr. Ben Spoor: The Committee has listened to one of the most extraordinary speeches on the Indian situation that it has ever been the lot of Members of the House of Commons to hear. The Noble Lord made a speech which, viewed from any point of view, must be regarded as unusually depressing. I do not criticise so much what

he said, but I do criticise what he did not say. The incompleteness of his survey—because he really told us nothing at all about the real situation in India—the way in which his speech from beginning to end reflected an optimism which certainly is not justified by the facts, and the easy manner in which he skated over what are very real difficulties and immensely serious problems, were exceedingly depressing. He told us, first of all, that the financial situation in India gave cause for grave disquiet. He pointed out how it was impossible to get a Budget in which both ends would meet. And then he went on, quite airily, to tell us that he looked forward to the future with confidence as we got, and apparently we were getting increasingly peaceful in internal conditions: and that, as there was coming a revival of trade, all would be well in India in a very short time. In the whole speech there was not a single reference to the Indian point of view. The whole speech was the speech of a Britisher who viewed this problem purely through British eyes. There was no attempt made at all events in all that we have heard so far to meet what some of us regard as the legitimate demands of the Indian people. I submit that the speech really reflected no understanding sympathy with the Indian mind at all.

We were assured that there had been no change in policy since we had a change in the officials at the India Office, but I do submit that, if that speech represents the attitude of the India Office, there has been a considerable change in spirit. Gandbi and the whole non co operation movement were swept on one side as though they hardly counted at all. Gandbi, we were told, is in prison. We were told that a few outlaws remained in the jungle. I remember that one year we called Michael Collins an outlaw and the next year called him a hero.

Col. Sir C. Yate : Never !

Mr. Spoor : There were representatives of the Government who used terms upon which that interpretation could be put.

Indian Military Situation.

I should like just to refer very briefly to one aspect of the military situation in India. I do not want to discuss it in any detail ; I will leave that to others who are more competent than I am to deal with it ; but I should like to ask the Noble Lord if he can give us some information regarding the tremendous increase in military expenditure. I believe that on British troops alone there has been an increase, since 1914, of about £7,000,000 per annum in expenditure. Compared with 1914, the Army in India in 1921 was, I believe, reduced in strength by about 6000. I understand, of course, that the increase in expenditure is in the main due to



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improvement in the pay of officers and men, but at the same time it is a colossal amount, and, when one remembers that practically half the Indian revenue goes in military expenditure, one must realise that very real difficulties are bound to arise. While, however, there has been this decrease in the number of British troops in India, we are informed that there has been a rather extraordinary increase in the Headquarters Staff, and, consequently, in the maintenance of the 301 in 1914 to 444 last year. I do not know whether the Noble Lord will be able to justify that extraordinary increase, in face of the decrease as far as troops are concerned.

The Political Situation

Coming back to the speech of the Noble Lord, I would say that the day for patronising India has gone. We have there a problem too grave to be faced in that manner, and I should like to discuss, perhaps a little more intimately than the Noble Lord has done, the political situation in that country. We are told to-day that India is becoming progressively more peaceful. We have been told that the non-co operation movement has received a severe check. We have been told that Gandhi's influence is on the wane. We have been told also that the supremacy of British authority is being again vindicated. It would be difficult to imagine a more superficial view of what is, perhaps, the most vital issue facing British statemanship at the present moment. For, what are the facts? At the present moment over 20,000 political prisoners are in goal. They include men of high character, men whose character has never been questioned. They include men of profound culture—of a culture, I submit, probably greatly in excess of that of the average Member of the House of Commons. Two or three years ago these men were not hostile to Britain, and so far as the British people, as distinguished from the Government are concerned, they are not hostile now. The crime of these 20,000 people is not that they are anti British; it is simply that they are pro-Indian. Their aggressive assertion of independence, and their intense nationalism, have been stimulated by a long-continued series of blundering errors in British policy. We are familiar, of course, with the story of recent happenings in our relations with India—the story of a demand for freedom which was daily growing more insistent, and the partial meeting of that demand by the Reform Scheme of 1919; and here I may be allowed to make an observation regarding the work of the late Secretary of State. That gentleman has been driven from office, but his contribution towards the freeing of India will never be forgotten by the people of that country. The Act of 1919 apparently represented the utmost that could be extracted from the Government. While, in the opinion of

square of us, its inadequancy was bound to create difficulty, and indeed, did create difficulty, it was the first really effective step taken by any responsible British statesman towards the fulfilment of pledges both express and implied during the whole of the long years of our dominance in India.

Lovers of liberty, not only in the British Empire, but everywhere, will remain grateful to the right hon. Gentleman in that he did, at all events, succeed in opening a roadway which will never again be closed. But the reforms that he introduced have never had a real chance. Amritsar and the Turkish Peace Treaty created an atmosphere in which the full benefit of that scheme could never be realised. Resentment against what many of us regard as barbarous methods of Government, against vindictive schemes of boundary re-adjustment which violated what, after all, are very deep religious sentiments—these stirred up hatred, not, let me again emphasise, against the British people, but against their Government representatives. The weapon of non-co-operation was introduced and the British authorities were faced with a problem of unparalleled difficulty. Vast numbers of men and women refused even to take part in the first election. Passive resistance spread right through the country. I was in some districts in the Bombay Presidency a little over a year ago where not 3 per cent of the electorate would go to vote. It is extremely difficult for those of us who have been reared amid the purely materialistic philosophies of the West to understand even dimly, the reasoning of the Eastern mind. Longer mental perspectives than are possible in the rush and hurry of modern politics are required and temperamental sympathies which, in the main, are alien to us. So it is that this non-co-operation movement is very largely misunderstood by its Western critics, but we do not get over it by calling it fanatical. We certainly shall not suppress it by imprisoning a few thousands of its leaders. The prison has not yet been built that will enclose an idea, for the gun is not forged yet that can destroy a will, however it may manifest itself, that is really making for freedom. I know that some people imagine that it may be possible to raise a dam that will hold the current in check; but the higher you raise your dam the greater becomes the pressure that is behind it. The great danger is that some day the dam will burst, as certainly some day in India the gaol doors will have to be opened.

You are dealing in India with a terrific force, a force which is altogether incalculable and almost superhuman. The policy of blood and iron can no more bring peace in India than it brought peace in Ireland. It has never brought peace in any country in the world yet. You cannot defeat non-co operation. Personally, I should

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to see it defeated, but not by the methods that are employed by the Government of India backed by the British Government in this country. You can defeat non-co-operation by practising co-operation. When I say that, I mean the willing, ungrudging co-operation of British and Indian on absolutely equal terms in the maintenance of a common wealth jointly enjoyed. The Noble Lord told us that certain political disabilities under which Indians suffer in some of our Colonies were likely to be removed. We hope that they will very speedily be removed. We hope that even our Colonial Office will be converted to the wisdom of treating Indians as British subjects are treated; for so long as a single Indian suffers from a disability either in India or in a British Colony, so long as a single Indian is denied a right that is enjoyed by his British fellow-citizens, so long will there be discord and danger and no chance of peace.

Face the Real Issue.

I do ask the Government really to make an attempt to face the real issue. Instead of trying to understand Gandhi we put him in gaol. Such policy and such approval, as it apparently has in this House in certain quarters, is a confession of hopeless incompetence. Gandhi, rightly understood, is far less an isolated leader than the incarnation of what is undoubtedly the popular will. Whether we agree with him or not does not concern my argument, but through Gandhi the hopes of millions of Indians are finding utterance. We may disagree with his ideas entirely, but it is a profound mistake to imagine that they are merely personal. The sole effect of his imprisonment is to stimulate feelings of bitterness which will ruin all possibility of a peaceful issue of this great struggle. The supremacy of British authority has been vindicated. Yes, and India is practically bankrupt. The Lancashire cotton trade is in peril. Indeed, the economic effects of this conflict are as bad as the political ones.

Unless there is a rapid change in the whole temper of the relations of Britain and India, India will be lost to Britain and Britain will be lost to India, and no one here can possibly imagine the magnitude of such a disaster as that. I am convinced that there is a very much graver risk of that happening than would be inferred from the speech to which we have just listened. I submit, further, that the practical solution of this difficulty is not so terribly hard after all. India simply wants to be master in her own house, and until she is master in her own house there will be no peace. For the last two or three weeks there have been appearing in a responsible British newspaper, "The Manchester Guardian," a series of articles from its correspondent in India. In an article that appear-

On last Monday he recorded a conversation that he had with a wealthy Parsee merchant. This was a man who was not a non-co-operator at all. The article referred to interviews with Mahomedans, Hindoos and Parsees. I quote the opinion of this Parsee gentleman because he is quite apart and separate from the political side, or indeed any side, of the non-co-operative movement. The correspondent asked him certain questions. He asked, "Is the root cause of the present unrest this unsatisfied national aspiration, or the economic trouble?" This was the answer:

"The root cause is the unsatisfied nationalist aspiration. That is intensified by the very serious economic trouble. But we could face those economic troubles with much greater equanimity if we feel that our hands were free to take our own measure to meet the situation. As it is we have to leave matters in your hands, and, to speak quite frankly, we think you have made a thorough bad mess of our business. Let me make myself quite clear. If our economic trouble vanished, if the exchange steadied, trade revived, budgets balanced, food prices fell, monsoons were favourable and crops were good, then you would find us still just as determined as ever to be masters in our own house."

Then he was asked by the newspaper correspondent this question: "On the day when you are masters in your own house what will happen to our capital and our people in India?" In view of the alarm that I have heard expressed in many quarters regarding the position of Europeans in that country, this answer is interesting:

"They will be perfectly safe. To-day there is friction over the question of political supremacy. So long as that question is unsettled bad blood may be engendered at any moment, and the lives of your people may be endangered. You therefore need a certain number of British troops in the country. I quite see that. But once the question of political supremacy is out of way, you will not need a single British soldier in India so far as the protection of your people and your property is concerned. And I can tell you too that you will find that we shall then need British brains and British capital as much as ever, and we shall feel much less reluctance to employ them." The correspondent goes on to say, "This is not the bait held out by a non-co operator. It is the opinion of a Parsee man of business."

Labour Party's Suggestions

There are certain specific things which we in the party with which I am associated feel should be done immediately. I complain of the fact that the Noble Lord gave no indication whatever that the perfectly legitimate demands of the Indian people should be met.

Unless those demands are in some measure complied with we are bound to have increasing aggravation of what at the present moment is a terribly dangerous position. We submit that the whole of the political prisoners should be immediately released. Those of us who have met some of these men know that it is a criminal thing that men like Lajpat Rai, whose crime is that they are patriots, have been cast into prison. We submit also that a conference which would include representatives of every school of Indian thought and representatives of the British Government should be immediately called. That conference should reveal the whole situation. It should reveal the working of the system of anarchy, about which we had so much controversy when the 1919 Bill was before the House. The British and Indian Governments should give some indication that they are going to revise the whole question long before the period of ten years which is named in the Act. Some of us made an attempt when the Bill was going through the Joint Select Committee to get that ten years' period knocked out. We were not successful, but the gravity of the situation is such at the moment that the Government should give some indication that they are prepared to consider the whole question of reform at an earlier date. I believe if the Government would declare now that they are prepared to call this conference on the understanding of course that all who take part in it will faithfully and loyally abide by its decisions, and if they will further state that they are prepared to revise the reform scheme at a very early date, it will do more to tranquillise India and bring peace in that country and a better understanding there than anything else could possibly do.

We submit further, that seeing that the first election resulted in many cases in the return of men who by no stretch of the imagination could be called popularly elected, new elections should be held. More than that, every manifestation of racial superiority should be ruthlessly curbed. The Noble Lord referred to the immense dangers of unchecked race hatred. How much of that race hatred has been stimulated by men who were not fit and proper people to represent Britain in India, men who constantly asserted a kind of racial superiority? No man who has been in India but will agree with me that there are certain types of men—I am not now condemning the whole European population—who have done tremendous harm to British authority and to everything that Britain stands for because of the attitude they have again and again maintained. The Noble Lord spoke of the grievances—and I believe he was quite right in what he said—under which members of the Indian Service at present suffer, but there is one aspect of that question which should not be overlooked. There is a feeling in India that

the type of man who in recent years has gone out to represent us there is not quite as good as the type of man who used to go years ago; in other words, that there has been a certain deterioration in the personnel of the Indian Civil Service. Men familiar with India will be better able to speak of that than I am. At all events, I have heard the assertion made, not only by responsible Indians, but also by responsible White men occupying positions out there, that deterioration is probably in some measure due to the rather uncertain position in which any man entering the Indian Civil Service must feel at present. But no deterioration should be allowed which will enable men to go out there to assert that overbearing sense of racial superiority which does more than anything else to stir up Indian feeling against us.

We submit that there should be a reduction in the vast military expenditure of India. It is a terrible thing that in a country, 93 per cent of whose people can neither read nor write—and the responsibility for this state of illiteracy rests very largely with the British Government—nearly a half of the total revenue is spent in the maintenance of an Army. We should press on with the work of education. I agree with the Noble Lord that what we want in India—and indeed we could do with it in this country—would be a well-informed electorate—if we could only get that and encourage the spending of less money on military matters and more on education. We must show, too, in a way which cannot be misunderstood, a desire to help India towards complete self-government at the earliest possible moment. As far as the Labour Party is concerned, we always have believed that India should be granted Dominion Home Rule within, at all events, a comparatively short time. We submit finally, that force and the rule of blood and iron will succeed no more in India than it has done in Ireland. We have an immense responsibility, and the number of Members who attend Indian Debates shows how clearly the British House of Commons realises its responsibility in this matter. We still have an opportunity. Sometimes I have felt that matters have gone so far that recovery is altogether impossible. When I came back from India in December of last year I had the feeling—and I know it was shared by others—that our policy had been so blind, so unwise, so utterly unsympathetic, so lacking in appreciation of the real Indian point of view, that any recovery could not possibly be made. I believe, however, now that we have an opportunity and that recovery is possible. Our responsibility is to make India free. Our opportunity is to win back the confidence and the trust of vast masses of people who have well nigh lost faith in the very name of Britain.



1 JUNE '22]

COL. WEDGWOOD'S SPEECH

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Col. Wedgwood.

Colonel Wedgwood : I think, perhaps, before I proceed with the business part of the Debate, I had better explain to the Hon. Baronet (Sir W. Joynson Hicks) that his attacks on the members of the Labour party who went to India leave us not only cold, but satisfied. The extracts he gave from the speeches of my hon'ble Friend the Member for Bishop Auckland (Mr. Spoor) might properly have been delivered by every single member of the Labour party. The Member for Bishop Auckland went to India as the delegate of the Labour party. He took with him the views of the British Labour party on Indian questions as embodied in their Resolution passed at the Annual Conference of the Labour party. Those views are perfectly clearly expressed in the Resolution, and my Hon'ble Friend never in any one of the quotations which has been read went a line beyond the Resolution passed by the party. I think, he spoke, indeed, not only for the Labour Party, but, as he said, for the bulk of the democracy of this country. Surely the hon'ble Baronet realises, or, if he does not, I hope he soon will, that if the future relations of England and India are to be amicable there had better, particularly now, be drawn a clear distinction between Governments and peoples. We want to have some foundation for future amity. The Member for Bishop Auckland and myself are friends of the Indian people in their difficulties in order that when they come to their own they may look back and see that even in their dark days there were some in England who stood by them. I say to-day that the principal differentiation between England and other European countries is that all through the agitation over the Irish grievances there has been a large element in this country, among the democracy of this country particularly, who have stood by Ireland throughout their struggle, even although in so standing by Ireland they were apparently acting against the interests of their own mother country. In the long run we have seen that that attitude is the sheet anchor by means of which we may hope in the future to recover the friendship of the Irish people and to secure real stability for the future British Commonwealth. Do not, therefore, assume that everything the Member for Bishop Auckland and I do, even although it may not please Members of this House at the moment, is bad for the future of the Commonwealth to which we all believe.

As to the particular letter of my own which the hon'ble Baronet read, I think still, as I thought when I wrote it, that it was an extremely suitable letter to write. It was a private letter from one friend to another friend. I only wish that other Members of the House of Commons had the same feeling of complete

friendship for Indians, even though those Indians be in gaol, that I have written, and that they, too, could write to Indians as I wrote, not only to Dr. Kitchlew, but to other Indians who were in gaol. I wrote to those three men who were in gaol, and it may surprise the Hon'ble Baronet to hear that I sent all those three letters under cover to the Viceroy, asking him to forward them if he thought they would do no harm.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: Does the hon'ble and gallant gentleman really mean to say that he not only wrote to people who were in prison, but sent the letters to the Viceroy, and put him in the position of saying whether or not he would deliver such letters from an English Member of Parliament? It was a most unfair position in which to put the Viceroy.

Colonel Wedgwood: Not at all. I asked the Viceroy to forward them if he thought they would do no harm. If he had not forwarded them, the whole thing would have fallen to the ground. He forwarded them, because being wiser than the hon'ble Baronet, he considered that it would do good to show clearly to these Indians who were in gaol that they still had friends in the British House of Commons. As to whether a letter which was obviously private should have been published by Dr. Kitchlew, that is another matter. After all, it was a letter from one public man to another public man, and, although it was intended to be private, I think he was entitled to publish it.

Sir Joynson-Hicks: It was not marked "Private"?

Colonel Wedgwood: No. The two other gentlemen to whom I wrote did not publish the letters. I think that on the whole both the Hon'ble Member for Bishop Auckland and myself deserve not approbrium, but congratulations, even from extremists in the House of Commons, for having tried to keep a bridge across the gulf to prevent these two great races from drifting apart, to keep them locked together in some form of amity.

The British Official in India

I want now to pass to the real, proper matter of this Debate. As India progresses towards freedom—and, in spite of this House of Commons, India is progressing towards freedom—year by year more and more subjects are being in practice transferred to the control of the local legislatures; year by year the Assembly itself is getting more control over the finances, and the veto embodied in the Government of India Act is less and less used and less and less likely to be used—as India progresses towards freedom, it is inevitable that Debates in this House should turn more and more upon the interests of Britishers in India, whether they be in the Civil Service or engaged in British trade and commerce.

India. We are bound to look at the question more and more from that point of view, and therefore nearly the whole of the Debate to-day has turned upon the future of the Anglo-Indian official in India. His position is very difficult. Let us realise that the better he is the sooner he will be scrapped. He is legislating, he is administering, for his own extinction, and that is an extremely difficult position. I look back with horror upon one period in my life when I was in exactly the same position, and, in spite of a radicalism which I hope will last throughout my life, I remember thinking that there was a great deal to be said in those days of keeping a firm control over the Transvaal.

I can quite understand the attitude of every civilian in India now, because the machine is inevitably working towards the elimination of himself. Just as in Japan, when the Japanese were educating themselves, they had to get Europeans in to do the teaching, and just as in Japan, they inevitably employed them on a three years' engagement and then scrapped them, so in India, as India is following along the line of civilised development, they must look forward to teaching their own people to do the jobs that hitherto have been done by Europeans. All that makes the position of the Anglo-Indian official extremely difficult. I do not want it to be thought that we in the Labour party do not realise that, that we do not sympathise with him and do not want them who are really working these reforms to work them satisfactorily. In the short time for which I was in India I found far more radicalism of view among the civil servants than among the commercial classes in India. Over and over again I found that the civilian was looking forward to working these reforms because he was really interested in them, because he really saw that in the long run the principal glory of this country will rest upon the fact that we got out of India, and not that we got into India—that we got into India when it was in a state of complete anarchy, and that we got out of India leaving democracy. That will be an enormous tribute to this country. It will be regarded as, perhaps, the finest monument to British rule, to British altruism, that exists. That point of view is seen and understood by a great number of the civil servants and of the Governors in India to-day. Even Conservative members of this House, like Sir George Lloyd, who go out to India with all the atmosphere of democracy created in the House of Commons in spite of party labels, and who become Governors with the idea behind them that they have a duty to the traditions of England, go there anxious to do what we on these benches are anxious to do, namely, to launch India on the road to freedom. Even though they are working with the knowledge that they will have finished



their work at the end of 10 years, or whatever it may be, even though during those 10 years, they find ignorant, uneducated public opinion among the inhabitants of India constantly against them, and even though they find themselves criticised over and over again when they ought to be patted on the back, the consciousness of doing their duty is enough. With that consciousness they will carry on their work well, and come back to this country having done something for England which they would never have done in the old days when they simply had to say "do this," and it was done.

Naturally, when we are discussing India to-day, we look at the question of the English in India. It is quite useless for us to discuss, as the hon. Member for Seven Oaks (Sir T. Bennett) discussed, the question of Indian finance. Indian finance is a question for the Indian Government, which is becoming more and more the real Government of India. I think it is perfectly ridiculous that in India the Income Tax is not levied upon agricultural rents, but it is not. That is a question for India, not for us. It is monstrous that half the expenditure of the country should go on the Army. The hon. Baronet, the Member for Twickenham, says that the Army is our responsibility, but they have to find the money. They have to vote the money year by year, and I think the people who vote the money will, in the long run, call the tune as to whether that money is to be spent and how it is to be spent. It is simply beating the air for us to discuss Indian finance. In the same way, with regard to the question whether cow killing is to go on in India or whether we should interfere to stop it, I always say, when I am asked about it, that it is not my business and I am not going to ask questions about it. I tell them to go to their own Member about it and let him raise it in the Council, and I tell them that, if they cannot carry it in their own Councils, they should not bother us. They are their own governors now, and just as Mr. Speaker prevents us over and over again from dealing with questions concerning Ireland, so more and more we shall have to be barred from discussing questions concerning India. Another question that we should discuss if we governed India is that of trade union legislation. Trade unions in India are practically just as illegal as they were in this country a hundred years ago. Men can be put in prison for being connected with a trade union. They can be proceeded against, criminally, by the employers whom they inconvenience. Trade union legislation is essential to the safe conduct of industry in India to-day. But, again, what is the use of our talking about it? They do not want trade union legislation, and will not have it. As a matter of fact in the last unfortunate election of 1920, they got into the Assembly all the landholders and all the millowners in India. There is

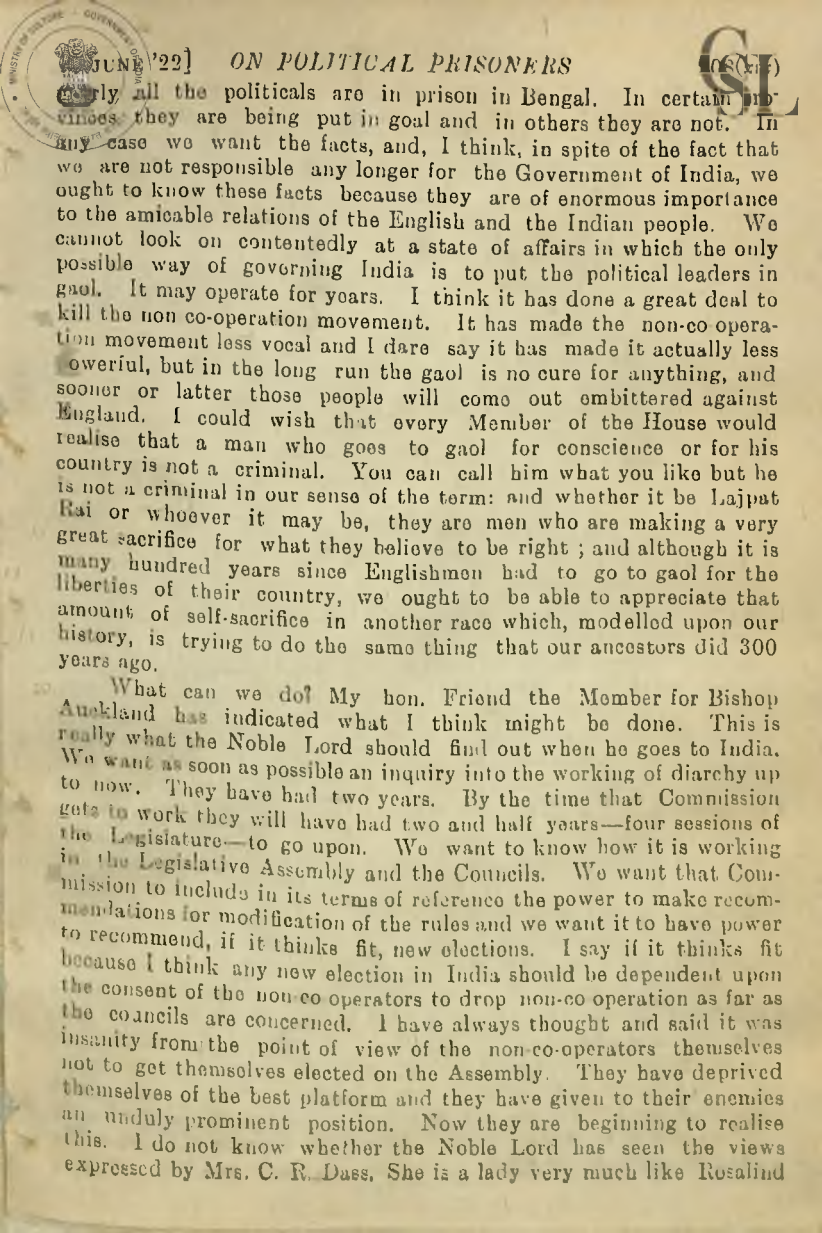
no representation of the people of India whatever. A few members were nominated from the Friends (Servants?) of India Society, who do attempt to look after the Indian working man, but the Indian working man has no vote, and the new governors of that country are the people who were elected in 1920. At the next election we may get a different brand; I do not know, how far the narrowness of the franchise will ensure a long period of employer rule, but I am certain that it is no use asking questions about it or talking about it in the House of Commons. It is not our business.

What is our business is to see where we are going. The noble Lord made to-day his first comprehensive speech on India. For 16 years in this House I have listened in Indian Debates to speeches by Liberal Ministers on India. This is the first time anyone in the House of Commons has heard a conservative speaking for the India Office. On the whole, I am not certain that I mind the change, because when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge County (Mr. Montagu) was speaking there, although the speech was quite different, he spoke without power. He spoke without the rank and file behind him; he spoke under constant pressure from those benches; he was not a free agent. To-day we have had a different speech. It will not be so pleasing in India; it is much more pleasing in this Committee; but it has the enormous merit of being in accord with the views of the Government. I wish that, before the Noble Lord makes his next speech, he would visit India. I think it ought to be possible for the Under Secretary of State to get out and go round India, to talk with the Governors and see what they are thinking about now. That is really the best way of learning what the present position is. I am certain that the Noble Lord, and, I suppose, the Secretary of State, are dealing with India now without understanding the real difficulties of the problem as they are seen out there. They see the difficulties of the problem under the heckling of the hon. Baronet, the Member for Twickenham. They see the Die-hard point of view. I do not say they agree with it, but they see it. That has always been what they have been up against, and therefore, they have to take account of it. I want the Noble Lord to go out and see Sir George Lloyd, Lord Lytton, Sir Harcourt Butler, and all the other Governors, and find out what they are thinking of the present situation and what they want to do. All that I hear proves more and more that the Governors, who are primarily the people who have to work the Government of India Act, are all wanting to get through the transition stage and on to the next stage; that the difficulties of the present position are getting enormous. You cannot go back; you cannot cancel the Government of India Act; but the difficulties of

working the situation at the present time, when you have a constant ill-will over the whole population, are becoming very great indeed. You can easily carry on by coercion, particularly in India, where there is no chance of an armed rising. You can carry on Government by coercion for a long time, but there is no heart in it, and the best of these Governors will say, I think—I have not seen them or heard from them—"Let us try and save the amity of the situation by getting on to the final stage quickly. Let us try to get as far as possible over this intermediary stage and take the risk." After all, the greater part of the risk is India's risk. To us the risk of Dominion Home Rule is a loss of jobs by a number of civil servants whom it would pay us over and over again to compensate ourselves rather than have deadly hatred from India in years to come. This is a question of security for a great amount of British capital, and I believe British capitalists themselves—ask those directors of the Scotch mills at Calcutta—would say that their capital was going to be more secure under a self-governing India than it is under an India in which race hatred is going on boiling up, in which the only policy of every Indian is to get rid of the English. As long as you have the struggle for independence, there is a risk to capital. When once India ceases to see that her principal business is to get rid of the English, they will be able to work with the English. I believe a visit by the Noble Lord to India, seeing business men, particularly those who are now bringing Indians on to directorates in great numbers—take the Capital Bank of India; it has always kept Indians off the Board, but is now letting them on—see the way in which capital is developed in Bombay where nearly all the capital is Indian capital. See the way in which Indian capital is becoming intertwined with English. He will find from those people that perhaps even they would be anxious to end the present situation, and bring about a lasting settlement, even though it came 10, 15 or 20 years earlier than we expected when we passed the Government of India Act. I do not like, and I do not believe anyone in the House likes, a situation where there are 20,000 agitators in prison.

Earl Winterton: What authority has the hon. and gallant Gentleman for saying that there are 20,000 agitators in prison?

Colonel Wedgwood: I have seen it in the Indian Press. I was told by an Indian the other day that there were 23,000. We cannot get the information out of the India Office. You all say you do not know. The noble Lord keeps on saying that he does not know how to distinguish an agitator from a common criminal. Unless he can distinguish them we cannot get the figures of the facts. I wish he would try to secure them. About two months ago I asked for the number of politicals in prison in each province, I think



1922] ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

Early all the politicals are in prison in Bengal. In certain provinces they are being put in goal and in others they are not. In any case we want the facts, and, I think, in spite of the fact that we are not responsible any longer for the Government of India, we ought to know these facts because they are of enormous importance to the amicable relations of the English and the Indian people. We cannot look on contentedly at a state of affairs in which the only possible way of governing India is to put the political leaders in goal. It may operate for years. I think it has done a great deal to kill the non co-operation movement. It has made the non-co operation movement less vocal and I dare say it has made it actually less powerful, but in the long run the goal is no cure for anything, and sooner or latter those people will come out embittered against England. I could wish that every Member of the House would realise that a man who goes to goal for conscience or for his country is not a criminal. You can call him what you like but he is not a criminal in our sense of the term: and whether it be Lajpat Rai or whoever it may be, they are men who are making a very great sacrifice for what they believe to be right; and although it is many hundred years since Englishmen had to go to goal for the liberties of their country, we ought to be able to appreciate that amount of self-sacrifice in another race which, modelled upon our history, is trying to do the same thing that our ancestors did 300 years ago.

What can we do? My hon. Friend the Member for Bishop Auckland has indicated what I think might be done. This is really what the Noble Lord should find out when he goes to India. We want as soon as possible an inquiry into the working of diarchy up to now. They have had two years. By the time that Commission gets to work they will have had two and half years—four sessions of the Legislature—to go upon. We want to know how it is working in the Legislative Assembly and the Councils. We want that Commission to include in its terms of reference the power to make recommendations for modification of the rules and we want it to have power to recommend, if it thinks fit, new elections. I say if it thinks fit because I think any new election in India should be dependent upon the consent of the non-co operators to drop non-co operation as far as the councils are concerned. I have always thought and said it was insanity from the point of view of the non-co-operators themselves not to get themselves elected on the Assembly. They have deprived themselves of the best platform and they have given to their enemies an unduly prominent position. Now they are beginning to realise this. I do not know whether the Noble Lord has seen the views expressed by Mrs. C. R. Dass. She is a lady very much like Rosalind

Counsellor Carlyle in this country 10 years ago, a woman of enormous political influence, partly due to her husband's position. He is in goal of course. Mrs. Dass's views are now that it would be advisable, certainly in Bengal, where she controls the situation, to get to the Bengal Council and the Legislative Assembly. It was always her husband's view, but under the pressure of Gandhi's personal opinion to the contrary he gave way. Bengal, of course, is the most English part of the country, and a place where they appreciate democracy perhaps better than in any other part of India. There I think you would certainly have a break away.

It is obvious that if you had a general election, and if the non-co-operators decide to take part in it, you would get upon the Council of the Dominion a large number of people who would be extremists. Do not think they would be an overwhelming number, because there has been such a lot of jerrymandering of the constituencies in India that the land-lords would still rule the roost in a great many constituencies. But you would certainly get a considerable element of extremists, if you allowed them to stand of course. They are all in prison and ineligible at present. They would make themselves a nuisance on the Council. If they were opposed they would carry on opposition even more effectively than the Labour party does now. They might make scenes in Parliament. You have got to go through that stage. If you are ever going to turn your poachers into game-keepers you have to expect them to do a little kicking over the traces. You expect them to have a night out occasionally. I am certain that is the only way in which they will learn responsibility. After all, we in this party are learning responsibility through opposition and in time to come we shall be able to carry on in India quite as well as the Noble Lord opposite. That seems to me to be our only way. Let us have an inquiry. Let us give the people who hold that inquiry into the working of diarchy the possibility of making recommendations for changes in the rules and regulations and also power if they can come to terms with the Indian die-hards to open a fresh election and elect a real Legislative Council, a real Assembly, such as we have not, unfortunately, in India to-day. If you are going to end non-co operation, if we are ever to work together with the Indian people, break it down slowly. See, first of all that they go on the Councils, and when they realise that that means governing India the rest of non-co-operation will fall to the ground and be futile and stupid, and we shall get not only Indian Home Rule—a new Dominion within the British Commonwealth—but we shall get the foundation of real good feeling between these two great races of the earth.



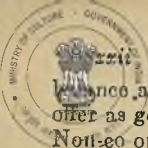
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The Burma Reforms

HOUSE OF COMMONS—12TH JUNE 1922

In May 1922 the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian affairs were working feverishly on the Draft Rules for the New Burma Reforms. This work was completed on 26th May, and the rules were published in two White Papers five days afterwards. These came up for discussion in the House of Commons on the 12th June and occupied the House for 5 hours. Only a drafting amendment was introduced on the motion of Lord Winterton, the Indian Under-Secretary of State. Colonel Wedgwood tried to move several amendments to bring the scheme more in harmony with political aspirations of Burma but they proved abortive. The whole scheme of the Burma Constitutional Reforms as put before the House was to a certain extent in advance of the other Provinces of India under the Reforms Act. The Rules for Burma followed in the main the recommendations of the White Committee (See p 937) and the franchise proposed was more liberal than in the rest of British India. Excluding the backward Shan States (which will have no direct representation at present) the population of Burma to whom the new Constitution will apply is about 11,560,000. In the rural areas alone, with a population of 10,750,000, there will be an electorate of one and a half million. This will be rather more than the number on the electoral roll of the United Provinces, which have the far greater population of 45,000,000. In Bengal, where the population is 46,000,000, the electorate only just exceeds a million; whilst in the Central Provinces, with a population about equal to that of Burma, only 145,000 are entitled to exercise the franchise. The larger numbers in Burma are due mainly to the lower age limit (18 instead of 21) and the inclusion of all persons paying household tax and capitation tax.

On the matter coming up for discussion on the 12th, Colonel Wedgwood who took a very active interest both on the Joint Committee and in the House itself, said that the scheme was worthy of acceptance by Burma, even though the improvements which he desired to introduce were rejected. At the same time he did his best to convey to the House the views of those Burmans who regard the measure as timid and, in part, reactionary. He said that the question as to whether the new system was to be accepted or rejected by the politically conscious classes in Burma was trembling in the



balance and the main purpose of his amendments was to make the offer as generous as possible so as to obviate in Burma the policy of Non-co operation which had prevailed in India.

Die-Hard Objections.

Two or three Unionist members in course of the discussion made it plain that the measure though presented by a Tory Minister was not at all to their liking. Major Glyn objected to the transfer of forests to a Burmese Minister on the ground that it would lead to inefficiency and loss. Sir Charles Yate pitched into the system of dyarchy and protested strongly against the proposal to fix eighteen as the age for the exercise of the franchise.

Sir Thomas Bennett and Mr. Ormsby Gore gave their hearty support to the moderate scheme of reform. They said that they had no doubt as to the grave folly of allowing the present conditions to continue indefinitely. Mr. Ormsby Gore deplored the delay which has taken place in the extension of the Act to Burma, and urged that what was done now should not be done in a niggardly spirit.

Mr. Ormsby Gore was one of those who opposed the principle of communal representation contained in the Bill. This question was raised in an amendment by Colonel Wedgwood who sought to eliminate the scheme of communal electorates, substituting for it the reservation of particular seats. His speech was a very powerful argument against special minority representation, only his position would have been more logical if he had refrained from putting forward an alternative method of securing what was practically the same end. He showed how communal representation would work if applied to England. It would mean a separate register for Scotsmen, another for Irishmen, a third for Welshmen, and so on, and on the top of these racial distinction there would be special representation for Jews, Roman Catholics and other communities as such. He further urged that such a system could never be good for minorities, whether in Britain, India, Burma, or anywhere else. Where particular communities, such as Indians and Karens in Burma, predominate in certain constituencies they will have no difficulty in securing the election of their own representatives through the medium of a general electorate; and where the same communities can only register a limited number of votes, they may still exercise a very considerable influence, both in the selection of candidates and as regards the subsequent actions of those elected. For example, as was pointed out, Roman Catholics in England were in a much stronger position by being able to use their votes in this way in a large number of constituencies than they would be if lumped together in a few communal constituencies, because in the latter case ordinary members of Parlia-

would take no notice of their claims and their own representatives would form only a microscopic minority in Parliament.

Lord Winterton, however, managed to persuade the House that the method of communal representation proposed in the rules was necessary in the present stage of political development in Burma, and the amendment was accordingly rejected by 146 to 43.

Amendments Rejected.

Colonel Wedgwood's other amendments shared the same fate. The rules, as drafted, in addition to enfranchising women on the same terms as men, enabled the Legislative Council to decide whether they shall be eligible to stand as candidates or not. Colonel Wedgwood, however, thought that the right to stand should be conferred at once, but by a majority of 155 to 43 the House thought otherwise.

Under Rule 5, all candidates must have attained the age of 25. Colonel Wedgwood proposed to substitute 21, and in doing so he pointed out that Lord Winterton himself had been elected a member of the House of Commons at 21 by a method which did not surely follow the election rules in Britain. Whereupon the noble Lord blushed exceedingly and afterwards confessed that he was ashamed of his conduct between the ages of 21 and 25 (as indeed he had good reason to be, for he was in those years one of the most unruly youngmen at Westminster.) He stuck, however, to the age of 25 for Burma, in spite of the opposition of Lord Robert Cecil and other experienced members, and carried his point.

An effort was also made to secure for the various electorates, whether communal or territorial, freedom to choose their own representatives without regard to any residential or communal qualification, but it was unsuccessful. Equally unavailing was the attempt to prevent the disqualification for election of persons who have been imprisoned for political offences. Colonel Wedgwood pointed out how this, in itself, would exclude many of the most patriotic men in India from serving in the Councils should they at any time desire to do so, but in this matter also the Under Secretary was unyielding and the amendment was negatived.

Towards the end of the discussion Colonel Wedgwood again raised the question of the separation of Burma from India—a development which he would heartily welcome and for which he gave his reasons. His fear was that the rules as they stood would prevent the Burmese people from giving effect to their wishes in this matter at some future time, but Lord Winterton maintained that there was nothing in the rules to prejudice their ultimate decision as the root principle of the relationship of Burma to the Government of India was not affected. The Rules were then passed.



CSL

The Joint Committee

After the Burma Reform Rules, the next matter to engage attention of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs was the huge increase in the Army expenditure of India. The second report of the Standing Joint Committee on Indian affairs dealing with the cost of maintenance of British troops was out early in July 1922. The Committee had the advantage of the attendance of the Secretary of State on three occasions and put many questions to him. They considered that the whole question should be exhaustively explored with a view to effecting what reductions in military expenditure may be found practicable and consistent with security. The report points out that the Indian Budget for 1922-23 shows an estimate of over 62 crores of rupees on military expenditure out of a total expenditure of 141 crores, while the revenue is 132 crores and the deficit nine crores. This serious financial position, says the report, renders economies in all possible directions imperative. The expenditure in India for British troops in 1921-22 was 16 crores 81 lakhs compared with seven crores 32 lakhs in 1913-14, despite the fact that the strength had been reduced by six thousand men. The Committee is not informed on what grounds the reduction of strength was made and desire to make it clear that they do not recommend a further reduction in the size of the British army. The increase in the cost of troops however may be attributed to a considerable degree to higher pay since 1919.

It is understood, continues the report, that the increase of pay was deemed necessary by the War office on account of the increase granted in England at that time and adopted by the Home Government under abnormal conditions without any formal consultation with the India Office or authorities in India. The Indian Government had no other alternative but to accept it although there was already a serious deficiency in revenue as compared with expenditure. It is open to consideration whether the general Head Quarters Staff is not inflated and capable of reduction without disadvantage. The Headquarters Staff has increased from 96 in 1914 to 166 in 1921. The total of officers' staffs other than headquarters has increased from 203 in 1914 to 278 in 1921. The Committee has not examined this subject in detail owing to its magnitude and complexity, but in view of the facts disclosed above they feel it their duty to direct the attention of Parliament to the importance of the whole subject and to recommend that the Incheape Committee should be directed most seriously to consider the possibility of reducing expenditure as far as the British army in India is concerned,



CSL

The I. C. S. Debate

HOUSE OF COMMONS—2ND AUGUST 1922

The following is the full account of the famous I.C.S. debate in the last parliament in which the then Premier, Mr. Lloyd George delivered that notorious 'Steel frame' speech which has since then been agitating public men in India about the danger of another breach of faith regarding the Reforms.

In the House of Commons, on Aug. 2. Sir S. Hoare (Chelsea, C. U) raised the question of the present position and prospects in the Indian Civil Service. He said that one of the most important factors for the success of the Government of India Act was an efficient and contented Civil Service. At the present moment there was very grave anxiety and discontent in the ranks of the Civil Service. That was shown by the fact that at the recent examinations fewer Europeans presented themselves. That was a serious fact. The Indian Civil Service was suffering from a general grievance that came from the feeling of uncertainty and from a number of specific financial grievances. A great many members genuinely believed that their pay was no longer so secure as it was, that their pensions were not so certain, and that it was doubtful, as constitutional development took place in India, whether the appointments they now held would continue, and, if they ceased to continue, whether they would obtain just compensation for having their careers brought to an end. They felt that the conditions offered by the Government for premature retirement were not generous enough. They had seen many debates raised and questions asked in the new Councils and Assemblies suggesting that a great many members of those bodies thought that the Civil Service was no longer wanted in India, and that the civilians had better pack up and go home.

He urged the Prime Minister to make a clear statement that in the spirit and the letter, the Government abided by the pledges that individuals of the Indian Service should not suffer from the constitutional changes that had taken place. Owing to the fall of the rupee and the rise in the cost of living, the Indian Civil Servant was very much worse off, even with the 8 per cent rise of salary under the Islington recommendations, than he was when those recommendations began to take effect. The Indian Civil



Servant, moreover, saw that, while his pay had only risen by 8 per cent, that of the British Civil Servant, the officers in the Navy and the Army, and the Members of the Diplomatic Service, had risen by a great deal more. The hon. member admitted that there were several very real difficulties in the way of measures that might be taken to remedy the evil complained of. One of the greatest was the financial difficulty, which was particularly felt in India. He did not wish to dictate what India should do or not do. He felt that the question could only be amicably settled with Indian co-operation. After all, the Indian Civil Service existed not for the benefit of a few Englishmen, but for the good of the whole of India. It already consisted of a number of Indians. They had just as much status in any improvement that was made as had Englishmen, and if the position were put frankly and fairly to moderate opinion in India, it would be behind the Government in any improvements that ought to be made. He suggested that there should be some sort of inquiry into the matter.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks (Twickenham, C. U.) referred to the position of the other British services in India, and said that the Indianization of these public services was proceeding apace, and during the last two years, it had been extremely rapid. Under present arrangements it was proposed that 48 per cent of the Civil Service should be Indianized. At the present rate of progress that would be completed within nine years. The Indian Education Services were to day over 87 per cent Indianized; the Indian Service of Engineers was 38 per cent Indianised. The Indianisation process in the agricultural services was going a little more slowly; they were only 25 per cent. Indianized at present. But, in the Indian Medical Service since 1915, there had been 174 appointments; 101 of these had been filled by Indians, and only seventy-three by Europeans. The Indianization of this service was proceeding so rapidly that in many parts of India—the up-country districts—it was impossible for an Englishman to obtain the services of a white doctor. The Indian Medical Service was really the “key” service of the whole of our services in India. To-day we were not getting the supply of Englishmen to take up positions in the Indian services. A conference had been held recently at Oxford to consider the difficulties of getting youngmen at Oxford, Cambridge, and the other educational centres to go in for Indian examinations, and the result was such as to cause the gravest anxiety. Sir William Vincent had also stated that our officers in India had to work in an atmosphere of hostility, which gave rise to almost intolerable difficulties. It was the moderate view that this country was going to permit the complete Indianization of the services and

the Englishmen must gradually quit all those offices. During the last few years the Englishmen in India had been compelled to form associations of defence in the various provinces to protect the members from injustice and hardship.

Mr. Lloyd George's Speech

The Premier then rose and said :—

I am speaking early as I understand that by arrangement this debate is to come to end at an early hour in order to enable honourable Gentlemen opposite to raise questions in which they are specially interested. I will do my best to enable that pledge to be redeemed. I am grateful to my honourable and gallant friend Sir Samuel Hoare for bringing this important matter to the attention of the House of Commons. I have heard a great deal about this, more especially in the course of the last few months. No doubt there is a great deal of uneasiness among our British Servants and British Officials in India with regard to the future, and there is no doubt, as my honourable friend states, that they feel that their position is precarious and that they are very uneasy with regard to their pay and pensions generally. There is the apprehension that great constitutional changes, which have been introduced in the course of the last few months, will affect their position prejudicially, and they want reassurances and possibly they need assurances, with regard to all these questions. They are discharging a very great trust on behalf of the people of this country and on behalf of the people of India. Without their loyalty, capacity, and patience India could not possibly be saved from falling into the position of anarchy from which this country rescued her a century and more ago. It is but natural that great constitutional changes which took place should provoke some uneasiness in the minds of those who worked the old system. It is the effect of every great change in an establishment. Those who have been running an establishment along well-known lines are naturally unhappy with regard to the effect the changes may have upon their own prospects and conditions.

The Reforms an Experiment.

Therefore we must not be surprised to find that that is the state of British officials in India. I should like to say one or two words with regard to the working of those changes before I come to the specific point raised by my honourable and gallant friend because they have a bearing upon the problem which is suggested for our consideration. Those changes were in the nature of an experiment and they must be treated as an experiment, a great and important experiment, but still an experiment. Difficult-



There have arisen and weaknesses have been exposed in the working of this new system, but this was inevitable. On the whole I think it may be said, taking into account the fact that the experiment has been in operation only for a year and a half, that there has been a very considerable measure of success inspite of drawbacks which have manifested themselves. India has never been governed on these principles before. The Native States are not governed on these principles now, and it remains to be seen, whether a system of this kind, adapted to western needs, perfected by centuries of experiment and marked at many stages, in fact at every stage with repeated failures, a system which the West has perfected for its own conditions and its own temperament, is suitable for India. That remains to be seen, and that we must watch carefully, but we must also watch it patiently. We must not jump to the conclusion because there have been difficulties, drawbacks and failures, that the experiment has been a complete failure.

Non-Co-Operation

Before the last election and until recently there was a very considerable non-co-operative movement. Very powerful elements in India refused to associate themselves with these experiments at all and the elections were held without the assistance of that advanced section, and the Parliament or Legislature chosen did not present those elements. There have been very able and distinguished Indians who have done their best to make the experiment a complete success, and others who have steadily opposed it. I think that in another year or eighteen months there will be another election. The Non-co-operation movement at the present time is in a state of collapse. What part it will take in the next election we cannot tell, what influence the Non-co-operators and men of that kind will exert upon those election I cannot predict. A good deal will depend upon the kind of representatives chosen at the next election.

Whether they will be men of moderate temper such as those who constitute the present legislature, men who are honestly and earnestly doing their best to make this new constitutional experiment a success, or whether they will be there as men who are simply using all the powers of the machine in order to attain some purpose which is detrimental to British rule and subversive of the whole system upon which India has been governed up to now, I cannot say. That is why I say that the most serious and most trying time—time which will constitute the real test of success of this effort—is yet to come. I think it is right that we should say that, if there is a change of the kind in the character of the legislature and in the purpose of those who are chosen in design of responsible and chosen

for a better state of things, and if they were wise and restrained in their language, he was convinced that the time would come when this vast dominion would perform an even better and noble part in the British Empire. (Hear, hear,)

Earl Winterton, Under-Secretary for India (Horsham, C. U.), said that the accusation which Colonel Wedgwood made against the Prime Minister had already been answered by Sir D Maclean (Mr. Lloyd George.—“Hear, hear.”) His right hon. friend, as every one except the hon. and gallant member realised, had merely pointed out the difficulties of what was admittedly a great experiment, (Mr. Lloyd George nodded assent). It was never suggested in 1919 or in 1917 that the scheme was not an experiment. To read into the Prime Minister’s speech a threat to India was to make a most mischievous accusation (hear, hear), which might have serious effects in India, and as representing his noble Friend the Secretary of state, he gave it a most complete and unqualified denial. It was quite obvious that Colonel Wedgwood, so far from believing in co-operation between the British race and the Indian race, was in favour of the complete annihilation of British rule in India. The lines on which the Government had always proceeded in this matter were entirely different. They had appealed for co operation, and, to a great extent, had received that co operation. But the efforts of the Government in that direction were not helped by Colonel Wedgwood’s speech, which, so far from advancing the purpose which all men of good-will in this country had in hand, would have the effect of putting it back. We had given India the tools of practical statemanship; it was now for India to use those tools, which were sealed with the impress of British good-will towards India—no mean guarantee for the good of any tool. (Hear.) (Hear.) It was open to India to show her capacity and good will to use those tools. That was the task which India had before her, and the task in which the British Government and the Secretary of State for India would assist to the fullest possible degree, but that task would not be assisted by Colonel Wedgwood’s speech. (Cheers)

[N. B. Details of the agitation in India which followed this debate will be found in the next issue of the Register. Immediately after the debate a deputation of Moderates waited upon the Viceroy on the language used by Mr. Lloyd George. The Viceroy, however, fully endorsed the Premier’s views and repeated the experimental character of the Reforms. See also pp. 673—686.]



CSL

The O'Donnell Circular

The following is the full text of the memorandum sent by the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. O'Donnell, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India to all Provincial Governments on May 30th, 1922—on the basis of which the reactionary "Morning Post" thought fit to demand the recall of Lord Reading and out of which arose the Die Hard agitation in England on behalf of the I. C. S.

As the Government of are aware, the question of recruitment for the All-India services was debated at some length in the Legislative Assembly on February 11, 1922, when the following resolution was adopted:—"The Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that enquiries should without delay be inaugurated as to the measures possible to give further effect to the Declaration of August 20, 1917, in the direction of increased recruitment of Indians for the All-India Services and also that steps be taken to provide in India such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter the technical services in large numbers than it is at present possible".

Object of the Memorandum.

The Secretary of State has agreed that Local Governments should be consulted on the issues involved in this recommendation and has requested that ultimately the views of the Government of India should be set out in a reasoned despatch for his consideration.

I am now to enclose an extract from the Legislative Assembly debates which contains the report of the discussion on February 11th, 1922, and to invite the particular attention of the Government of to the statement by the Hon. Sir William Vincent in which a number of the more important aspects of the problem were touched upon.

The Government of India recognise that the decision on this question is of fundamental importance to the future well being of India. They observe further that the declared policy of His Majesty's Government to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration was placed by Parliament in the forefront of the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919. The position of Parliament in this respect was explained in paragraph 7 of the report of the Joint Select Com-



Racial Feeling:

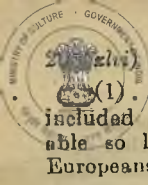
Finally, while the existence of racial feeling at the present moment is undeniable it cannot be assumed as axiomatic that such feelings will persist or increase. It may prove to be no more than a temporary phenomenon which will pass away with the disappearance of the special conditions that have given rise to it. Europeans employed in Indian States, it is understood, do not find the atmosphere inimical to them and many occupy in these administrations a position of peculiar privilege and regard.

(b) Although at the moment the Indian Legislatures and the educated classes are demanding the complete and rapid Indianisation of the services it does not follow that such will continue to be their attitude. The class of communal interests may eventually lead to a just appreciation of the importance of retaining in the executive a substantial proportion of European officers who will stand apart from and be unaffected by Indian class interests.

Whilst even with the complete cessation of further recruitment the presence of a substantial European proportion is doubtless assured for some years, the risks inherent in any such step must not be ignored. In particular the probability that if a stage was ever reached when Europeans would only be found in limited numbers in the higher grades of the service and it was then found necessary to reconsider the position, the reconstitution of the services would be difficult and the absence of a trained European element in the lower grades would seriously embarrass the Government.

(vi).—The Government of India will reserve their own conclusions till they have received and considered the opinions of local Governments. The problem is one of great complexity. A just conclusion can be reached only if account is taken of all the relevant factors; and the object of the Government of India is therefore simply to state the case as clearly and as impartially as possible and to draw the attention of local Governments both to the reasons that may be held to justify a radical revision of the arrangements now in force as well as that which may be urged in favour of their retention. They recognise further that there are differences in the functions and importance of the various services and that considerations which may be decisive in the case, for example, of the technical services may not be so in that of the security services such as the Indian Civil Service and the Postal service.

I am now to turn to certain questions that will arise in the event of its being decided that the recruitment of Europeans should be abolished or largely reduced. It seems probable that the adoption of either of those courses will necessitate intensive measures of reorganisation.



THE O'DONNELL CIRCULAR

SECRET

(1) The existing system of recruitment for the appointments included in the all-India services was natural and indeed inevitable so long as these services were composed almost entirely of Europeans. The source of recruitment being the same it was necessary to maintain some uniformity in the conditions of service for officers distributed over the various provinces. The system had the great merit of securing similar qualifications and traditions for the higher branches of the public administration throughout India, but the difficulties of retaining it for Indian recruits have already become apparent in connection with the steps taken for the introduction of an enlarged Indian element.

Provincialising Posts

The examinations in India for the Indian Police Service have had to be held on a provincial basis, and the practice in the case of the I. C. S. of posting Indian officers to the province of their origin is in recognition of the impossibility of ignoring provincial factors in the recruitment of Indians. Provincial sentiment, it is believed, will be wholly in favour of replacing the all-India services with provincial services and will be reinforced by the argument that, at least in the case of Indians to be appointed in the future, the Legislative Council must have the power to determine the pay and qualifications of the officers who are the exponents of their policies.

The Government of India are inclined to think, therefore, that the abolition or any large reduction of the recruitment of Europeans will inevitably entail the provincialisation of the posts for which in future only Indians are to be recruited.

Should provincialisation be decided upon, a further point to be determined is the method by which recruitment for these appointments should be effected. There appear to be two possible alternatives:

- (i) the appointment might be merged in the existing services; or
- (ii) might as soon as a sufficient number have become vacant be formed into separate (and upper) divisions of these services.

The arguments in favour of the latter course, at least in the case of the services, Educational, Forest and Police, are broadly those which have always been held in the Civil Service and Agricultural to justify the existing division of the services into Imperial and Provincial, as pointed out by the Royal Commission on Public Services. Where there is a large quantity of work of a less important character to be done, though of a kind which cannot be performed by a purely subordinate agency, two services or classes of one service are required, since it would be extravagant to recruit officers for the less important work on terms required to obtain officers for the higher class of duties. Further, the inclusion of the higher appointments now borne on the cadre of the Imperial services in the



interested in Indian questions had seen all along the danger that non-co operation might cease and that the non-co-opepator might go on to the councils. To his (Mr. Wedgwood's) mind there had been no more lamentable blunder made by the Indian people than the refusal under the leadership of Gandhi to go on to the councils. They were told almost with regret that non-co-operation had collapsed.

Mr. Lloyd George : With regret ?

Colonel Wedgwood : Almost with regret.

Mr. Lloyd George indicated dissent.

Colonel Wedgwood said he was very glad it was not. They were told that it would be a sign of failure if when these Non-co-operators went on to the Councils they conducted themselves in an obstructive manner and did not co-operate with the Government. The Labour party wanted them to go on to the Councils and the Assembly to form part of the Opposition to the Government until they could become the Government themselves. That was the ordinary constitutional development. It might involve obstruction, but it was only in that way that they would finally acquire the wisdom to carry on successfully democratic constitutional Government. To say, as he read the Prime Minister's speech, that if the Non-Co-operators went on to the Councils and conducted a campaign of opposition to the Government at present in power they would be regarded as bringing the reforms to nought as a failure which was to justify us in withdrawing the whole of the diarchy, seemed to him to be a most unfortunate threat and a threat which as a matter of fact it was quite impossible to carry out. He hoped that they were not going to have a change from a perfectly steadfast, settled policy to a policy of alternato threats and concessions. That, indeed, would be fatal in India as it had been in Ireland. The only chance was that the Prime Minister as well as the Secretary for India had definitely in view the same goal, namely, Dominion Home Rule although that Dominion Home Rule would unseat from their power at any rate the present Civil Service.

Colonel Wedgwood emphatically repudiated any suggestion that he was held in favour by the extremists in India, the fact being, he said, that nobody was so much hated by them as the man who like himself tried to erect a bridge between Indians and Englishmen. (Hear, hear). It was essential, he continued, to have a contented Civil Service, but he could wish when we came to discuss this question that we should give as much importance to the question of a contented India. With only one or two exceptions all the speeches in this debate had dealt solely with the Civil Service. That was not worthy of the House of Common, for after all the Civil Service

existed for the country and not the country for Civil Service, and he feared the impression would be given that the interests of Englishmen, so far as India was concerned, were solely wrapped up in the status of our fellow-countrymen in India. He believed that would be a profound mistake. (Cheers)

Sir D. Maclean (Peebles, L.) said that he was unable to take the same tragic view of the speech of the Prime Minister as Colonel Wedgwood had done. He hoped also that his speech would not give the people in India the impression—which would be a most harmful impression—that the Prime Minister of this country, speaking with great responsibility in the House of Commons, threatened the people of India (Cheers.) That, he thought, would be most mischievous impression to get abroad, because, after all, however they might differ from the Prime Minister, he was the chief officer of the Crown, and occupied a position of very great responsibility. The view he (Sir D. Maclean) took of the speech was this : that the Civil Service in India were discharging their duty in a time of transition of exceptional difficulty and trial ; India, as a whole, was seething with internal difficulties—like almost every other nation—and there was being carried on there a most remarkable experiment. There was the commencement of a great attempt which they hoped would be successful.

He felt that they ought to exercise very great care and responsibility in such a time as this as to the criticisms they made and the advice they tendered. (Hear, hear) He regretted some of the things said by Sir W. Joynson Hicks, which, he thought, lent colour to Colonel Wedgwood's criticism that the basis of the debate was not so much the well-being of India as the well-being of the Civil Service. He accepted fully the aphorism of his hon. and gallant Friend that the Civil Service existed for the country, and not the country for the Civil Service. (Mr. Lloyd George—"Hear, hear.") He had not read a note of threat or the shaking of the fist in the Prime Minister's speech. There might have been a little of the touch of the steel, but he did not gather it. It seemed to him to be an effort to let the Civil Servants know that in this exceptional time of trial we, their countrymen here, realizing their trust and our trust, were sympathetic with them, and desirous of remedying their grievances. (Cheers, Mr. Lloyd George nodding assent.) He thought that there was a case for impartial inquiry, with Indians themselves on the inquiry. He thought it his duty to say that while they sympathised with the Indian Civil Service, they were determined to see that full trust was given to that great experiment, and that it should not be withdrawn or discouraged. It was impossible to stop progress in India. It was a world movement. He hoped,



are introduced to you as members of the Indian Civil Service and you have never heard of them although they have been governing perhaps tens of millions of people for a very long period. Their every word is a command, every sentence a decree, accepted by these people, accepted willingly with trust in their judgment and confidence in their justice and their fairness, which ought to be the pride of our race. I have often talked to Americans about this. They are full of wonder at the achievement of ordinary and insignificant (in sense of not being known) civil servants in different parts of the world alone or almost without companionship, governing great territories. They always regard it as a great miracle of British gift for government. These Civil Servants are entitled to every word of support. They are entitled to every deed of support that this Imperial Parliament can give, and if they need it, it is the business of statesmen to give it, speaking not only on their own behalf but speaking on behalf of the whole of their countrymen to stand behind them to support them, to see that justice is done to them if they have grievances. We must pledge ourselves not merely to this Government but any other Government that comes here to see that fair treatment which is their right is dispensed to them. They ought to know that this is the attitude of the British Parliament towards them. I am one of those who believe in getting the co-operation of India in the government of the country. I believe it strengthens the Empire, it strengthens the hold which the Empire has upon them; it would be a mistake to make India regard that Empire as something which is outside, it is strength to the Empire to make them feel that they are part of it, that they are in it, part of the structure, and that when they are challenged and when the Empire is challenged they are not fighting for something which is in London but for something which is in Calcutta or Bombay or wherever they happen to be. That is what made our strength in the last war in the Dominions and in the Colonies.

Therefore I approved this question from the point of view of one who believes in getting Indians to assist us in discharging the very great trust and obligation which we have inherited and which I hope we shall transmit to our descendants in generations to come. From that point of view I should like to say this. The success of our efforts in securing the attachment of Indians to service, the recruitment of Indians to service, the embodiment of Indians in service, will depend not upon the quality of speeches delivered in the legislatures by Indians (although I do not despise that contribution in the least because that is what Parliament means, it means a place for speaking), but rather by their efficiency in the discharge of

the ordinary humdrum tasks as members of the civil and other services. I think it is important that Indians themselves should get that well into their minds. They see speeches reported in papers and they see a great deal of importance is attached to those speeches, and they say this is the art of Government. Well, it is part of the art of democratic Government, and people who try to govern without it have generally failed. In war, as I ventured to say some time ago, countries which were the most efficient on that side were also the most efficient in the conduct of war. It is a great part of the art of Government. It is the beginning but the other is vital, and unless they supplement it by showing that they are able to do their work as civil servants, then the experiment of inviting them to co operate with us will be a failure.

The British Services Indispensable

What I want specially to say is this, that whatever their success, whether as parliamentarians or as administrators, I can see no period when they can dispense with the guidance and assistance of a small nucleus of British Civil Servants, of British officials in India, this in the population of 31,5000.000 and they only number 1200. They are the steel frame of the whole structure. I do not care what you build on to it, if you take that steel frame out, the fabric will collapse. It is therefore essential that they should be there, but not for their own sakes. What does it matter finding 1200 positions from a population of 36000000. Finding jobs for 1200 is really too trivial. I see comments and unworthy comments about our finding avenues and jobs for our young men. There is not one of this 1200 that could not easily find a much better job in this country, a much better paying one. The difficulty is to get men to go there. It is not the difficulty of finding places to put them into. Therefore, I am not talking from that point of view. As I said to my Right Honourable friend, the Member for the Scottish Universities (Sir Henry Craik) when I had a conversation with him five months ago, and I am entirely in agreement with him. It is from the point of view of India I am talking. It is a question not of value to us of finding outlets for intelligent young men, but of value to India of getting men of this kind who are highly trained and full of spirit, and there must be some spirit in them to go there and undertake this task. These men are placed at India's disposal and Indians ought to feel a deep sense of gratitude, and I have no doubt the vast majority of them do. It is no secret that they often feel far more confidence in these men than they do in men of their own flesh and blood.

Therefore it is essential that we should keep this service.

the 38. Indians have been appointed which increases the proportion to about 16 per cent. He repudiated the suggestion of Sir W. Davison that there was an "expressed intention to compensate the Indian Civil Service for the loss of prestige and prospects stated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report to be inherent in the reforms." Whereupon Sir W. Davison snapped out the retort that there was great discontent in the Civil Service and that unless something was done to alleviate it, there would soon be no British members left at all.

The number of members of the I. C. S. from whom applications for permission to retire prematurely on proportionate pensions had been received by the Secretary of State in Council was 28. Of these, 27 had been sanctioned, and one was under inquiry.

The matter however came to rest on July 5th when Viscount Peel in the House of Lords read out the modification orders made by the Sec. of State in Council.

New Rules for Premature Retirement

The modifications in the order relating to conditions and terms of premature retirement of officers of All-India Services due to the introduction of constitutional reforms were published on July 5th. 1922. The order says : The option given to members of these services who arrived in India for the first time on a date antecedent to January 1st 1920 to retire before the expiry of the 31st March 1924 shall now continue in force and may be exercised until the action proposed to be taken on the report of the Parliamentary Commission provided for by the Government of India Act is known, when the whole position will necessarily be reviewed. Consequent upon this decision the restriction that leave taken in anticipation of retirement must be completed before the 31st March 1924 is also removed. Officers proposing to retire prematurely, if they have submitted a definite application to retire accompanied by the prescribed form of declaration, will ordinarily be allowed before their retirement takes effect to avail themselves of the full amount of leave due to them and which may be granted to them at one time otherwise than on medical certificate. A mere intimation of a possible intention to retire will not entitle an officer to have his application for leave dealt with under these rules. An officer who has submitted an application to retire supported by the declaration, and has obtained leave on the basis of it, will not be permitted to cancel his application and to return to duty without the consent of his local Government.

The most important part of the modification is the new form of declaration which requires an applicant to state: 'In view of the changes in the conditions of my service occasioned by the Government of India Act 1919 I desire to retire on the terms set forth in the orders relating to premature retirement.' Under certain conditions officers retiring prematurely will be permitted with the specific consent of either the Government of India or the Secretary of State in Council, as the case may be, to take up other employment during the currency of their leave preparatory to retirement. The new modification is emphatic on one point; that eligibility to retire on proportionate pension is not an absolute right which accrues. Grant of leave to officers will not be permitted without the specific sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and without an application for retirement. On signature and presentation of the prescribed declaration, the Secretary of State reserves to himself the right to arrange for a combined pension under the ordinary rules on their final retirement, in case of officers who have obtained employment with his permission in other department under the Crown, or to withhold permission to retire or to permit retirement on reduced pension only if circumstances exist which justify this course. Thus, it would not be open to an officer, against whom disciplinary proceedings were pending or in contemplation which might result in reduction or withholding of his pension, to avoid such proceedings by an application for permission to retire on proportionate pension. The Secretary of State in Council will ordinarily on the advice of the local Government postpone the acceptance of resignation of any officer, if such detention could not be avoided without prejudice to the public interest. It is also announced that orders applicable to officers serving in other provinces will also apply to those serving in Burma with effect from the date on which Burma has been constituted a Governor's province.

Another order of the Secretary of State in Council declares that an officer awarded a proportionate pension may be permitted to commute a portion of his pension not exceeding the third of the whole or less in the option of the sanctioning authority, namely, the local Government under which the officer was last employed, or an officer who draws his pension directly or indirectly from Indian treasuries, and the High Commissioner in all other cases. There are exceptional reasons for refusing sanction to the application in whole or in part. If the sanctioning authority considers that such reasons exist the case will be referred for the decision of the Secretary of State in Council. The order next gives details regarding commutation and the rules governing it.

leaders of the Indian people, that would constitute a serious situation and we should have to take it into account.

Britain will not abdicate

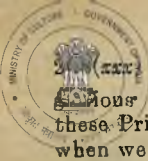
One thing we must make clear, that Britain will in no circumstances relinquish her responsibility to India. This is a cardinal principle not merely of the present Government but I feel confident that it will be the cardinal principle with any Government that could command the confidence of the people of this country. It is important that that should be known not so much in this country for there is no doubt about it here ; but in India, where for many reasons there seems to be doubt disseminated, sometimes fortuitously, sometimes quite unintentionally, and sometimes from facts which seem for a moment to justify conclusions of that kind. It is right that not merely here but in India it should be thoroughly understood that that is the fundamental principle which will guide every part that ever has any hope of commanding the confidence of the people of this country. We stand by our responsibilities. We will take whatever steps are necessary to discharge or to enforce them.

Anarchy before British Rule

We owe this not only to the people of this country, though they have made a great sacrifice for India, but we owe it to the people of India as a whole. We had no right to go there unless we meant to carry out that trust right through. There is a great variety of races and creeds in India, probably greater variety than in the whole of Europe. There are innumerable divisive forces there and if Britain withdrew her strong hand nothing would ensue except divisions, strife, conflict and anarchy. India would become a prey either to strong adventurers or to the strong invader. That had been the history of India up to the very hour when we took India in hand. There has always been a historical play between those two alternatives. What has happened before would ensue again if Britain withdrew her might and strength from the guidance of that great Empire. In fact, if we were to do so, it would be one of the greatest betrayals in the history of any country.

Indian Princes

We have a duty, not merely to the vast territories in India where we exercise supreme control but we also owe a duty to the great Princes of India and to the Indian States which are feudatories of his Majesty the King Emperor. They constitute about one-third of India. We owe an undoubted duty to them. They have been loyal to the Throne and to the Empire under conditions where loyalty was tried in every fibre and where loyalty was vital to the existence of the Empire. There has been nothing more



honour in the whole story of the Empire than the rallying of these Princes and those peoples to the British Empire at the moment when we needed all strength which we could command either in our own territories at home or throughout the vast domain of the British Empire. Thereof we owe a great duty to the backward parts of India which are dependent on the direction and guidance and vision which British statesmanship can command for the purpose of development of good government in that great country.

Discharging the Trust

We have invited the co-operation of the people of India in the discharge of this trust. We have invited them in increasing numbers and perhaps in increasing proportions. I think that that was inevitable. It was a natural development. We have invited them in the Army, we have invited them in the Civil Service and we have invited them to assist in the Government of India under their own people now in Legislature. That was the inevitable evolution, but I want to make it clear, if it is not already clear, that that is not in order to lead up to the final relinquishment of our trust but with a view of bringing into partnership in the discharge of that trust within the British Empire. To discharge that great trust it is essential to have the aid of the Indian Civil Servants, Indian soldiers, Indian Judges and Indian legislators. But it is vital that we should have the continued assistance of British officials. There are not so very many of them. I marvelled when I looked up statistics. There are only 1200 governing 31,50,00,000 people with all sorts of physical difficulties of climate and special difficulties for men brought up in a temperate climate like ours.

Sir Donald Maclean—Does that include all British Officials?

The Premier: That is the total simply for the Civil Service. It does not include the Police and Medical Services. Figures are 1200 British civil servants, 700 British police officers, and 600 British medical officers. That is a total of 2500 governing that gigantic Empire with its hundreds of millions of population, governing quietly and without fuss, doing it for generations. There is hardly anything that is comparable with it in the history of the world, certainly not since the days of Roman Empire. Here is something for us to be proud of.

A Triumph of Government

I do not believe there is any country in the world that can produce such a triumph of Government. As I said once in this House there are men governing huge territories there whose names are hardly known. Even when they retire and you meet them

minutes. In that paragraph it was clearly indicated that the time and manner of each advance in the increasing association of Indians in the administration, no less than in the progressive realisation of responsible government, can be determined only by Parliament upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people. It was also made clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts in the services for which they are specially required and qualified. The question is therefore one which must be decided by His Majesty's Government and I am accordingly to observe that though the presentation of it in the speech of the Hon. Home Member may appear to point to particular conclusions, the views expressed by him were of necessity based only upon particular aspects of the case which had been considered by the Government of India. The Government of India had not the opinions of local Governments before them and, in considering the many and difficult issues which have to be determined, they do not in any way regard themselves as precluded from modifying any provincial views he expressed should such modifications seem necessary in the light of information received from local Governments.

The existing orders regarding the percentage of European and Indian recruitment in the various All India Services embody a decision which has recently been reached. They were based upon the conclusion of the Public Services Commission and the consideration urged in the report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms. The view underlying them was that, so far in the future as any man can foresee, a strong European element will be required in any of the public services in India and that, though the utilities and the functions of European Officers may undergo a gradual change, the continued presence of English officers is vital to the successful issue of the policy of making the people of India self-governing. They assumed, accordingly, that the essential characteristics of the administration would remain unchanged and they provided in consequence only for such an increase in the number of Indians in the All-India Services as it was thought would be merged in them without altering their whole character.

It may be argued with great force that if the question were now to be decided by the application of the same it is certain there would be no adequate ground for modifying these orders in the interests of efficiency and integrity.

It is undeniable that the stability and ordered progress of India have hitherto been dependent on the assistance and the efforts of European officers and it may be held that the recent advances in the direction of responsible government have but accentuated the

needed for their services. India has taken only the first steps on the road that leads to full self-government. That road is beset with dangers and obstacles and her ability to traverse it successfully may be imperilled if she discards too rapidly the guidance upon which she has so far leaned. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ignore the changes that have recently occurred: the emergence of new factors and the enhanced importance that is now attached to considerations which, though always present, were less prominent and less urgent a few years ago and it may be that these new developments render necessary a revision of the decisions previously adopted. Of the arguments that may be advanced in favour of radically modifying the existing policy the following would appear to be the most important:

(i) It may be difficult in future to secure for the Imperial Service recruits of the same class as have been forthcoming in the past, and any substantial falling off in the quality of European recruits would obviously reduce *pro tanto* the case for a strong European element. The attractions of service in India have undoubtedly diminished in spite of the recent revisions of salary and of leave rules; the financial advantages are no longer what they were 25 years ago and on the whole, and even after allowance is made for the world-wide fall in the purchasing power of money, they probably compare less favourably than formerly with the terms obtainable in the Civil Service of England and of the Crown Colonies. Moreover, the prospects of promotion to posts above the time scale are more doubtful. Persistent demands are being made for the abolition of many of these appointments, and their continued retention cannot be regarded as assured. Again, in so far as any rate, as the Indian Civil Service is concerned, the whole tendency of the reforms and *a fortiori* of any further constitutional advances that may be in store is to reduce the status of its members to that of purely executive officials. The Civil Servant of the future cannot expect to play the same part in, or to exercise the same influences over, the administration of the country as has his more fortunate predecessor.

Many, too, of the most attractive of his former functions, such as those connected with sanitation, education and the general development of district or town, have already been made over to bodies fully divorced from his control. Lastly, the impossibility of foreseeing the character or the effects of further changes in the condition of the central and provincial Governments and the many evidences of racial hostility which have unfortunately accumulated during recent years may deter many promising candidates from the adoption of an Indian career. It is doubtful whether these considerations are fully realised in England, but any advantages that may accrue thereby to the Government in respect of the quality of

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results secured may be more than offset by resentment and discontentment if expectations are disappointed.

Demand for Indianisation

(ii) The demand for Indianisation of the services is older and perhaps even more insistent than the demand for self-government. It is also more difficult to resist. Nothing can be more inevitable and legitimate than the desire of Indians that the services should be manned by men of their own race; and this natural sentiment is reinforced by financial considerations. The scales of pay which must be paid if Europeans are to be obtained for the services are higher than those in force in any other State, and in a country whose financial resources are as narrow as those of India, can be defended only on the ground of necessity. That the price has hitherto been worth paying need not be denied, but as education spreads year by year and as in consequence the supply of competent Indians increases the continued retention of so costly an agency will be harder to justify, at any rate theoretically, and the demand for the substitution of less expensive indigenous services will acquire added force. If the services were Indianised and if, as for the reasons indicated below would appear to be inevitable in that event they were also wholly or largely provincialised, the existing scales of pay could be greatly reduced. It is a mistake to suppose that the difference between the cost of the European officers and that of the Indian officers is represented by the present overseas allowance.

The real difference is, in fact, far greater and it seems possible that as much as one-third of the pay drawn by the European officer might properly be debited to that head. Moreover, the attitude of the Indian Legislature has already been made clear. They are pressing for the rapid Indianisation of the services.

(iii) Officers entering the existing services are entitled to remain in these services for periods which in practice range on the average from 25 to 30 years. It is at least possible, however, that 20 or 15 years hence the conditions in India will be such as to render undesirable or impracticable the retention of a large number of European officers, and if, therefore, the recruitment of Europeans on the present scale is maintained the Government may eventually be faced with the necessity of retiring a great number of officers and of paying to them heavy sums by way of compensation.

(iv) At present large majority of the members of each of the All India services are Europeans. The presence of a substantial European element is thus assured for many years to come in the Indian Civil Service. In particular the proportion of Indians (including officers holding listed posts) is only 12 per cent, and even with the complete cessation of recruitment a period of some 12 years



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Not elapse before the Indian element can rise to 80 per cent. The abandonment of European recruitment will not therefore mean that the country will, in a short time, be dependent entirely on an indigenous agency. For years at least, if not for more, the services will still contain a substantial proportion of Europeans sufficient perhaps to provide the necessary leavening and to ensure the maintenance during the transition to entirely Indianised services of real administrative standards and should circumstances so necessitate the whole position could be considered before the expiry of this period.

Moreover, in the case of the technical services at least any shortage of Europeans that might at any time become apparent could probably be met by recruitment on short term contracts.

(v). These arguments have been stated in the form in which presumably they would be presented by those who advocate the adoption of a new policy.

Arguments Against.

It is essential, however, that the assumptions underlying them, the qualifications to which they are subject, and the counter arguments should not be overlooked. Thus:—

(a) In estimating the attractions of service in India in the future it should not be forgotten that it is the men now in the services who are naturally the most inclined to compare disadvantageously the present and future conditions of their services with those that obtained in the past. The question, however, cannot be regarded exclusively from their point of view in the case of future entrants into the services. It is not impossible that, if difficult conditions as regards employment continue to be felt in England, the Dominions and the Colonies, the time scale of pay and the pensions of the Indian services may prove an attraction sufficient to induce the right stamp of man to expatriate himself from England for a considerable portion of his life and elect for service in India. Again, whilst in general the effect of the reforms and of future constitutional advances on the character of the work of Civil Servants may be as stated in paragraphs above, it is the opinion of some that in the Councils and Assemblies the burden of voicing, guiding and justifying policy will often fall on the Civil Servant and will offer as stimulating a field of intellect and character as almost any of the duties which fell to his lot under a more bureaucratic form of Government; and even in the sphere of district administration, although local bodies are no longer under the control of the district officer, it is probable that in technical matters, in conflicts of communal interests and in cases where large sums of money are involved, his advice will for many years be freely sought.

We must not be discouraged by it and say that it means disaffection in India, that it means insurrection in India, that it means that India is getting tired of British rule. The world is tired of every rule. If Hon'ble members will read the newspapers they will find that this is the only Coalition that has lasted six years.

Commander Kenworthy : "What about M. Lenin".

Premier. No, he has not lasted as long and I am not sure that he has lasted, but my hon'ble and gallant Friend knows more about him than I do. You have got it in Italy and France and everywhere else, and that simply means the sort of unrest there is throughout the world, but you must not get discouraged. It does mean however undoubtedly a considerable accession of responsibility and of work to those who are discharging the functions of Government in every land, and on the main must as far as India is concerned depend not upon what happens in this Parliament where we can get discussions only once, twice, or three times a year upon India. We cannot keep a continuous eye upon what happens in India, and that is right. You cannot do it, it depends upon the kind of Government that you have there. It is essential that should be strengthened, but whatever you do in the way of strengthening it, there is one institution we will not interfere with, there is one institution we will not cripple, there is one institution we will not deprive of its functions, or of its privileges, and that is that institution which built up the British Raj, "The British Civil Service in India".

Responsibility for India

We have undertaken the responsibility for India. We have undertaken to guide India. We have undertaken to establish and maintain law and good Government throughout its vast dominions. We have undertaken to defend its frontiers, and to protect its peoples against internal foes and external foes. The British Empire means at all costs to continue to discharge that sacred trust and to fulfil that high destiny.

Colonel Wedgwood (Labour—Newcastle-under-Lyme) wondered what evil genius inspired the Prime Minister with the necessity to make this speech to-day. There was no doubt that this was a new declaration as regards India, a declaration which he would find it difficult indeed to square with the Declaration of August, 1917. He had said that we would never relinquish our responsibility for India. He was quite right. Neither States nor individual can ever relinquish their responsibility for what they say or do. But what did he mean? Did he mean a change of policy? Was it his view still that our duty as regards India was to see



that country safe on the lines of Dominion Home Rule? Did he wish to see that country self-governing, even as Canada or Australia are self-governing? That was the Declaration of 1917—not immediately, but as soon as it could safely be done. Was that relinquishing our responsibility or not? The people of India, reading his speech to-morrow would want to know what the Prime Minister meant. He had said that there was one institution which should never be deprived either of its powers or its functions, and that was the Indian Civil Service. Was that the doctrine of the Government, or was ultimately self-government the doctrine of the Government? How were they going to combine the two? He said that no Government that ever followed his Government will ever dare to relinquish our responsibility for India.

No, we shall not (proceeded Colonel Wedgwood), but our responsibility for India seems to be rather different from his. Our responsibility for India consists in assisting the formation of democratic self-government in India. All our dealings with India will be to bring that day about when India can safely be given democratic Home Rule.

How is it possible for the Civil Service when once there is Dominion Home Rule in India to be able to carry on without a change of functions and without a change of powers? It is notorious that one of the difficulties that the Civil Service have to face at the present time is that already under diarchy itself their powers and their functions are no longer what they were, and their difficulty is that whereas before those reforms they were the masters of India, now insensibly they are bound to become the servants of the new governments, the new parliaments, the new councils of India, and when the Assembly has complete self-government then it is inevitable that the whole status of the Civil Service in India must change and the Civil Servants in that country will be even as the Civil Servants in this country, the servants of the Government and not the masters of the country.

The best of the British officials in India (Colonel Wedgwood maintained) realised that they were doing their finest service to their mother country when they assist towards the process of their own extinction. They know quite well that the best service they could render was to make easy and not difficult a transition which must inevitably dethrone them from their power. Besides obscuring at any rate, if he did not eclipse, the famous Declaration of August, 1917, the Prime Minister went on to offer threats of the withdrawal of the diarchy reforms. He pointed out that it was an experiment from which there could be no possible going back under any circumstances. The Prime Minister pointed out the danger that every person

provincial services would necessitate either the promotion to the posts of senior officers who, as experience in connection with the listed posts seems to show, have been engaged far too long on subordinate duties to be capable of undertaking responsibilities of a more exacting order or the selection for the posts of the best of the junior officers, a course which may be of help to open the door to favouritism and to be the production of much discontent and heart-burning among the senior men. Against this it may be argued that it will be impossible to secure for the large number of appointments in question a better class of recruits than is now obtained for the provincial service, and that, therefore, the simplest and the least objectionable solution will be a single service the higher appointments in which will be filled by men who have served for a somewhat longer period than that which members of the Imperial services are now required to serve in the inferior appointments. The balance of argument appears to the Govt. of India to be on the whole in favour of the two divisions scheme, but they have no desire to prejudice an issue in regard to which the opinions of the local Govts. will be of special value.

There are many subsidiary matters arising out of or connected with the above questions, but it is unnecessary to examine them until the broad questions of principle have been considered and determined.

In conclusion it will be convenient to summarise the questions on which the opinion of local Governments is invited. These are:—

1 (a)—Should the recruitment of Europeans for the appointments now included in the all-India services be discontinued or largely reduced?

(b) If so, in what services and to what extent in each service?

2—If it is decided to discontinue or largely reduce the recruitment of Europeans:

(a)—Should the appointments for which Europeans are no longer to be recruited be provincialized?

(b)—In the event of provincialization being accepted, should the appointments:

(i) be merged in the existing services, or

(ii) be formed into separate or upper divisions of the provincial services?

The Government of India realise that local Governments will require time to enable them to formulate their conclusions regarding these difficult and important questions, but they would be glad if they would arrange to complete their examination as quickly as practicable and therefore to forward their considered views with as little delay as possible.



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The I. C. S. Revolt.

The following letter, which appeared in the Anglo-Indian Press was addressed to the Secretary of State for India by the Central Provinces and Berar Association of European Government Servants through H. E. Sir Frank Sly, (Governor of the Central Provinces), and the Governor General of India in Council :

Nagpur, August 18, 1922

My Lord,—My Association respectfully directs your Lordship's attention to the Government of India's letter No. F-120 (Estbts) dated May 30th. 1922, on the subject of the stoppage of recruitment in England for the Imperial Services. There is nothing in the letter to indicate that the Government of India attach any unusual significance to what are, in fact, questions of vital importance. On the contrary these questions are propounded as ordinary administrative problems, and it is the manner in which they have been raised, as much as their substance, which cannot fail to alarm those who support the reforms so recently introduced and who understand that India can only attain full responsible self-government by stages. The letter reveals as though by a flash of lightning the imminent approach of a danger so grave that it threatens not merely the success of the reforms but the safety of India and the integrity of the British Empire.

Sacrificing Old Servants.

2. My Association cannot, on this occasion, discuss the subtle methods by which the prestige and prospects of Englishmen now in the service of the Crown in India have been ruined and their present position rendered intolerable. But if the case for the Imperial Services is to be stated with candour, then it must be said that not a vestige of practical sympathy and understanding has been found either in Simla or, until quite recently at Whitehall. Whatever the reasons for it may be, the fact remains that the claims of the Imperial Services in India to just treatment remain neglected. It must be submitted for your Lordship's consideration that the spectacle of a Government prepared to sacrifice its old servants on the altar of new Councils is not one which can encourage.

Honest Recruiting Impracticable

3. The Government of India approach their subject from two points of view. On the one hand, they must fill essential posts

in the existing administrative organisation. On the other, they are strongly attracted by the expediency of meeting present political demands. My Association does not propose to examine in detail the various arguments set forth for and against the stoppage of recruitment in England. Indeed, such an examination would be superfluous, for one of the considerations set forth in the letter leaves no room for arguments. It is a melancholy fact that suitable recruits for the service of the Crown in India are now obtained with great difficulty and in insufficient numbers, and this at a time when the demand for employment among all classes is extraordinarily keen, and unless a very material improvement in the status, pay and pensions of the Imperial Services is made in the immediate future, there is a grave risk amounting almost to a certainty that the supply of suitable recruits will be entirely cut off. It is undoubtedly a knowledge of the disabilities and grievances under which the Imperial Services in India are laboring that has led to the present shortage of candidates from the public schools and universities of England and I am to point out to your Lordship that a perusal of the letter now under reference has intensified the apprehensions of existing members of the Imperial Services. In particular, they fear that when India is administered by services which are wholly Indian, the necessary provision for the pensions of Englishmen will not be forthcoming. Until, therefore, an immediate and assured improvement in the conditions of service, and in the security of tenure and of pensions can be made, the members of my Association must, with extreme reluctance, support the proposition that at present the continuance of recruitment in England is impracticable by means which are honest.

4. My Association desires, however, to lay before your Lordship certain considerations which seem to have escaped the Government of India's notice. In the first place, that Government appears to assume that recruitment once interrupted, may be resumed at will. My Association submits that this is not so. So far from being able to withdraw what will be taken as a concession, the Government of India will be engaged in the consideration of requests for still further concessions. Indeed, it is not too much to say that once the recruitment of Englishmen has been stopped a resumption of such recruitment will not be within the sphere of practical politics until a situation has arisen in which the need for a strong English element has become necessary in the interests of peace and order. In other words, a resumption of recruitment in England must be preceded by grave disorder in India. In the second place, the stoppage of recruitment in England will stimulate the retirement of present members of the services. Their work will be carried on under still



more difficult conditions, and in greater isolation. My Association is in a position to assure your Lordship that the resulting weakening of the European element will be far more rapid than the Government of India anticipate. Thirdly, even if recruitment in England could be resumed at will there would be a gap in the ranks of English officials corresponding in size to the period during which there had been no such recruitment. The services would then consist of a small body of senior men and a few untrained cadets, and the Government would be without young and energetic officers trained in their duties. The personnel of the services would be hopelessly deficient in the very element which the conditions necessitating a resumption of recruitment would demand.

Disappearance of the English in 20 Years

5. My Associations' Chief motive in addressing this letter to your Lordship is to invite attention to certain broader aspects of the problem for which the Government of India's letter finds no space. If the recruitment of Englishmen is stopped now, the English element in the Services will, within a period of about 20 years, be so reduced as to be almost negligible. It must be admitted that one of the central features of the reforms is the complete Indianisation of the Services. But it is fundamental to the reforms that the process is to be a gradual one, carried out under the guidance of the Imperial Parliament, with the active assistance of Englishmen in the service of the Crown in India. The promoters of the reforms regard the retention of a predominating English element in the Services as essential to their successful development. The advance is to be made by a series of decennial overhauls of the constitution, and the whole process is to be spread over a series of decades. It is for Your Lordship and for Parliament to consider if the process can be completed in so short a period as 20 years.

6. Without in any way desiring to minimise the progress that India has made politically, socially and economically during the last two centuries, my Association desires to impress upon Your Lordship that she has still not attained that degree of unity which is essential in the conduct of her affairs as a nation, and that it is very doubtful whether she can attain it in 20 years. My Association also desires to point out that India is still subject to external aggression as she has ever been. If these propositions are accepted, it follows that the premature withdrawal of the English Services must lead to internal disorganisation, which, in turn, will inevitably invite aggression from without, culminating in an exhausting war in which England, however unwilling, will be forced to participate,



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7. It is not necessary to give a detailed survey of the history of India to show that powerful forces of disintegration have existed in this country in the past. Before the establishment of English rule, India has only once or perhaps twice approached the conditions of a united State. Under Chandragupta and Asoka the Maurya Empire consisted of outlying provinces attached to the royal nucleus by ties of varying strength. The Moghal Empire, a foreign domination, was short-lived, and the decay of its central authority under Aurangzeb at once let loose the forces of anarchy and disintegration. It is significant that the Chief Indian competitors in the struggles for territory did not confine themselves to the establishment of what could be termed "national" States. The Muhammadan Powers of Southern India and the Maratha Powers to the North of Nerbudda were as foreign in the countries they conquered as the English. Without entering into the questions of legitimacy of title between the various contesting powers, it can at least be asserted that the English had the distinction of having the desire and the power to set up a regular administration and to maintain a *Pax Britannica*. As Sir James Stephen wrote :

"The English in India are the representatives of a belligerent civilisation. The phrase is epigrammatic but is strictly true. The English in India are the representatives of peace compelled by force. This belligerent civilisation consists in the suppression by force of all pretensions to tyranny and in compelling by force all sorts and conditions of men in British India to tolerate each other. If the British Government abdicate its functions, it would soon turn order into chaos. If the vigor of the Government should ever be relaxed, if it should lose its essential unity of purpose and fall into the hands either weak or unfaithful, chaos would come again like a flood."

It has been agreed that a hundred and fifty years of peace and the growth of a spirit of Indian Nationality have eradicated the innate forces of disunion, but I am to submit that nothing could be farther from truth. My Association desires to lay before Your Lordship a short account of some of the more important disintegrating elements in the Indian body politic.

8. Nearly one-third of India with more than one quarter of its population, consists of Native States or their subjects under the control of Indian Princes with varying degrees of independence. The majority of these States had their origin in military despotism and many have retained their military traditions unimpaired. Some of the larger States maintain armies whose military spirit and effectiveness have been enhanced by participation in the Great War and their military organisations now show a degree of efficiency never previously approached. Several Princes look with feelings



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also to desire at the rich territories which at one time or another formed part of the dominions of their ancestors. India contains many "Terre irridente." Many of the smaller States were at one time under the suzerainty of the larger and are now maintained in their semi-independence by the power of the Crown. It is not too much to assert that if the Central power, which is the English Government, were seriously weakened some at least of these claims would be asserted. One single conflict of arms between two powerful claimants would light a conflagration that would rapidly sweep through India.

9. It is generally conceded that a national people must possess in some degree the three characteristics of 'common race,' 'common religion' and 'common language.' It would be difficult to find a country in which these characteristics are more conspicuously absent than India. The aboriginal stocks of India have been inundated by successive floods of Aryans, Arabs, Turka, Persians and Moghals. The successive waves never coalesced and India is now inhabited by a medley of races even more divergent than the jarring peoples of Europe.

10. As regards religion, leaving aside minor but nevertheless irreconcilable religions such as those of Sikh, Parsi, Jain, Buddhist and Christian, the great bulk of the population is divided into Hindus and Muhammadans, the antagonism of whose religious tenets is more provocative of bloodshed than the sectarian differences of the Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. The ancient hostility between the two great religions frequently manifests itself over the ceremonial slaughter of kine by Muhammadans, and in the Central Provinces the introduction of certain regulations to restrict the slaughter of cows framed at the instance of a Hindu majority has evoked threats of violence from the Muhammadan minority. The "Taj" of Jubbulpore whose editor is a local leader of the Khilafat party and an exponent for the Hindu Muslim entente has thus written:—

"The Hindu Ministers of moderate persuasion are bound to flout the religious sentiments of the Mussalmans. They are trying to delude the Hindus that they have resorted to such action with a view to protect cows but in fact they have done so merely to encourage their slaughter in large numbers. The religious conviction of the Mussalmans is that no power—especially a non-Muslim power—on earth can prohibit anything that has been allowed to them by God. The prevention of the slaughter of cows and all mitch animals including camels below 9 years by means of an enactment only promotes the Mussalmans to disregard such rules and to respect and honour the divine laws in preference to those framed by the rulers or the land. Our Non-Co-operating Hindu brethren

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are now on their trial. If they be true Non-Co operators they will help the Mussalmans at this juncture and co operate with them in their protest against the action of the Government. If however the religious susceptibilities do not allow them to do so they should observe silence and should not be offended if, in defying these rules, the Mussalmans slaughter cows and other animals. They should rather blame the Hindu Ministers who by framing such rules have provoked the Mussalmans."

11. Sir George Grierson has enumerated and described 98 distinct languages with 550 distinguishable dialects in India. Even in the Central Provinces there are 18 languages and 80 dialects. An attempt is being made to turn Hindi into a common 'lingua franca' for the whole of the Peninsula and Congress patriots shout for Hindi when a speaker addresses them in English. Nevertheless in spite of Mr. Gandhi's adult studies in Hindi he finds himself compelled to speak in English and to conduct his paper in English when he wishes to reach the minds of his variegated following. There is only one language spoken in India which contains a word to express the conception of a native of India and that language is English.

12. To the confusion of race, religion and language which India exhibits in a unique degree there must be added the further powerful disintegrating factor of the caste system. Even those groups which enjoy a common race, religion and language are split up into mutually exclusive and frequently antagonistic organisations. Inter marriage is forbidden; social intercourse is severely restricted and certain castes have to undergo ritual ablution at the mere touch or the passage of the shadow of their fellowmen.

"Unity" and Weak Government

13. Prior to the establishment of English rule the conception of an Indian nation had not occurred to the mind of any one. The establishment of a unified administration supplied the opportunity, and the inculcation of English political doctrines taught in the schools and colleges supplied the impulse for the growth of the spirit of nationality. With its development the inevitable consequence followed—a growing feeling of shame and resentment in the minds of many of the educated classes at the dominant part played in the administration of the country by a mere handful of men foreign to them in every essential tradition. There never was a country and never will be one in which Government by foreigners can be popular and this is a fact which must be faced frankly and honestly. But to face it is not to admit that it is the only consideration, for a premature withdrawal would mean the cessation of the process of education and the destruction of the nascent spirit of nationality.



It cannot be disputed that India is being swept by strong waves of anti-British feeling. Their surge has carried Indians of widely different religions and races on to what superficial and doctrinaire observers imagine to be the solid ground of nationhood ; but what has in fact happened is that the war and the reforms and the weak Government have seriously disturbed the "Pax Britannica in India." The Muslim has not yet resolved to be ruled by or to rule with the Hindu ; the Maharashtra has no intention of submitting to Government by Sikhs, nor less will the Brahman concede to men of inferior castes, any social and political rights to which he aspires. A cloak of political unity is provided by a common belief that the days of English supremacy are numbered. Wearing that cloak the politician poses as an Indian nationalist and is ready to discard it as soon as English authority has been destroyed. He will then reveal himself as a Sikh, a Bengali, a Maratha patriot, or a champion of Islam. The outlook of England has probably been changed by the war, and it is certainly true that Indian respect for English authority has been profoundly affected by the prolonged struggle of the war and the vacillations that have followed. To suppose, however, that India has been transformed as if by magic into one country and a single nation, within measureable distance of ability to govern and defend itself is a radical mistake.

14. On the assumption that India is granted autonomy in the near future and the Services are all Indianised, three forms of Government are theoretically possible. There may be (1) a co-operative central Government or (2) a central Government controlled by one dominant element or (3) no central Government at all. As regards the co-operative Central Government, the difficulty of its composition at once arises. "If all the English were to leave India", asked Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, "who would be the rulers of the country?" In the absence of any common tie of nationality, a co-operative Central Government could be little more than the loosest federations, liable to crumble at the first breath of racial jealousy. As regards Government by one dominant element, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's question is again relevant. Which element in the Indian State could effectively impose its will upon the others? People of one Indian province are often foreigners to the people of another Indian province, and the manlier race of India could never be governed by the feeble foreigners of another Indian country. Any Government erected by one element would be attacked by other elements, and would be feeble and transitory. It would be unacceptable to all the other elements, and as the probability is that it would seek its own ends the ideal of "Government by the people

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for the people" would be much further from attainment than it is at present. The third possibility of no Central Government is unthinkable. India would at once revert to that endemic state of chaos from which it was rescued by English power.

15. So far the considerations set out have been administrative, but the crux or the whole question is not administrative but military. No profound military knowledge is required to understand that the keystone of the Indian regimental system is the English officer. Most regiments are composite, that is to say they consist of companies recruited from men of different races. The system is the result of long experience and has been proved by war. But with the elimination of the English officer, the system must become impossible, and if the Civil Services are entirely Indianised, that officer cannot remain. If, therefore, India is to be self-governing and self-defending, it must be seriously considered what military organisation can replace the Indian Army. Obviously that organisation cannot be a single National Army. Sikhs do not follow Bengalee officers, nor Muslims obey Hindus. It is impossible to imagine a Maratha Army, a Sikh Army, an Army of Pathans and another of Panjabi Muhammadans quietly obeying the behests of a democracy in which the fighting races of the country are in the minority. Democracy in India is possible only under the helligrent civilisation of the English, and when that civilisation disappears nothing but a military despotism will be able to preserve internal peace. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that the politically-minded classes and the fighting peoples are distinct and essentially antagonistic.

Inviting External Aggression.

16. The conclusion is thus arrived at that in its present state of development an autonomous India would be torn by internal dissensions and would be without the bulwark of a National Army. Such a state invites external aggression. The Indian politician gives himself no time to consider this menace. Mr. Gandhi has pronounced the theory that the Afghan if he invaded India would easily be conquered "by love." Even the most enlightened leaders of Indian opinion dismiss the risk of invasion with a gesture of impatience. "War", they say, "will never be waged against India" or else, "we will deal with the occasion when it comes" or yet again, "our National Army will see to that". Nevertheless the danger is present and very serious. As divided, India always has been subject to external aggression, and the least indication of the weakening of the military power of the Central Government will inevitably be the signal for foreign invasion. Had the Afghans and Waziris not believed that the English in India were so weak as to be

unable to cope with Mr. Gandhi and his revolutionaries. There would not have been the recent frontier wars. How near the dangers of a really formidable invasion are, it is difficult to estimate. There were not many people in England who listened to the warning of Lord Roberts; and of India it need only be said that she is exposed to attack on long frontiers across which armies would be poured without hindrance by sea-power. Behind the frontier tribes and behind Afghanistan, there may be before very long not only a Russia under German influence but Germany herself. In the Far East there is Japan with her growing commercial interests in India and her powerful fleet.

17. If autonomous India were to be attacked in the near future by a powerful enemy England would be faced with a very difficult problem. There are some who would urge that Britain should stand aside, and should conserve her energies for the development of her own "White Empire." But such a withdrawal would not be easy. It would involve the sacrifice of the greater part of her valuable Indian trade, and the loss of much capital and prestige, and it would lead to the ruin if not the extraction of those elements of the Indian population which are peculiarly dependent on the English Government—the domiciled Christian community and the Parsees. Demands for intervention would be made by influential elements in England and the claims of India, based on an association that had lasted for more than a century and a half, could not be disregarded. It is incumbent on English statesmen to make an estimate of the risks attending the waging of such a war. It would be conducted from a base six thousand miles distant with long land communications through a disturbed and disorganised country and with sea communications open to attack at many points particularly through the narrow neck of the Suez Canal, threatened on both flanks by Muhammedan powers. Success would lead to no tangible results for Britain, nor would it ensure the permanent immunity of India. Failure would be disastrous.

18. As a result of these and similar considerations all of which need not to be set forth in this letter my Association submits that an autonomous India, whether within or without the Empire, is an impossibility in the near future. On the other hand, if the British Government is to continue to be responsible for the peace, good order and protection of India, then that Government must be strong. To this end it is clearly essential that the services should contain a strong English element. My Association takes this opportunity of directing your Lordship's attention to a clear exposition of the issues involved, contained in the final statement of the European Association of Calcutta, which your Lordship will find amongst other papers

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published in the Government of India's Dispatch No. 1 of 1919 and of March 5th 1919 giving their views on the question raised in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. My Association endorses the fear expressed by the Calcutta Association that the Government of India "do not realise the difference in difficulty between keeping order in the name of an all-pervading and apparently permanent British administration, and keeping it in the name of a British administration which has narrowed its sphere to a very few reserved subjects, and is understood to be pasting labels to London on its baggage."

19. The purpose of my Association in addressing your Lordship is to lay all the stress within its power on the imperative necessity for caution. The reforms were granted to India as a firsthand step towards autonomy. The new constitution is already being attacked and in canvassing for opinions in favour of the abolition of recruitment for the Services in England, the Government of India appear to be affording support to those who desire that a second step should be taken before the forward foot of the first has been firmly planted. The proposal to abolish the European Services strikes at the root of the reforms. It is hardly necessary to remind your Lordship that the retention and contentment of the Services have been affirmed and reaffirmed as essential to the success of the reforms by the authors, by the Government of India, by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, by members of His Majesty's Government and by Parliament itself. The proposal to abolish the Services is a direct attack on the very foundations of the fabric and to accept it would soon open the way to further attacks which would inevitably bring the whole structure to the ground. The issue has now arisen between revolution and probable anarchy and that gradual evolution which is the key-note of the reforms. My Association submits that the abolition of the Service is an Imperial matter which should be dealt with by a Royal Commission deriving its authority from Parliament and is not an administrative or local political problem to be investigated by the Government of India. If the reformed constitution is to be amended in its essentials within three years of its inauguration instead of after the lapse of ten years as contemplated by Parliament, then the proposals for the change should be made after a careful and full inquiry into all the factors involved, carried out by a neutral tribunal appointed by Sovereign authority whose deliberations would command universal confidence.

I have the honour to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant

J. N. DOWNING.



CSL

Interpellations in Parliament

Similar petitions had earlier been forwarded by other I. C. S. Associations to the new Secretary of State. In April last the "Morning Post", the month piece of the O'Dwyer-Sydenham gang, published a memorandum from the Punjab officials to Viscount Peel. These men saw a ray of hope in the dismissal of Mr. Montagu. The general complaint was that the conditions of their retirement on proportionate pensions were inequitable. On the 11th April Lord Sydenham asked in the House of Lords, firstly, whether Viscount Peel would consider the desirability of modifying the form of certificate demanded from officers wishing to retire on proportionate pensions who regard the words, 'I feel unable to serve the Indian Government with advantage to the State' as offensive and degrading, and secondly, whether Lord Peel would institute an enquiry into the grievances set forth in the memorials from the public services in India with a view to regaining the confidence of those services and securing the recruitment of candidates capable of maintaining their high standards in the future. Lord Sydenham stated that the Civil Service was visibly crumbling away and he thought this was as serious even as the widespread unrest and disturbances created by the efforts of Mr. Gandhi.

Lord Peel, replying, promised to give consideration to those matters and declared that he yielded to none in his appreciation of the great services of Indian Civil Servants and the grave necessity of maintaining the position of excellence and high standard of the service. Regarding certificates from officers, Mr. Montagu had sent a dispatch to the Indian Government asking for the re-examination of certificates (see p. 129), and Lord Peel said he hoped to receive a reply shortly and he would then deal with the question as rapidly as possible. As regards officers who did not apply before the 31st March 1924, the dispatch sent by the Indian Government on the 9th February showed that members of the services were to be given an opportunity of testing the conditions brought about by the Government of India Act and by the constitutional developments under it and if, as a result of their experience, they wished to withdraw, they were to be given the right to apply for proportionate pensions. The existing scheme of proportionate pension rights had no reference to any further change in the conditions which might be brought about as a result of further legislation. He trusted this explanation would entirely dispel any suspicion that there had been, or that there was,

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a high to deplete the Indian services of the British element at the earliest date, which was entirely unfounded.

After promising sympathetic consideration to the question of enquiry into the memorials, Lord Peel said he gathered that Lord Sydenham was considering this point largely with reference to the question of future recruitment. Lord Peel stated that he had already acted in this matter and was asking a small committee to advise him privately regarding the steps which could be taken to remove impediments which might be found to stand in the way of recruitment; but he wanted to make it clear that he regarded this method as an informal preliminary, because the issues raised might be wide and complicated, and until they got a comprehensive view of the problem, he was not in a position to know whether it would be advisable to proceed on more definite lines, like a formal enquiry covering the whole scope of the question.

O'Dwyer's Letter to the Press

An attempt was also made to rehabilitate the guilty officers of the Punjab in 1919 who had been punished under the Montagu regime. On the 11th April Sir C. Yate asked the Prime Minister if he could give the result of his inquiry into the statements contained in the letter of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the Press of the 7th November, 1921, complaining of the unfair treatment of officers, civil and military, who took part in suppressing the Punjab rebellion in 1919, and in view of the additional facts brought out in that letter, if he could state what steps the Government intended to take to safeguard the future prospects and to prevent the further prosecution of these officers, British and Indian, who had been so seriously affected by the orders issued in the Government's review of India in 1920,

In reply, Mr. Chamberlain said: I have seen the letter referred to. So far no additional facts are brought to light. His Majesty's Government, after careful consideration of the Hunter Committee's report and the views of the Government of India found it necessary to express disapproval of certain officers' errors of judgment, which in most, though not in all, cases had taken the form of undue severity. In some cases officers who did very good work in a position of great difficulty had to be censured for particular actions which were ill-advised. His Majesty's Government is unable to re-open the enquiry in the case of these officers. It is unfortunately true that, in spite of all that has been done to promote better feeling, a residuum of bitterness remains in the Punjab, which results in manifestations of social and personal enmity against those who took part or aided in restoring order in 1919. Indians, whether Government servants or not, are more exposed to suffer from such



manifestations than British, and it is impossible for any Government to completely neutralise the effects.

Sir C. Yate then expressed the wish that the Viceroy should be communicated with and asked to put a stop to these officers being held up to opprobrium as having been censured for acts in connection with the Punjab rebellion, but Mr. Chamberlain said that he knew that the Viceroy regarded the protection of these officers as a paramount duty.

Surplus Army Officers

On the same day, Sir Arthur Holbrook asked whether the Indian Govt. had circularised all the officers of the Indian Army, stating that two-thirds of the total establishment are surplus, and offering those who are surplus a sum of money on condition they resigned their commissions. Sir Arthur Holbrook asked that if this were so, what compensation would be sufficient to ensure that the officers could fit themselves for civilian appointments?

Lord Winterton said that he was not informed regarding the circular, but he was sure the surplus could not have been stated at a figure so wide of the mark. Compensation would be given on the same basis as to surplus officers in the British service except that account would be taken that pay and pensions are higher in the Indian service.

Treatment of Political Prisoners

With regard to an enquiry by Colonel Wedgwood as to the differing practices that prevail in various Indian provinces in regard to preferential treatment of political prisoners, Lord Winterton pointed out that the jails were under the control of the provincial authorities. Nevertheless, the Indian Government had not only urged upon the local Governments the desirability of uniformity in the treatment of political prisoners but had recommended that the prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment might not unreasonably receive treatment and privileges different from ordinary criminals.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—MAY 1922

The attention of Parliament was drawn to various Indian affairs in May last when the Joint Parliamentary Committee were busy in holding meetings (see p. 208xxi), under Lord Islington to discuss Indian question. The Lancashire members of Parliament kept on a strenuous agitation for securing a modification of the Indian fiscal policy in their favour and a resolution was proposed to be moved in the House on May 10th to secure their end. The



change of personnel in the India office had given them a hope of reversing the Montagu policy, like the Servicemen. On May 9th Sir Charles Yate, in his zeal to maintain law and order, wanted to know what powers were now left to the Government of India in view of the repeal of the Press Act, in "repressing the dissemination of seditious matter and the vilification of Government servants"; whether these powers were considered sufficient; and, if not, what steps were to be taken in the matter?

The Under-Secretary evidently thought it was best that his questioner should find out the answer for himself. So he sent the gallant Colonel a copy of the Act itself, "which", he said, "will answer the first part of his question." He added that it was hoped the powers that remained would prove sufficient. If they did not, it would ofcourse be necessary to consider further action.

"Are any further powers necessary," interjected Colonel Wedgwood, "when you are able to put your opponents into gaol?"

On the 16th May replying to Sir J. D. Rees regarding reports of disagreement between the Home Government and the Government of India in connection with the latter's policy in Waziristan, Earl Winterton said that the two Governments were agreed on the course to be followed in the next few months but that discussion of details in the execution of policy was likely to continue for some time. This discussion had been magnified in some quarters into difference of opinion on fundamental policy which, he said, was not true.

Racial Distinctions Committee

With regard to the Racial Distinctions Committee, Sir Charles Yate asked what steps had been taken to secure that nothing was done to abolish the rights of Europeans under the Criminal Procedure Code? Earl Winterton replied that as the Committee had not yet reported, as far as he was aware the question had not yet arisen.

Loyal and contented Police

Sir Charles Yate, in view of the great increases in military charges necessitated by frequent calls upon troops in India to aid the civil authorities in maintaining law and order, asked what steps it is proposed to take to secure a loyal, well-paid and contented police force for each province sufficiently strong to meet the growing defiance of authority and to maintain law and order without continually calling on the troops? Earl Winterton replied that despite temporary difficulties he believed there was no material deficiency in the police forces or any need for taking special steps. The use

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of troops to assist the civil power had not greatly increased the military charges as the only military charges affected thereby were transport charges which were comparatively small.

Europeans in Indian Prisons.

Questions were asked by Colonel Wedgwood with a view to eliciting information with regard to the white men imprisoned in India for trade union or political activities. The Colonel had in mind the cases of Mr. Stokes, the American, and Mr. Miller, the Organising Sec. of the All-India Trades Union Congress and of the North-Western Railway Worker's Union. He wanted to know the name of the "illegal organisation" for belonging to which the latter had been sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment. The answer on this point was to the effect that Miller received his sentence not for belonging to an illegal organisation, but for being a member of an "unlawful assembly". As regards the treatment of European prisoners in jail, the Under Secretary stated that they were always confined in separate quarters, and there were separate rules for their treatment.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

In a further question Colonel Wedgwood suggested to the Under-Secretary that he should obtain information as to why Lala Lajpat Rai and other political prisoners at Lahore declined to take advantage of the better treatment and food granted to and accepted by political prisoners in other Indian Jails. Lord Winterton put on a supercilious air in regard to this question. He said he did not consider that there was any public interest to be served by inquiring as to the reasons why a particular convict declined a concession.

The I. C. S. Hagglings Again.

On 23rd May numerous questions were again put on behalf of the I. C. S. men by the three knights, Sir Charles Yates, Sir J. D. Rees, and Sir W. Davison, all eager to increase the pensions or otherwise to improve the terms upon which these unhappy officials are to be allowed to quit their posts!

Sir Charles Yate said that these men were being badly treated as compared with officials of the late British Government in Ireland! Lord Winterton pointed out that the circumstances were different. The Secretary of State, he said, was not prepared to revise the scales of pension offered which are in fact more liberal than is justified according to a strict proportion of length of service.

On another point, Lord Winterton stated that the proportion of Indians in the Civil Service in 1921 was 13 per cent. and since



Difficulty in Getting Recruits

There is no doubt at all that because of the sense of disturbance and disquietitude which recent events have created in India, a difficulty has been experienced in obtaining recruits for the Indian Civil Service. I do not think there is much in the difficulty as regards medical men or at least it is a different kind of difficulty. The difficulty in regard to the medical men, a difficulty which is experienced even here, and you certainly cannot get them in the Colonies, is due to war. When the war came young men were drafted into the Army just at time when they should have been undergoing training and the result is that there is a great gap which it will take some years to fill up. I am partly responsible in another way because the Insurance Act has increased the demand for doctors, and what was supposed on the part of the medical profession to have been a great conspiracy and was denounced as much, has turned out to be a real blessing and encouragement to students to persevere in their studies. At any rate there is a shortage here. There is a shortage in the Colonies and naturally there is a shortage in India as well. But when you come to the British Civil Service and the Police in India the difficulty there is in a different category. That is undoubtedly due to the fear that there is going to be a change to their detriment and a change which will prejudicially affect their status. There are sentences like that quoted by my honourable Friend, Member for Twickenham (Sir William Joynton Hicks) and I say at once that I am rather sorry that statement was made. It is a sentence which, taken away from its context and read by parents, would have the effect of discouraging them from sending their children to the Indian Civil Service. I think it is discouraging that this sentence should be uttered at a moment when a great difficulty is being experienced in getting recruits.

Concessions to the Services

I hope when it is thoroughly realised that there is no idea of winding up the British Civil Service and that we consider it not merely as an integral part of the system but as essential to the very life of the system and that in spirit we will consider everything that affects the conditions in the service. I hope it will be an encouragement to young men once more to turn their attention to this very great career which not merely redounds to their own glory but undoubtedly to the glory of their fatherland and make its name great throughout the nations, because that is the record of the Indian Civil Service. All these questions we are considering very carefully. Questions which have been put by my two honourable friends—the questions of pay, no doubt—they have been hit



led by the sudden increase in the cost of living attributable to war. There has been a reduction and that reduction is a still progressive one. There is also the question of passages to Europe which as a whole have been during the last few years inflated. I think in the course of a year or two or three there must be reduction upon these very high charges on people who have only got their pay to draw upon to keep themselves and their families. It will come about. But I will promise to go into that matter and as a matter of fact my noble Friends, the Secretary of State and the Under-Secretary are both considering that matter very carefully. It is right they should do so, because it is essential that young men should not be discouraged from entering the service. There is no doubt at all that the setting up of a legislature has forced us to consider good many other questions in reference to the Indian Governments. I marvel when I consider the kind of work which is done not merely by Indian Civil Servants but by Indian Councillors.

They are practically the Cabinet Ministers of India with enormous responsibilities of every kind. They have no Under-Secretaries and their numbers are very few. The number of British members is only four and they have no private Secretaries.

John Marriot : Are there no Cabinet Secretaries ?

Premier : That is exactly the sort of Government my hon'ble Friend would like. That shows how little he knows about India. If he had the advantage of having a discussion with one of the members of the Council he would realise what a need there was of a Cabinet Secretariat. It is absolutely impossible for them to discharge the duties they have now got in addition to the task which they had before. They have to answer questions and to take part in the discussions. The Indian representatives are showing considerable activity following the example of members in other parts of the Empire, and giving as much trouble as they can which is quite right. That precedent is followed in India with the result that it is quite impossible for the very few ministers that are there who practically are Cabinet Ministers to discharge their functions without some assistance. Now that is one of the questions which we have to consider. The difficulties in India are increasing. They are bound to increase with the spread of education, with the greater knowledge in India of what is going on outside, with the influence which comes from great movements from every other part of the world surging on the frontiers of India and sending a thrill of disquietitude throughout the whole of the country. That has come and to a certain extent, it will continue to come.



CSL

Debate on the Punjab Tragedy

HOUSE OF LORDS—24TH MAY 1922

In the House of Lords on May 24th. 1922 Lord Sydenham raked up the old controversy on the Punjab horrors of 1919 in order to secure 'justice' to two of the censured Punjab officers. In the debate that followed the Ex-Viceroy Lord Chelmsford, the author of Martial Law in the Punjab, made a lengthy statement which is reproduced below.

Lord Sydenham asked the Secretary of State for India.—

1. Whether the Military and civil officers in charge at Kasur at the time of the Punjab rebellion—Lieutenant-Colonel MacRae, I. A., and Mr. Marsden, I. C. S.,—were censured for "improper and injudicious" conduct *by direction* of the late Secretary of State, by which their careers have been seriously prejudiced. 2. Whether their alleged offence was to order three strokes of the cane to three boys from each of two large schools, the pupils of which had formed part of a violent mob that killed two British warrant officers, wounded several British officers and men, attacked an English lady with her children, and burned the railway station, law courts, and post office. 3. Whether, beyond being examined as witnesses by the Hunter Committee, these officers were ever allowed to offer any defence of their action. 4. And whether, as no condemnation of that action was forthcoming in the Report of the Hunter Committee, while the minority Report recorded the incident inaccurately, the grave injustice accorded to these officers will not be redressed.

Viscount Chelmsford spoke as follows: My Lords, those personal issues are always difficult to deal with across the floor of the House. Your Lordships will naturally and inevitably have sympathy with officers whose actions, done in perfect good faith, have had to be reprobated by the supreme Government. But while Your Lordships have sympathy with these officers, I am sure I can count upon your having consideration for the position of those who are in authority and to deal with the case. In the first place, we had a disagreeable, a distasteful, and a difficult duty to discharge. It was impossible for us to refuse to express an opinion on matters which were disclosed in a public document which had been drawn up at our request—I refer to the Hunter Committee's Report—and I hope to be able to show Your Lordships that it

It would be difficult to contend that the Government of India could have come to any other than the decision they came to.

I want now, to come to the questions seriatim which the noble Lord has addressed to my noble friend, the Secretary of State for India. I will deal with the first one. I take full and undivided responsibility for the action in this case. The late Secretary of State for India gave no directions whatever to the Government of India with regard to what we were to do as a result of the Hunter Committee's Report; and I strongly suspect that the late Secretary of State for India was unaware of what decision we had come to until we ourselves had informed him from India. I think that disposes of the question which Lord Sydenham has asked, as to whether those officers were censured by direction of the late Secretary of State to the serious prejudice of their careers.

An Insinuating Question

I come to the second question, and, if your Lordships will look at it, I think you will realise that it has been couched in terms of prejudice. What I mean by terms of prejudice is this. It has been put in such a way as to make it appear as though after these very serious outrages at Kasur this slight punishment was the only action taken for the punishment of those who were guilty of those outrages. May I tell your Lordships straightway, as regards the outrages at Kasur—I speak without the book, because I have not got the exact details—that to the best of my recollection there were six or more men executed in respect of the murder and murderous assaults. (Viscount Peel:—I will give the figures.)

That will relieve me greatly. There were many imprisoned and, as a matter of fact, some boys who were found guilty of taking part in these outrages were arrested and were sentenced. To continue the story, with regard to this particular school, there were difficulties in this school, and the headmaster said that he was not able to manage the school. Then it was suggested by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Marsden I think, to Colonel Mac. Rae, who was in charge of Marial law in that district, that certain boys should be picked out for punishment. The evidence of Colonel MacRae, was as follows:—

"Q.—Then on the 18th some schoolboys were flogged, and you gave directions that the biggest six boys were to be selected for that purpose? A.—I said, 'Generally speaking, take the six biggest.' The misfortune was that they happened to be big.

"Q.—It was irrespective of whether they were innocent or guilty; because they were big they had to suffer? A.—Yes.

"Q.—Do you think that is a reasonable thing to do?

A.—Yes, I think so, under certain conditions.

"Q.—It was a mere accident that a boy being big should invite

on himself/punishment? A.—It was his misfortune. Q.—His misfortune was that he was big? A.—Yes.

When we had this case before us on the Commission's Report we took no exception as a Government to the fact that punishment was inflicted, but what we had to consider as a Government was whether we should, as a Government, say that vicarious punishment, arbitrary selection of certain boys irrespective of whether they were innocent or guilty, was a thing upon which we could express opinion, we informed the officers that we thought their action was improper.

I notice that the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham, has quoted in his question the words "improper and injudicious." I am not sure whether it was. I noticed that the Lord Privy Seal, in another place referred to some of these actions as ill-advised. Whether they were improper, or injudicious, or ill-advised—I do not know what epithet you are to apply to vicarious punishment—I should like to say that no other penalty was imposed at all on these officers. We merely told them, as a matter of course, that we thought the action they had taken was improper. When you put yourselves in the position of a superior authority, I doubt whether it can be seriously contended that the method of vicarious punishment can ever be right or wise, and if it is wrong I do not think that the epithets which have been applied to it were really misapplied.

Now, may I say a word on the third question of the noble Lord which really deals with the procedure which was adopted in the case? I must frankly state at the outset that I am unable, of course, to trace this case from the very beginning; I can only speak of my own knowledge when it appeared before me. But the ordinary procedure in a case like this would be that all the reports and all the documents in the case would be examined in the Home Department. The head of the Home Department would then make a recommendation upon the action that he thought should be taken in the case. Now I can say that I assume that was the case. As to whether those officers were seen or not in the Home Department, I cannot tell Your Lordships of my own knowledge; I can only say that all the reports—their reports probably—and documents in the case would have been examined in the Department. Then the Home Member would make his recommendation, and that would come up to the Viceroy and the Viceroy would order—as I ordered then—that the recommendation with all the papers should be circulated to the different members of Government. Then they would have an opportunity, each one of them, of expressing their opinion upon the case.

When that procedure had been completed we should take the case in Council. I recollect very well that these cases were very

carefully considered in full Council and at great length. When we came to a decision, that decision was communicated to the local Government in the case of Mr. Marsden, and to the Commander-in-Chief, who would communicate the decision of the Government, in the case of Lieut Colonel Mac Rae, to that officer. Looking back at some of the papers I have, I note that the decisions in these cases were not made public until February 19, 1921—last year. I am positive that we came to a decision in this case in the previous year, and probably fairly early in the autumn, for this reason, that I know they were adjudicated upon by Sir George Lowndes who was then my Law Member, and he left on December 31.

As soon as the decisions in the cases were communicated to the officers in question it was open to them at once, long before any publication was made, to appeal to the Government. They could have appealed either to the Governor-General in Council, in which case we should certainly have heard them; and if they had appealed to the Governor-General in Council and had not received satisfaction, they would have had their personal appeal to me. As regards the first course, though I cannot charge my memory with it, I am not aware that they even appealed to the Governor-General in Council. I cannot charge my memory with that at all, but I am absolutely positive that they made no personal appeal to me. And I can say for myself that during my five years of office as Viceroy I never refused a single application, on the part of any officer who thought he was aggrieved in any matter, for a personal interview with me, and I should have been only too delighted had these officers asked to see me personally.

Those personal interviews are not always pleasant; in fact very often they are the reverse of pleasant; but I always felt that whether one was able to give a decision which pleased the officer or displeased him, he always has a certain amount of satisfaction in having been able to get to the head of the Government of India and have a personal talk over his grievance. Therefore, I can say with regard to my own personal action that I am positive that no appeal was ever made to have an interview with me personally. The truth is that in this case there is really no dispute as to the facts. It is not the punishment that was objected to but the method of that punishment and I have never heard it disputed that this particular method was adopted; so that the facts are not in dispute.

Importance of the Minority Report

Now let me come to the last question asked by the noble Lord. It is in these terms:

"And whether, as no condemnation of that action was forthcoming in the Report of the Hunter Committee, while the Minority

Report recorded the incident inaccurately, the grave injustice recorded to these officers will now be redressed."

It is perfectly true that there was no specific mention of this case by the Majority Report of the Hunter Committee. It was mentioned only in the Minority Report. But is it seriously contended that when a Government has instructed a Committee or a Commission to report to it, it is to look solely at the majority Report and to pay no attention to the minority Report? I think the noble Lord who has asked this question is not always in the majority in his opinions in this House, and I am sure he would be the last to protest if his views in the minority were not given the weight which attaches to them, by the the Government of the day, to which his remarks had been addressed.

Apart from that, I would like to say that it is true that the majority did not mention this specific case, but they did make some very trenchant remarks on flogging generally in the Punjab. May I read their findings on that subject to your Lordships?

"The impression made upon our minds by the evidence is that there were too many sentences of flogging pronounced. From an examination of the cases of flogging inflicted for breaches of Martial Law orders it appears that the punishment of whipping was regarded as probably the most efficacious and convenient method of summarily dealing with most minor breaches of the Martial Law regulations."

Then they proceed to give instances, and conclude :—

"In view of the strong feeling in India against corporal punishment, we think it would be advisable that some restriction should be imposed on the discretion of area officers in giving sentences of whipping."

So that they did express their view strongly on the general policy of whipping which had been resorted to.

What are the inaccuracies of which the noble Lord complains in the Minority Report? In the Minority Report it is said that six boys were sentenced to six strokes each. As a matter of fact, what happened was that three boys were sentenced to six strokes and three boys were sentenced to three strokes. That is the inaccuracy on which, I presume, the noble Lord lays some stress. I will not trouble Your Lordships any further with regard to this case. The noble Lord has asked that justice should be done, and I do not for one moment suggest that if an injustice has been done it should not be remedied and remedied at once, and if my noble friend the Secretary of State for India thinks that an injustice has been done, I shall be only too pleased for him to direct that it shall be rectified. I appear at this table this afternoon not to make a case against these



of officers, but to endeavour to put before Your Lordships the position of the Government of India when it was face to face with this particular Report of the Hunter Commission. I hope I have put it temperately and fairly. I certainly have no wish in any way to make the worse appear the better cause.

The Secretary of State for India (Viscount Peel) : My Lords, it is seldom that we have in this House the advantage of hearing so full and clear a statement as that to which we have just listened, from a high official like an ex-Viceroy of India, who took so responsible a part in the events to which my noble friend, Lord Sydenham, has alluded. His reply really renders it unnecessary for me to be so full as I otherwise might have been, in giving an account in answer to the facts of the case. He has spoken not only with an authority but also with a knowledge with which I am unable to speak on this subject.

These questions refer to matters three years old in India, and to facts and details many of which are not within the knowledge of the India Office itself and could only be acquired after some research by the Indian Government itself. I think it is fair to the officer to say at the outset that I was able to see for a few minutes Mr. Marsden himself. It might have been thought that an aggrieved officer was anxious that his case should be brought before Your Lordship's House, and I have his direct authority for saying, because I asked him, that he had no part whatever in urging that this matter should be brought before your Lordship's House. I think it fair to say, in justice to him, that the whole responsibility as to whether this action is considered wise or unwise by your Lordships will rest on the noble Lord who has introduced the subject here.

I think the best thing that I can do is to answer carefully and categorically the specific points raised in the questions by the noble Lord. First, as to the censure "for 'improper, injudicious' conduct by direction of the late Secretary of State by which their careers have been seriously prejudiced," I ought to give the House the actual words of censure which were passed upon these officers. There is, first of all, Mr. Marsden—

"The Government of India have asked the Local Government to inform this officer that his action was improper, and that the Government of India disapprove of it."

The same words were used to Colonel Mac Rae through His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The inference drawn by the noble Lord in his Question is: "by which their careers have been seriously prejudiced." I should like to give the most emphatic denial to that statement. The noble Lord himself is the sole author

of the doctrine that the careers of these officers have been "seriously prejudiced" by this action. I should like to say emphatically that that is not so. I think it rather unfortunate that a statement of that kind should have appeared on the Paper, because it might suggest to those who know the authority with which the noble Lord speaks on this subject that there was something in this statement. I should like, therefore, to give your Lordships, an official statement that was communicated to Mr. Marsden from the Government of India in which, among other statements, these words were used.—

"The Government of India are quite prepared to concede that the work done by Mr. Marsden at Kasur during the disturbances and their sequel, taken as whole, was praiseworthy, and entitled to share in the general encomium passed on the work of civil officers in a paragraph of their Despatch."

Your Lordships will see that though it would appear by this question that all that happened to this officer for his action in this disturbance was that he was censured, the real fact is that the Government of India exercised great discrimination and gave him a full and wide approval for much of the action that he took in these difficult circumstances. Moreover, the final words of the statements are:—

"I am to request that Mr. Marsden may be informed of the views of the Government of India, and assured that in so far as his future career in India is concerned, his general record will be taken into account, and not this particular incident alone."

I think I am quite justified in saying that it is very hard indeed of the noble Lord to suggest, after the statements and communications that have been made to this officer, that his career is seriously prejudiced.

The next point is as to the alleged offence. Two points made by my noble friend, Lord Chelmsford, render it unnecessary for me to say anything. The first is an alleged inaccuracy in the Minority Report which has been, according to my information, quite accurately stated by the noble Viscount, Lord Chelmsford. I may say that exactly the same criticism as was made by him suggested itself to my mind. I am sure the inference to be drawn was not intended by the noble Lord, but anybody who was ignorant of the situation would draw the inference that these very grievous actions had been taken by this mob and that practically the only punishment accorded was six strokes with the cane to these different boys. Though not intended, that certainly was the impression that came into my mind. I do not want to give the figures, but I think it is important to assure your Lordships that, on the contrary, very grave action and very severe punishment indeed was meted out to the authors of these particular outrages.

fact, no fewer than twenty-six persons were sentenced to death and seventeen to transportation for life and eleven of these persons were actually hanged for their share in these operations!

Again, there is I understand, evidence that the boys in these schools joined with this mob; yet, I should like to correct another inference that might be drawn from the particular form in which this question is asked. My information is that the punishment awarded to these boys had no connection with outrages committed by boys or by the school, in conjunction with these mobs, but, as the noble Viscount has related—and I think the noble Lord told us—the place was put under Martial Law, and the request was made by the headmaster to deal with his school because the boys were out of hand. These two subjects ought, therefore, to be disconnected in the minds of your Lordships in considering this point.

As to the question about being examined as witnesses, it has been stated that action was taken on the Minority Report of the Hunter Committee. That was not so. These officers had an opportunity and did give oral evidence before the Committee, as well as making written statements. But the actual points of procedure are of less importance because there is no dispute as to the action taken, and any sort of inquiry could only elicit again precisely the same facts as were elicited by this Inquiry. There is an admission by both sides that the facts are proved.

The last question of the noble Lord is whether "the grave injustice accorded to these officers will now be redressed." The noble Viscount Chelmsford has clearly stated what particular issue is involved in these cases. I have stated the position of these officers, and how their action was regarded by the Government of India, but I am certain what course I am asked to adopt by Lord Sydenham. Really, there is only one course he would wish me to take, and that is for the Secretary of State, in spite of the facts and in spite of the question of vicarious punishment, to announce, three years after these events, that he disapproves of the action of the Government of India, and that the action of these officers were proper and judicious. That is a statement which, I think, your Lordships will hardly expect me to make.

Reference has been made to a communication made this morning to the Government of India by an official. I do not know whether there are any new facts, but my intention is to find out by inquiry from India what steps have been taken. On the facts stated I think it would be impossible for anyone, anxious as they may be to do justice to officers in India, to reverse the decision of the Government of India arrived at three years ago when they were in full possession of all the facts.



CSL

The Imperial Conference

LONDON—20TH JUNE TO 5TH AUGUST 1921

The Imperial Conference of 1921, an offshoot of the War Cabinet of the previous years, was the last great meeting of the Premiers of the United Kingdom and the British Dominions met to discuss inter-Imperial questions affecting the welfare and homogeneity of the whole British Commonwealth. In the 1917 War Conference it was solemnly given out that the British Commonwealth should consist of autonomous states, and after the war the new conditions made most of the Dominions too restive to remain under the thumb of the Mother country. It was to solve this question that the Imperial paraver was assembled. Mr. Sastri and the Maharao of Kutch were the Indian representatives. Too much was made of India's representation at the time but the true significance of the Conference, as a *Times* correspondent said, lay in the fact that "it will attempt, for the first time in history, to frame a foreign policy for the Commonwealth, and to decide how and to what extent the United Kingdom and the Dominions will share the burden of Imperial Defence."

The Conference was opened by the Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, on June 20th at Downing Street and lasted till the 5th August. The proceedings were held in camera; the press was excluded and only official reports were issued from time to time. In his opening speech the Premier, in referring to India, said :—

"India's achievements were also very great. Her soldiers lie with ours in all the theatres of war, and no Britisher can ever forget the gallantry and promptitude with which she sprang forward to the King Emperor's service when war was declared. That is no small tribute both to India and to the Empire, of which India is a part. The causes of the war were unknown to India; its theatre in Europe was remote. Yet India stood by her allegiance heart and soul, from the first call to arms, and some of her soldiers are still serving far from their homes and families in the common cause. India's loyalty in that great crisis is eloquent to me of the Empire's success in bringing the civilizations of East and West, in reconciling wide differences of history, of tradition and of race, and in bringing the spirit and the genius of a great Asiatic people into willing co-operation with our own. Important changes have been effected in India this year and India is making rapid strides towards the control of her own affairs. She had also proved her right to a new status in our councils; that status she gained during the War and she has maintained it during the Peace, and I welcome the represen-



THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

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of India to our great Council of the Empire to-day. We shall, I feel sure, gain much by the fact that her sentiments and her interests will be interpreted to us here by her own representatives.

"The British Empire is a saving factor in a very distracted world. It is the most hopeful experiment in human organization which the world has yet seen. It is not so much that it combines men of many races, tongues, traditions and creeds in one system of government. Other Empires have done that, but the British Empire differs from all in one essential respect. It is based not on force but on good will and a common understanding. Liberty is its binding principle. Where that principle has not hitherto been applied it is gradually being introduced into the structure.....

"It is that willing and free association of many nations and peoples which this Conference represents. Think of what we stand for in this room to day. First of all the long political development of the British Isles, with all its splendours and its pains, the crucible from which the frame-work of the whole great structure has emerged. Canada, British and French; South Africa, British and Dutch—both now great Dominions whose unity is due to the free and willing combination of two proud races in a single nationhood; Australia and New Zealand, British civilizations both, but planted and developed with a genius of their own by the sheer enterprise and gift of their peoples in the farthest antipodes; India, a mighty civilization, whose rulers were known and respected throughout the Western world before the first English post was planted on Indian soil.....

"Side by side with these lie the wonderful varied colonies and protectorates in their different stages of development, which the Secretary of State for the Colonies is here to represent. In all the marvellous achievement of our peoples which this gathering reflects, I am most deeply impressed by the blending of East and West—India with her far-descended culture and her intensely varied types, so different from ours, present in this room to concert a common policy with us in the world's affairs, and to harmonize, as we hope, still more completely her civilization and ours. It is our duty here to present the ideals of this great association of peoples in willing loyalty to one Sovereign, to take counsel together with the progress and welfare of all, and to keep our strength, both moral and material, a united power for justice, liberty, and peace."

Next day, June 21, speeches were made by the Dominion Premiers and the opening statement on behalf of India was made by Mr. Sastri in which he drew the attention of the conference for the first time to the status of Indians in the Empire.



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India in the Dominions & Abroad 1921-22



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INDIA IN THE

Imperial Conference 1921

League of Nations Assembly 1921-22

International Labour Conference 1921-22

East African (Kenya) Colony 1921-22

British Dominions 1921-22



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Mr. Sastri at the Imperial Conference

LONDON, JUNE 21ST. 1921

Addressing the Imperial Conference Mr. Sastri said in his memorable speech on June 21st :—

The Premier strikingly alluded to generous enthusiasms and noble ideals for humanity which the war had kindled everywhere. Mr. Sastri assured them that India was actuated by these enthusiasms and ideals in the same measure as other parts of the Empire. Indians realised that the British Empire was the most fitting exponent of these enthusiasms and ideals and it was India's peculiar good fortune to remain within the British Empire and take part in the work for the realisation of these noble aims and purposes. The Princes, for whom his friend the Maharao of Cutch would speak, and peoples of India, whom it was his privilege to represent, sent their hearty allegiance to the Central Council. India had contributed to conduct the recent war and had sent supplies of wheat making dangerous inroads on her own scanty stocks. India had made munitions for soldiers to use on battlefields and had made money contributions out of her poverty. In addition she had sent 1, 274,000 men or over half of the total overseas forces employed in the war. He expressed India's gratitude for the Premier's handsome acknowledgment of these contributions. He said that the Maharao and he considered it a privilege to sit at a table where history was made, and personally, not being in the service of Government and never having shared in the administration of public affairs, he considered it his particular good fortune to sit alongside statesmen who for generations had moulded the destinies and fashioned the fortunes of their kind. But the Maharao of Cutch and he could not fail to remember that their position there was by no means comparable with the position of their colleagues from the Dominions. The latter had been called there by virtue of being Prime Ministers, whereas the Indian representatives came by nomination of their Government. Indian representatives realised that there was marked difference in their status although not in the privileges to which they had been admitted at these meetings, but they hoped that next year, or the year after, their successors would come by a better right. The person who represented, in place of Cutch, over one-third of the British territory in India would

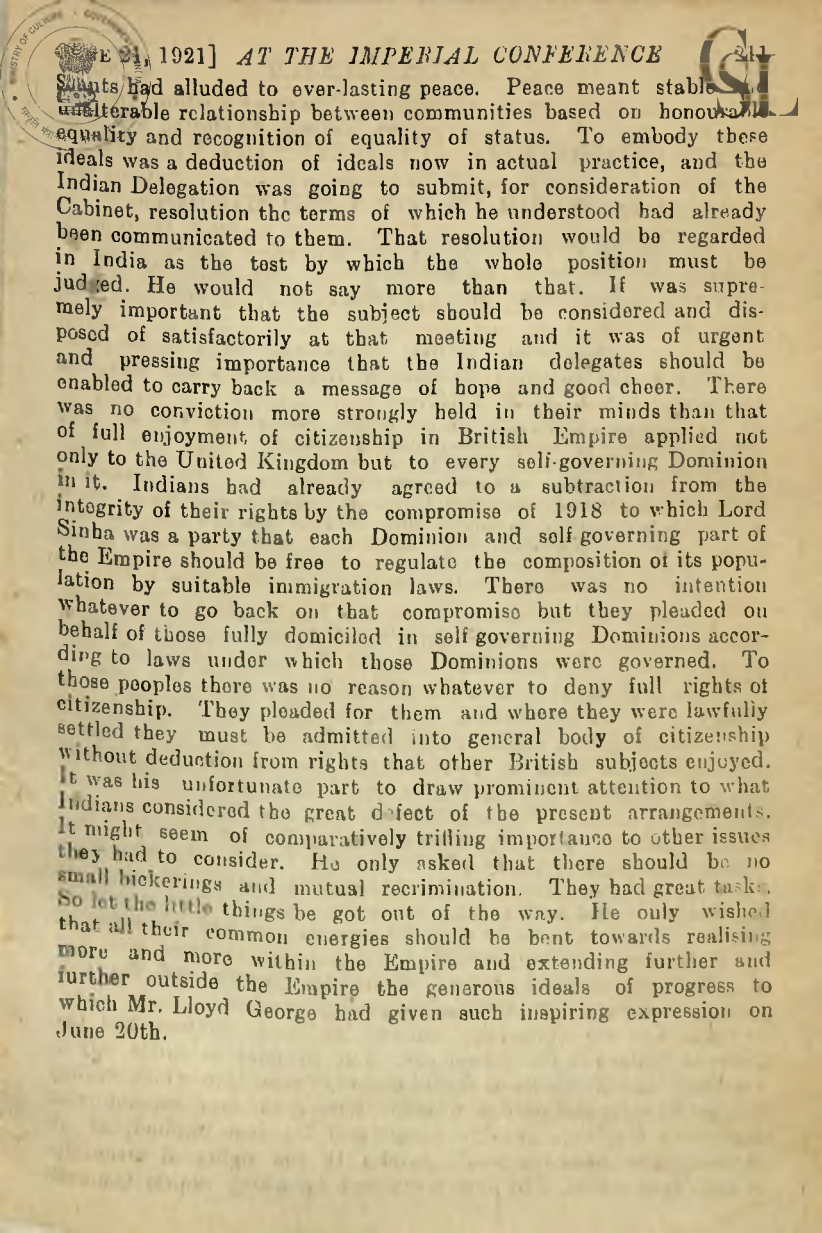
probably be chosen by the Chamber of Princes by election, and the man who replaced Mr. Sastri might likewise be elected by the Central Legislature of India.

India had not yet acquired full Dominion status, but Indians realised that they were planted firmly on the road to acquisition of it. The Government of India Act of 1919 formed a great land mark in the growth of the Indian constitution and there was nothing in India's previous history with which it was comparable in importance or magnitude. The Chamber of Princes which was going to play a great part in the evolution of India did not form an integral part within the law of the Indian constitution. The constitution proper of British India which was inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught recently showed a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the Empire second to none of the Parliaments of the Empire, and the New Council of India had worked better than had been expected under the wise and sleepless watch of Mr. Montagu. The political reforms just started in India were doing great work in placing India alongside other parts of the British Empire. He must say they had their troubles. Non co-operation had only to be mentioned to give an idea of the perils in which Indians had to live. He was happy to say that Lord Reading might be trusted fully, as recent experience had proved, to deal with this great danger.

Mr. Sastri then proceeded to allude to two topics of high domestic importance; the first was one in which the deepest feelings of his Mahomedan fellow-countrymen were engaged. He would not say much on that point as all the issues were at present fully vivid in their minds. On the Maharao of Cutch and himself who were Hindus there rested the very peculiar duty of voicing the feelings of their Moslem fellow-subjects on this occasion.

He would only venture to remark that in the arrangement that might be made for the future of the Turkish Empire the statesmen of the United Kingdom must remember that they must show as much chivalry and tenderness as might be expected from a mighty victor. He had no manner of doubt that they would be actuated by considerations which were always present to those who had inherited the great traditions of British prowess and the still greater traditions of British sportsmanship.

Another very important subject he must mention was the status of Indians in the Dominions. The Premier in noble words described British Empire as confederation of races into which willing and free peoples had been admitted. Willing and free consent was incongruous with inequality of races; and freedom implied, as of necessity, the admission of all peoples to the rights of citizenship without reservation. In impressive and far-seeing words General



Stants had alluded to ever-lasting peace. Peace meant stable and unalterable relationship between communities based on honourable equality and recognition of equality of status. To embody these ideals was a deduction of ideals now in actual practice, and the Indian Delegation was going to submit, for consideration of the Cabinet, resolution the terms of which he understood had already been communicated to them. That resolution would be regarded in India as the test by which the whole position must be judged. He would not say more than that. It was supremely important that the subject should be considered and disposed of satisfactorily at that meeting and it was of urgent and pressing importance that the Indian delegates should be enabled to carry back a message of hope and good cheer. There was no conviction more strongly held in their minds than that of full enjoyment of citizenship in British Empire applied not only to the United Kingdom but to every self-governing Dominion in it. Indians had already agreed to a subtraction from the integrity of their rights by the compromise of 1918 to which Lord Sinha was a party that each Dominion and self-governing part of the Empire should be free to regulate the composition of its population by suitable immigration laws. There was no intention whatever to go back on that compromise but they pleaded on behalf of those fully domiciled in self governing Dominions according to laws under which those Dominions were governed. To those peoples there was no reason whatever to deny full rights of citizenship. They pleaded for them and where they were lawfully settled they must be admitted into general body of citizenship without deduction from rights that other British subjects enjoyed. It was his unfortunate part to draw prominent attention to what Indians considered the great defect of the present arrangements. It might seem of comparatively trifling importance to other issues they had to consider. He only asked that there should be no small bickerings and mutual recrimination. They had great tasks. So let the little things be got out of the way. He only wished that all their common energies should be bent towards realising more and more within the Empire and extending further and further outside the Empire the generous ideals of progress to which Mr. Lloyd George had given such inspiring expression on June 20th.



CSL

Government of India Memorandum On India in the Dominions

The Indian Representatives submitted to the Imperial Conference the following memorandum of the Government of India setting forth their views on the position of Indians in the Dominions.

The results of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 were embodied in the so-called Reciprocity Resolution which provided as follows : (*See I. A. R. 1919*).—

(1) That each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, (2) that facilities should be given for visits and temporary residents except for labor purposes, (3) that Indians already domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children provided that not more than one wife and her children should be admitted for each Indian. (4) that the removal of the disabilities to which Indians already residing in other parts of the Empire were subjected should be given early consideration.

From the Indian point of view the fourth provision was the most important. India was willing to admit into India any citizen of the British Commonwealth. She did not desire to exercise her reciprocal right of exclusion. India again imposed no disabilities on any citizen of the British Commonwealth. She hoped that a reciprocal obligation would be recognised by the other communities. By waiving her claim to a free entry into the Dominions, India hoped to secure a fair treatment for Indians who were already domiciled there. For example, as regards South Africa such expectations were raised by General Smuts himself, when he said at the Conference of 1917:

I feel sure and I have always felt sure that, once the White community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary and would become easily and perfectly soluble.

The readiness and good will shown by Canada and Australia in taking steps to carry out the reciprocity resolution under heads (2) and (3) are gratefully acknowledged. In Newzealand and Newfoundland the Indians are subjected to no disabilities. It is regretted that Newzealand should recently have found it necessary to pass an Immigration Act which may be used to restrict further Indian immigration, but it is recognised that such restrictions are within the terms of the resolution of 1918 and in passing the Act Newzealand has shown a scrupulous anxiety to respect the

obligations imposed by the resolution. The number of Indians already domiciled in Canada, Australia and Newzealand are comparatively small. The heading (4) of the reciprocity resolution had reference mainly to the disabilities suffered by the Indians domiciled in South Africa. In South Africa no steps have been taken to remove it in any way or to alleviate the disabilities which were enumerated in the memorandum presented to India at the Conference of 1918. On the contrary the old Transvaal Law of 1885, the repeal of which was then pressed, has been re-enacted by the Union Parliament in a more stringent form so as to prevent the indirect ownership of fixed property by the Indians. The difficulties of the Union Government are recognised, but it has created a painful impression in India that this provision in the Bill, which was passed as Act 37 of 1919, should have been originally due to the initiative of the Minister of the Interior who moved that the alleged evasion of law III of 1885 should be included in the enquiry of the Select Committee which was appointed in March 1919. It has been found difficult to reconcile this action with the assurance given by the representative of South Africa at the 1918 Conference that the repeal of law III of 1885 would be sympathetically considered by the Union Government. The anti-Indian agitation in South Africa which had subsided during the War has in the past two years been revived and sedulously organised by an Association known as the South African League. The avowed object of this agitation is to repress the Indian settler by every possible means, to restrict his trading, to prevent him from acquiring fixed property, to segregate him and, if possible, to drive him out of the country. The Commission appointed last year by the Union Government, which has recently reported, has found that the so-called Asiatic menace has been greatly exaggerated. Notwithstanding this the Commission has not recommended any relaxation of the existing restrictive laws and by a majority has recommended that new restrictions should be imposed on the acquisition of land by Indians in Natal. Now the Government of India desire strongly to impress upon the Imperial Cabinet how unfortunately an anti-Indian policy in any part of the Empire reacts in India itself. The national consciousness of India has been quickened by the part she played in the war, of the New India which has emerged as the result of the War and of the Peace Conference, by her position as an original member of the League of Nations, and by the advance which she has made in the past few months towards complete Self-Government. It is a bitter reflection that the British Indians can be subjected within the British Empire to disabilities from which they would be protected in a foreign country by treaty rights or by

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the active intervention of His Majesty's Government. For example, the position of Indians in Portuguese East Africa is contrary to their position in the adjoining province of the Union. The Indian cannot understand why the representatives of his Government should carry less weight with the Government of a dominion than with that of a foreign Power. It is the desire of India to remain a partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, but her own self-respect demands that the partnership should be equal. She cannot be expected to acquiesce in a position of permanent inferiority. The essential conditions of equal partnership are the admission of British Indians to the full rights of citizenship in whatever part of the Empire they are domiciled. It is believed that the only final solution of the controversy which has for so long embittered the relations between India and other parts of the Empire will be found on these lines. The communities of British Indians legally domiciled in the Dominions would then be enabled to safeguard their own interests. But so long as any such community is not assimilated into the political and economic body of its country of domicile and, therefore, has no certain means of securing the remedy of its grievances from the Government of that country there can be no termination to this undesirable contention between the different partners in the same Commonwealth of Nations. On the other hand, in New Zealand and in the Cape Province of the Union (where the Cecil Rhodes policy of equal rights for every civilised man still prevails), there is no Indian question in the sense in which it continually presents itself in countries where the Indians do not possess the full citizens' ordinary means of representing his views and interests. The Government of India have already admitted the right of each Dominion to impose such restrictions on immigration as may be necessary to secure the composition of its population on its own lines, but they must claim for the Indians, already domiciled in any Dominion, the full rights of British citizenship. This involves changes in the existing laws of the Dominions which can only be brought about with the consent of a majority of the electorates, a process which necessarily takes time, but the longer the delay in consummating these changes the more the solidarity of the Empire is weakened, and the Government of India, therefore, wish to emphasise this point of view and would submit the resolution appended to this memorandum as embodying the case of India for this session of the Imperial Cabinet. But equal partnership must also be based on mutual respect implying mutual understanding. It is believed that the present estrangement is largely due to ignorance on both sides. It is an unfortunate fact that the Indian, with whom the other communities have chiefly come in contact, has been the indentured laborer. A better understand-

ing is difficult when, as in South Africa, the coolie is a synonym for the Indian. It is fair to India to say that indentured emigration has for many years been abhorrent to her. It is perhaps scarcely fair to India that a country which deliberately imported cheap Indian labor should protest that the Indian, by reason of his low standard of living, is an economic menace. However that may be, indentured emigration has now, by the efforts of India, been ended. Mutual intercourse between the educated classes should be encouraged. In this and the following paragraphs certain definite suggestions are submitted for the consideration of the Imperial Cabinet. The resolution of 1918 provided for admission on reciprocal foundations for visits or temporary residence, but it is urged that something more is now required than the mere grant of facilities which in practice may be neutralised by irksome delays and formalities. It should be easy for an educated Indian to go to another part of the Empire for a visit or temporary residence as it is for any other British subject. Further than this it is suggested that intercourse between India and other parts of the Empire should be actively encouraged. The free admission of the Indian students to Universities in the Dominions was discussed at the last Conference and the interest which Australia has taken in this question is gratefully acknowledged. Other avenues of reapproachment may be suggested. It is believed, for instance, that the interchange of Parliamentary Deputations, visits of Press Delegates, or Chambers of Commerce would be productive of great good.

While the right of each community to control the composition of its own population is fully recognised, it is hoped that with fuller knowledge the Dominions would not consider it incompatible with the development of their own civilisations to remove all obstacles in the way of the entry of educated Indians, especially those belonging to the professional classes. In the event of a satisfactory solution of the very important question raised in this memorandum not being found at the meeting of the Imperial Cabinet, it might be considered whether the subject might not be further discussed at Delhi at a meeting of the representatives of the Dominions chiefly concerned and of India. The Government of India have already pointed out that the failure to solve this question on wise and statesmanlike lines may be attended with disastrous consequences to the solidarity of the Empire, and it is for this reason that they make the suggestion. They believe that a meeting such as they have suggested, held in India during the session of the Indian Legislature, might have most valuable results. Nothing but good could result from a visit to India, as the guests of India, of accredited representatives of the Dominions. It would enable the Indians in

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General and the members of the Legislature in particular to appreciate the Dominions' point. On the other hand, the opportunity thus afforded to these representatives of watching the Indian Legislature at work and of a frank interchange of views with the members of that Legislature would, the Government of India are confident, go far towards removing the misunderstanding and misconceptions which have so largely contributed to the unfortunate position into which a vital problem has been allowed to drift. At the same time, it is hoped that the Governments of the Dominions will recognise a more definite obligation for the welfare of the Indians who are already domiciled there. It is suggested that the submerged Indians who desire to return to their own country should be assisted with free passages. It would be in the interests of every one to uplift those who remain and make them good citizens of the country of their adoption. A Bill was introduced at the last session of the Indian Legislature which would empower the Governor-General in Council with the consent of the Governments of the countries concerned to appoint agents in countries where Indian settlers are numerous. It was suggested by Lord Sinha at the Conference of 1918 that the appointment of an agent of the Indian Government at Pretoria would be an advantage both to the Indians in South Africa and to the South African Government. It is hoped that the Governments of the countries concerned will now be willing to receive the agents of the Indian Government. Such agents would exercise quasi-Consular functions. Their chief duties would be to maintain friendly relations, to remove the causes of frictions, which in many cases, it is believed, are due to misunderstanding, and to work in co-operation with the Government of the country for the general upliftment of the Indian community. Finally, the Government of India suggest that the Imperial Cabinet should recognise the validity of the Indians' claim in regard to the grant of full rights of citizenship to the Indians domiciled in the Dominions by means of the following resolution :

The Suggested Resolution.

The Cabinet, while reaffirming the resolution of the Conference of 1918 that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal Member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Imperial Cabinet accordingly recommends, as a matter of the most urgent importance in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, the adoption of a policy of removing any disabilities under which such Indians are placed and making them good citizens of their country of domicile by merging in the general body of citizens in whatever part of the Empire they may be lawfully domiciled.



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This memorandum was placed before a Committee appointed to deal with the question. On July 7th the Conference took up the question of status of Indians in the Dominions and other Indian affairs. The Maharao of Cutch in opening the discussions dealt principally with the developments of Parliamentary Government from which were expected the happiest results as far as India was concerned with regard to her aspirations towards full self-Government on the Dominions plan. Mr. Sastri referring to British Indians domiciled in the Dominions frankly recognised the right of the Dominions to regulate admission or restriction of immigration from whatsoever source, provided that no invidious distinction was drawn between immigrants from India and from other parts of the Empire on grounds of race, colour or any reason tending to differentiate Indians from other people of the Empire. Mr. Sastri further urged that Indians should be permitted to settle in any British Dominion or Colony and should be accorded full rights of citizenship without distinction between them and any other section of citizens there.

After discussion the question of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies was referred to a Committee. This Committee was presided over by Mr. Churchill and attended by most of the Dominion Premiers. As a result of its deliberations the following resolution was eventually passed. Mr. Sastri was invited by the Dominion Premiers to visit their Dominions with a view to influencing and educating the electorates in the Dominions so that they may be willing, in course of time, to give their assent to the enactment of laws establishing the racial equality of Indians in their respective countries.

The Resolution on the Status of Indians.

"This Conference has reaffirmed that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by restricting immigration from any other communities, but recognises that there is incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire, and this Conference, therefore, is of opinion that in the interest of the solidarity of the Commonwealth it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised.

The Refusal of South Africa

"The representatives of South Africa regret their inability to accept this resolution in view of exceptional circumstances of the



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greater part of the Union. The representatives of India, while appreciating the acceptance of this resolution, nevertheless feel bound to record their profound concern at the position of the Indians in South Africa and hope that by negotiations between India and South Africa a way can be found as soon as may be to reach a more satisfactory position."

The only dissentient to this resolution was Genl. Smuts, the South African Premier, who said that public opinion in his country was so strong against the Indians that he could not accept the resolution on behalf of his country though personally he was in sympathy with it.

Some of the other important topics discussed in which India was interested and the Indian delegates participated were matters of inter-Imperial concern, such as communications, the distribution of naval squadrons, the contributions to be made by the different Dominions for the maintenance of the navy, extension of wireless communication throughout the British Empire, and economic questions, such as Imperial Preference within the Empire and so on. These matters have been kept confidential, and also some very interesting statements made in the course of the proceedings under the seal of secrecy by Lord Curzon regarding foreign relations of the Empire, and by Mr. Churchill concerning the position and status of Indians in the Colonies.



India at the League of Nations Assembly

(See also previous issues of the Register)

The League of Nations Assembly has about fifty or fifty-one Members from all parts of the world, excepting of course the United States of America which has persistently refused to recognise the league and to ratify the Treaty of Versailles of which it is the creation. Like her other Dominions, Great Britain has only one vote for her own ; India is an original Member of the League and has, too, one vote independently. In 1921, at the Geneva Assembly, Mr. Sastri, the Maharao of Cutch and Sir William Meyer were the Indian Delegates. Two important questions regarding the constitution of the Assembly were discussed. One was whether changes in the constitution could be made by a majority vote or unanimity of the Assembly. Another question was how far each member of the League was bound to give assistance to any other member of the League whose existence and independence of territory were endangered by the action of another member of the League, or by any power not belonging to the League of Nations. The questions were however put off for the time being. The question of the expenses of the League and how to apportion its cost amongs the members was a question upon which a great dispute arose which has not yet been satisfactorily settled. India was heavily burdened, and the suggestion for increasing per burden still more was curiously made by South Africa. Sir William Meyer's able opposition to this view is given in the 1921 Register.

In 1922 Sir Sivaswami Iyer replaced Mr. Sastri as the Indian delegate. The most important question discussed in the last Assembly was the report on the Mandates. It will be remembered that the Treaty of Versailles gave over the old enemy territories to the several Powers to be administered by them under the mandate of the League of Nations ; hence these territories are known as the Mandated Territories. Great Britain, for instance, is a Mandatory of Palestine, Mesopotamia, Tanganaiyka etc. The report of the Mandatories came up before the Assembly and Sir Sivaswami Iyer made an important speech which is given on p. 225.



The Indian Report 1920

The report of the delegates of India to the first Geneva session of the League of Nations, details of which were given in a previous issue of the REGISTER, was published in India in 1921. The report is signed by Sir William Meyer, the Maharaja of Navanagar and Sir Ali Imam. The delegates in concluding the report says :—

“Looking back on the work of the Assembly as a whole we think that as claimed for it by Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons it has been of much value. The Assembly was bound to disappoint the expectations of those impatient idealists who thought it would usher in a new era, and what it was able to do in respect of limitation of armaments fell short of more moderate expectations. Account has however to be taken of the atmosphere of mutual suspicion to which this question still gives rise, of the disturbed state of the world, and of the facts that the disarmament of Germany has not yet fully been accomplished and that Russia and the United States are outside the League and are untrammelled by any decisions it may take with reference to its own members. But leaving this aside, the Assembly made very considerable progress in an unostentatious way towards fulfilling the expectations with which the League was called into existence, and what it accomplished paves the way for further and faster progress hereafter. It has to its special credit the final establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. It has established important technical organisations to deal with communications and transit and health, and has endorsed generally the action taken by the Council to render more effective the decisions arrived at in the Brussels Financial Conference. It has fixed its rules of procedure and defined the relations between itself and the Council in a way which will at any rate suffice at the outset. It has set on foot machinery for obtaining amendments to the Covenant where these may be found necessary. It has taken measures to expedite the consideration of the adequate carrying out of the economic blockade contemplated by the Covenant in the case of a covenant-breaking State, and it has put forward an opinion in regard to the limitation of expenditure on armaments to that accepted by the various States for the coming financial year which must at any rate carry weight. It has emphasised the necessity for an international campaign against Typhus and cognate disease in Eastern Europe and for the relief of children in war areas. It has arranged for international action under the League in respect of the carrying out of the League Convention for the control of opium



another harmful drugs and in respect of the "White slave" traffic. It made a praiseworthy though somewhat hopeless attempt to deal with the difficulties of Armenia and in admitting new members to the League. It has, with the general assent of the British Empire delegations, included two ex-enemies, Austria and Bulgaria. Lastly, it has asserted the control of the Assembly in matters of League finance and it has taken measures, excellent in themselves, though we, of the Indian delegation, do not consider them fully adequate, for the establishment of economy and method in the expenditure of the League and for a revising of the present unsatisfactory system under which the League expenses are distributed among the member States.

"One very significant fact which struck us was that, when the Assembly met, the delegates, for the most part strangers to one another, were mutually suspicious and looked entirely to the interests of their own States. But before the Assembly concluded there was the beginning of what may be called an Assembly consciousness, the delegates realising that they had a duty to the world at large as well as to their own country. If, as will probably be the case, the majority of the delegates to the recent Assembly are also members of the next, and consequently meet with mutual knowledge, this tendency will rapidly develop. It will also be stimulated by what is likely to be a feature of the future assertion by the Assembly as the democratic element in the League of claims as against what may come to be regarded as the oligarchic pretensions of the Council. It is significant too that in electing representatives of secondary States to the Council the Assembly adopted the view that one of the four should be taken from outside Europe and America, and in pursuance of this policy selected China.

Part Played by India

"As regards the part played by India in the Assembly, our effort to obtain a reconsideration of the Council decision declining to take early action on India's appeal for immediate representation as a great industrial power on the governing body of the Labour Organisation met with failure, Committee No. 2 and the Assembly holding, as they were justified in doing on technical grounds, that the matter was not one in which they could interfere with the prerogatives of the Council. But we attracted universal attention to the danger which the present constitution of the governing body exemplifies of the undue predominance of Europe in bodies which deal with matters affecting the world at large, and we rendered it practically impossible that the constitution of the Labour Governing Body should be repeated on their standing committees; in fact, it has been



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brought to notice in dealing with those who obtained a ~~decision~~ pronouncement that the members of the advisory committees in health and transit should be selected *inter alia* with reference to geographical considerations.

"Our attitude and attainment in respect of questions of League finance where we took a leading part have been summarised in Para 114, and though, as there stated, we did not achieve all that we wished, we can claim that but for us the financial reforms which have been effected would have been of a far less important character. In dealing with the matter we were, as has been stated, efficiently supported by the Dominions, and our relations with the Dominions delegates throughout were of a very cordial nature. This fact may, it is hoped, bear fruit hereafter when questions arise as regards India's relations with the Dominions in such matters as emigration. We were also on most cordial terms with the British delegation and were every now and then indebted to Mr. Balfour for kindly and useful advice. The absolute independence of India, as of the Dominions, in regard to her attitude and voting on questions coming before the Assembly and its committees, was fully recognised, but like the Dominions we felt that when our own interests were not directly or indirectly concerned we should endeavour to keep step with the Mother Country and there were frequent informal meetings to this end between the various Empire delegations.

"To conclude, we venture to think that the remark made in the "Times" review of the events of 1920 that at the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva the Indian delegation took such a share in the discussions as showed that India had become an influential participant in the Councils of the World was in accordance with actual facts. And we have the satisfaction of feeling that we three representatives of India worked together in the most cordial and harmonious way and that there was not the least difference of opinion between us on matters of any importance."



The report of the Indian delegates to the Second Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1921, details of which were given in the last issue of the REGISTER, was published in India in February 1922. It is signed by Sir William Meyer, the Maharao of Kutch, and the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri. It extends over eighty-nine printed foolscap pages. After an exhaustive review of the proceedings, the delegates give the following concluding summary :—

“The Assembly met on Monday the 5th September and broke up on the evening of the 5th October. The work done this year was of a quite solid and useful nature, and the League obtained a considerable amount of prestige by a reference to its Council of the solution of the Upper Silesian question. Whether that prestige will be maintained depends of course on the working out in practice of the Council's apportionment scheme. The coping stone was laid by the election of the Judges to the Tribunal of International Justice, and useful decisions were taken in regard to the technical organisations and with reference to the traffic in women and children, while the question of the reduction of armaments was discussed in a more practical manner than in 1920, though it was felt that no great progress could be made pending the results of the Conference at Washington. The Assembly felt itself unable to follow up Dr. Nansen's request for Government credits for the alleviation of the famine in Russia, but expressed full sympathy with his philanthropic crusade.

Indian Question

“As regards the matters in which India was specially concerned, we obtained complete satisfaction in the matter of the Assembly's re-draft of the Council's resolution on the subject of opium. We made ourselves materially felt in the Committee and obtained some reductions in the expenditure and the adoption of a resolution to paying greater attention to the representation of Nationalities, our own included, in the League Secretaries. We had also the satisfaction of seeing the adoption of the proposal that the Indian Delegation made last year, which was then rejected, for an outside committee of control over the estimates and the account of the Secretariats and the International Labour Bureau. As regards the allocation of contributions, we have had for the time being (subject to ratification of our Government) to accept a provisional scheme in the substitution of postal union scale which burdens India more than the latter did, but we have obtained, though not in such a



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definite form as we should have wished, the principle that this scheme is only provisional and that it ought to be replaced by a better. (The definite scheme above referred to raises India's percentage of subscription from 4 point to 9 to 6 point.)

"Our relations with the Dominion representatives, though very friendly, were not so close as last year as we were at variance over the allocation scheme. On the scheme which proposes to raise India's contribution, the following passage occurs in the course of the report about the proceedings in the Committee which decided by a majority the provisional scheme: "in a speech Sir William Meyer pointed out the difference between idealism preached in the Assembly by the South African Delegates and the hard materialism of the present discussion in which South Africa, like other States, had supported the scheme which should let them off most lightly. Mr. Bruce (Australia) had endeavored to support the opinions expressed in favor of a definite scheme by the proposition of the greatest happiness of the greatest number that a definite scheme would increase the assessments only of six countries, India included, whereas it would reduce the assessments of a great many more, if there was some injustice to India. Surely it was better (he had observed) that this should be suffered than that so many other States of less wealth should have to complain. Australia, now posing as a poor country, had, Sir William Meyer rejoined, spent nearly £100,000 on a palatial office in London for her High Commissioner, an expenditure which India, with her much larger revenue and also larger necessary expenditure, could not possibly afford. Australia had also indulged in the luxury of an expensive line of Commonwealth steamers which some of the best experts predicted would be run at a heavy loss. It was idle, therefore, to say that Australia was a poor country and India a rich one." It is further stated in the report that under the provisional scheme India would, in 1922, budget for 1,380,000 gold francs against 1,022,000 which she contributed under the Postal Union scheme. In the concluding paragraph, the delegates add: As in the last year, we received valuable assistance on occasions from the British delegation and were specially indebted to Mr. Balfour for his kindly advice and endeavor to reconcile differences when these arose in regard to the allocation scheme between ourselves and some of the Dominions. As last year, again, the delegates of India all worked together in the most cordial and harmonious way."



Sir Sivaswami Iyer at the League of Nations Assembly

Before the Assembly of the League of Nations meeting in the course of the discussion on the Mandate reports relating to various territories, Sir Sivaswami Iyer attacked General Smuts in connection with the Union Government's administration of German West Africa. Sir Sivaswami also accused General Smuts of making a speech with regard to South West Africa which could not be quite reconciled with the position of mandated territories, because the South African Premier described those coming under the 'C.' class as annexed in all but name to the territories and in the administration of which the former was a part. Sir Sivaswami disagreed with this description.

The High Commissioner, Sir Edgar Walton, in reply, expressed his astonishment at Sir Sivaswami's solicitude for South West Africa, because there was not a single Indian there. Construing General Smuts' speech, Sir Edgar said that the 'C' Mandates as affecting German South-West Africa amounted to virtual annexation was perfectly correct because the people there were in the same position as the Union people. Sir Edgar reminded Sir Sivaswami Aiyer that there was no colour bar in the Cape Province.

Lord Robert Cecil put up a vigorous defence of General Smuts. He said that it was fantastic to suggest that General Smuts, who first proposed the mandatory system, would be anxious to do anything hostile to that system.

The following is what Sir Sivaswami said —

I come forward to support the resolution which has been moved by Dr Nansen, and in doing so I wish to make a few brief observations on matters of general interest to the Assembly, which have been suggested to me by a study of the report of the Mandatory Powers. I desire to associate myself with the tribute that has been paid to the members of Permanent Mandates Commission for the admirable solicitude which they have displayed for the welfare of the populations committed to the charge of the mandatory Powers, and for the scrupulous regard which they have shown for the letter and the spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant. No question has escaped the watchful eye of the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission. It is satisfactory to learn from them that forced labour is wholly, or practically, unknown. It is interesting to find that the Members of the Mandates Commission draw attention to the features attendant upon the system of indentured labour which had been introduced into some of these territories. They call attention to the social dangers which are inseparable from a system of indentured labor. Explanations have been given by the representative of New Zealand, but I am not certain that they are

quite reassuring. One reason why the women in China are unwilling to come is said to be that they demand the same conditions of work as the men. That, I think, is a demand which is reasonable enough, and which, I think, we cannot complain of. It is also said that the three years indenture under which the labourers are imported allows too short a period for the Chinese labourer to learn the language or to associate with the natives of the country. I am afraid that these circumstances are not a sufficient guarantee against the dangers which are only too likely to follow the exclusive importation of male labour.

We, in India, have had some experience of the dangers attendant upon the immigration of an exclusively male laboring population, and it has always been the endeavour of the Indian Government in the past to secure a due proportion between the sexes among the immigrants. I have no doubt that the Government of New Zealand, which has displayed so much solicitude for the welfare of the people committed to its charge, will realise the importance of this aspect of the question, and will see that a due proportion of the sexes is ensured among the laborers when it recruits from China.

Another important question to engage the attention of the Commission is the subject of land tenure. There is no tendency more common among modern lawyers than to read back their conceptions into the past, or to extend them into the interpretation of the rights and usages of primitive communities. We have a tendency to imagine that, unless rights of ownership are proved by the same or similar acts of exercise as we are accustomed to expect in civilised communities, no such rights exist. There is a danger against which we have to be on our guard. It is a matter for satisfaction that the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission have resolved to call for the land laws of the different territories committed to the charge of the mandatories, and to study this question further.

An extremely dubious claim has been put forward, in the French mandated territory, to what has been called the private domain in the State. I have no doubt that this matter will also receive the searching and careful consideration of the Permanent Mandates Commission in the next year.

Another important question which has engaged the attention of the Commission is the evils which have followed the demarcation of the boundary between Belgian East Africa and Tanganyika.

The recommendations of the Commission are drawn up with a due regard to the susceptibilities of the Great Powers, and the resolution of Dr. Nansen is also couched in extremely modest terms. Speaking for myself, I should have preferred to accord a more emphatic endorsement to the conclusions of the Permanent Mandates Commission. I should have preferred the language of the Marquis Imperiali when he submitted his draft resolution, in which he invites the Council to draw the attention of the Powers to the recommendations of the Permanent Mandates Commission. I should have liked to ask the Council to express the hope that the boundary between Tanganyika and Belgian East Africa may be so rectified as to avoid the danger which have been pointed out by the members of the Commission.

But though the resolution of Dr. Nansen or rather of the Sixth Committee has been couched in very modest terms with a modesty which becomes us when we deal with the susceptibilities of the Great Powers, I hope that our modesty will be duly appreciated, and that the Powers concerned will devote some consideration to the questions to which their attention has been drawn.

Before I proceed further, I should like to associate myself with the acknowledgment which has been made by the members of the Mandates Commission of

the service rendered by the representatives of Australia, of New Zealand and of the Commission, in their examination of the reports of the various Mandatory Powers.

I should also like to pay a tribute to the solicitude for the well-being of the natives which has been displayed by those various mandatory Powers in their administration of the territories. When Sir Francis Bell made his remarks yesterday, I was wondering what there was in the reports of the Mandates Committee which had offended his susceptibilities, and called forth the note of warning which he thought it necessary to sound. I have re-examined the report of the Mandates Committee, but I have not been able to discover anything in that report which could have offended the susceptibilities of anyone. Far from criticising the administration, they extol the virtues and the merits of the New Zealand administration. I should have thought that the Permanent Mandates Committee would have been entitled to expect the thanks of the New Zealand administration; but it is a hard world and it is difficult to please everyone.

As regards the dangers which Sir Francis Bell has spoken of, I am unable to find any departure from the constitutional position which he saw correctly laid down. I see no desire or any intention to infringe upon the position or upon the principle which he laid down. The Permanent Mandates Committee has made its report only to the Council, as he says they ought to have done, and it is the Council who have submitted to us the reports of the Permanent Mandates Committee as annexes to their report. We are entitled, as members of the Assembly, not merely to the opinions of the Council, but we are also entitled to be placed in possession of the material upon which the Council has formed its opinions. I have been unable to discover any impropriety or any desire on the part of the Mandates Commission, or of the office of the Secretary-General, to depart from the strict canons of propriety.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is unfortunate that the South African Union should not have accorded its assistance to the Mandates Committee in the same way in which the mandatory Powers accorded their assistance. It may have been due to circumstances over which they had no control, or to indifference or unwillingness. At any rate, the attitude of the South African Union is open to misconstruction, and I venture to express the hope that when next year the reports have to be examined, the South African Union will be able and willing, as the other mandatory Powers, to lend every aid in its power to the Mandates Committee. It seems to me, however, that it is just possible there may be some misconception in the minds of the responsible statesmen of South Africa with regard to their obligations in this matter. I noticed that in a speech delivered by him some time in September, 1920, General Smuts, the great South African statesman, uttered remarks which seem to me to be not quite reconcilable with the true position of mandated territories. He observed that the territories held under the C. class mandates were practically annexed—that they were annexed all but in name to the territories of the administration of which they formed a part. It is quite possible that in this view the Premier of the South African Union may regard his obligations in respect of the mandated territories as of a purely temporary character, and it may be that in this view these obligations sit rather rightly upon him. But I venture to think, with all deference to that great statesman, who himself was in no small measures responsible for the theory of mandates, that the territories held under the C. class mandates cannot possibly be treated as annexed to the territories with which they are administered. The intention of article 22 of the Covenant seems to me to be perfectly clear. All these territories which are dealt with under article 22 are regarded as a sacred trust of civilisation, and they are all to be administered as Trust States, and it is only the method and

SIR SIVASWAMI IYER'S SPEECH

the manner of the administration which varies in the A class, in the B class and in the C class mandates. General Smuts seems to have relied upon the fact that in the mandates applicable to the C class territories, they are to be administered as an integral part of the territories to which they are attached ; but that expression is common both to the C class territories and to the B class territories. You find it in Article 9 of the mandate which applies to the B. Class territories and you find it in Article 2 of the mandate which applies to the C class territories. General Smuts is prepared to admit that the position is different with regard to the B class territories. I submit it is exactly the same with regard to the C class territories as with regard to the B class territories. The trusteeship of these territories is all vested in the League of Nations, and once that trusteeship has been created, the Council, which is what may be called the statutory organ of the League, is responsible ultimately for the welfare of these territories. It must be remembered that a mandate is in theory and in essence removable. These C class territories are a separate legal entity and possess the indestructible potentiality of independent existence.

Article 22 of the Covenant marks a new era in the conception to White races as to their obligations to the colored races. The idea that colored races have rights may not be a new one, but it is the first time that it has been embodied in a solemn document of first rate international importance, like the Covenant of the League of Nations, and it is the first time that safeguards and machinery have been provided for the fulfilment of the obligations implied in this conception. Whatever lip homage the idea may have commanded in the past, it is the first time that it has secured moral acceptance and real adhesion. The committee observes that the prosperity and well-being of the aboriginal population is in inverse ratio to its contact with civilisation. The British member of the committee said that South Africa presented the most striking example of the destruction of the organisation of a native population by the invasion of a White civilisation.

I hope that these chapters in the history of the contact between the White and colored races are closed for good, and that we shall be able to look forward to a reign of humanity and justice.

Even now we hear of the centre of gravity in international affairs being gradually shifted to the Far East and to the Pacific Coast. But why ? Let only the nations of the earth give up their earth hunger and their rivalry and cupidity for markets, and their desire to appropriate vast uninhabited, continental spaces, and we shall be free from the chances of strife and conflict. It is only to the extent that we are able to conquer those cravings for land and for markets, and to the extent that we are able to conquer the vulgar, though deep-seated, prejudice of color, that we shall be able to realise that ideals of humanity and justice, and then only will this Assembly become a real federation of the world and a lasting bond of peace.



CSL

The International Labour Conference

In 1921 as well as in 1922 this Conference was held at Geneva under the presidency of Lord Burnham. The first Conference at Washington in 1919 (*see I. A. R. 1920*) was really only a preliminary meeting; the second Conference at Genoa in 1920 (*see I. A. R. 1921*) was specially convened to deal with maritime questions. The third and fourth Conferences at Geneva were far more important than the previous ones. The third Conference opened on 25th October 1921. It was the first great general Conference and was attended by over three hundred persons. The Conference is the nearest example of a Parliament of the World that is known. Every country of importance, fifty-four States in all, except Russia and the United States, is represented. Each country has two Government representatives, one delegate from the employers and one from the employed, and each delegate might bring as many experts as there were subjects on the agenda. The Conference is in all essentials a popular, not an official body. In this it differs from the Assembly of the League of Nations which is purely official. On all the commissions and committees, both standing and special, the members sit together without distinction of class and to a large extent work together. The Labour Office is controlled by a Governing Body on which eight principal industrial nations have permanent representatives, together with four representatives of the employers and four of the workers.

On the opening day, 25 Oct. 1921, the president, Lord Burnham, was elected and delivered an address. On the second day the hours of work for agricultural labourers were discussed. The French Govt. challenged the right of the Conference to discuss the question as they did not want the interference of that body to ameliorate the lot of agriculturists. The French Labour delegate, however, strongly condemned his Govt. member's opposition. Mr. Joshi, the Indian Labour delegate also spoke on the subject and said that while it was very difficult to legislate for workers under peasant proprietors, such was not the case with reference to tea, coffee and rubber plantations. He supported the French worker and was supported in turn by the British and other delegates. Of other matters which engaged the Conference was technical and agricultural education, disinfestation of wool to check anthrax and the minimum age of trimmers and stokers in ships.

The most important subject discussed was, however, the constitution of the governing body. This question first arose at the



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Washington Conference in 1919 when dissatisfaction was felt by the non-European delegates, and a resolution expressing it was passed. This question was therefore placed on the agenda of the Third Conference in 1921. That Conference came to the conclusion that full justice could not be done to all parties unless the Versailles Peace Treaty was changed. The governing body consequently framed certain new proposals. These are set forth on p. 243. At the Third Conference in 1921 Mr. Joshi made out a strong case for the inclusion of India and non-European countries on the governing body, and spoke as follows :—


Mr. Joshi's Speech

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I generally approve of the report which the Commission of Selection has placed before you this morning, but there are a few points in which I differ from the proposals of the Commission as they were placed before you just now.

The question of the representation on the Governing Body, of the extra-European countries, is a very important one, not only from the point of the interests of the non-European countries, but from the point of the interests of the Conference itself. We want this Conference to be really international ; we want it to be joined by all the countries of the world ; we want that this Conference should not only benefit the Governments, employers, and organised workers, but we want it to benefit the large masses of unorganised workers of the world, especially of the Asiatic countries. If you agree with this view, you will easily see how important this question is.

At present the number of countries which have joined this organisation from the extra-European world is a little more than those from the European world, but their attendance is somewhat smaller, on account of some difficulties, and on account of the fact that they have not yet seen the importance of this organisation. But, Sir, this state of things will not last long.

I am quite sure that within a short time the extra-European countries will see the importance of joining this organisation, and it is only then that this organisation will be truly international. Speaking from the point of view of a worker, and addressing my comrades of the Workers' Group, I say this—that all we, workers, know that if our working conditions are to be improved rapidly, or even at all, they can be improved only by international effort. National efforts made for a long time have failed to give the workers what they wanted, and all the workers in the world have now realised that their conditions can be satisfactorily improved only by international action. We therefore must take care in this Conference to make this organisation truly international, and to bring all the workers of the world to take interest in this Confer-



and one of the means of making them take interest in it is to make them feel that they have proper representation on this body. It is from that point of view that I appeal to my comrades in the Workers' Group to see that the workers of the extra-European countries be properly represented on the Governing Body. Some people seem to think that representation on this organisation should be governed by the amount of organisation of the workers in their respective countries. I differ from that point of view. This organisation is not merely constituted for the organised workers; it is more intended for benefit of the unorganised workers.

Coming to the Report of the Commission, I should like to say a few words as to their recommendations. In the first place, the Commission recommends that the Governing Body should consider the desirability of certain changes in the Peace Treaty. I do not agree with this view. I do not think that any change in the Peace Treaty is necessary. The number of extra-European countries is much larger than the number of European countries, and, when all these extra-European countries join this organisation and are represented at the annual Conference, I am quite sure they will be able to secure adequate representation for themselves on the Governing Body. I do not feel, therefore, that there is any necessity for making a change in the Peace Treaty. From the point of view of the extra-European countries, there is, in my opinion, a danger in fixing, by a change in the Peace Treaty, the proportion of representation on the Governing Body to be allotted to European and extra-European countries. If the proportion is fixed to-day, it will be much smaller than the extra-European countries deserve, and, being fixed in such a manner, it will be difficult to get it changed after a few years when the extra-European countries are better represented in the Conference. I feel, therefore, that, from the point of view of the extra-European countries, the fixing of a certain proportion of representation between the extra-European countries and the European countries will not in the long run, prove to be at all in the interests of the extra-European countries.

Then, Sir, there is another proposal, namely, with regard to substitutes. I was on the Sub-Commission which discussed the matter, and my impression is that, in connection with these proposals, there was a certain recommendation made that, out of the six substitutes given to the employers and the six given to the workers, there should be a proportion of substitutes fixed for extra-European countries. Unfortunately, I do not find any reference to that in the Report at all. I hope the Reporter will give some explanation of this.



I differ from the view of the Commission as to the giving of power to those countries which are already represented on the Governing Body,—power to appoint substitutes from their own country. That proposal means giving to those countries which are already represented on the Governing Body instead of one, and I do not think there is any necessity for it.

Then there is the question of the proportion of seats on the Governing Body reserved for the three groups. In the case of the Government Group, the Report recommends that one-third of the seats should be allotted to extra-European countries, but in the case of the workers' and employers' groups, the Report recommends that only one-sixth of the total number of seats should be so reserved. I fail to understand why this difference has been made by the Commission of Selection. If the extra-European Governments deserve a representation of one-third, I do not see why the workers and employers should not have the same representation. The only explanation, to my mind, of this difference, is that the Governments have two votes each to the workers' and employers' one, and the Commission of Selection thought that if they could satisfy the Members of the Government Group of the extra-European countries there would be no need to trouble about the representatives of the employers' and workers' groups. There is no other explanation, to my mind, of this difference. It may be said that the workers' and employers' groups of non-European countries are not satisfactorily represented here. That may be true, but what is the best way of inducing them to come here? To my mind, it is to let them feel that they are treated very generously here.

There is another point. If the number of extra-European countries who have sent employers' and workers' Delegates is very small, I would nevertheless ask the Conference to remember the number of workers they represent. The Indian Workers' Delegate and the Chinese Workers' Delegate (they were here) would represent 500 million wage-earners, while the whole of the European Workers' representatives would not represent that number.

I feel that there is not much force in the argument used that in this Conference to-day the number of Workers' Delegates from extra-European countries is not very large. I am sure that if the workers from the extra-European countries feel that they are generously treated here, the number of their representatives will increase year by year. I hope that this Conference will take a very generous view of the demand made by the workers and employers of the extra-European countries, and that the proportion which has been fixed by the Commission of Selection for their representation will be changed in their favour.



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International Labour Conference

GENEVA, 9TH. NOVEMBER 1921

The Secretary-General's Report

On November 9th 1921 the report of the Secretary-General of the International Labour Office was the matter of discussion. Mr. Joshi, the Indian Representative was given the first chance to raise a question of enquiry, highly important to India.

Mr. Joshi said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The first question about which I should like the Director to give an explanation is the appointment of people of different nationalities to the staff of the International Labour Office.

As the Labour Organisation is international, its composition should be truly international, and therefore its staff should contain members from all the countries of the world—at least from those countries which are Members of the Organisation. From the Report we find that the Staff of the International Labour Organisation mostly includes Members from four countries, namely, Switzerland, England, France, and the United States of America. The other countries of the world are very poorly represented on the staff. I see from the Report that the Director makes it a point of efficiency, and therefore refuses to lend countenance to the argument that the Staff should include Members of all different nationalities. I should like to know from him whether it is not an element of efficiency that people on the Staff should have personal knowledge of the different countries which are Members of the International Labor Office? Personally, I believe that the Staff of the International Labor Office cannot work efficiently unless they possess personal knowledge of the different countries. Therefore, I feel that the Director should change his policy and should try to put on the Staff people from the different nations, especially from Asia and countries like India, Japan and China. Sir, I do not base my argument on the principle of securing a few jobs for my own countrymen; there is enough work for my own countrymen to do in my own country. But I base my argument upon this ground, that we, in Asia, and especially in India, want some of our men to be interested in the International Labor movement and we want some of our officers to catch the international

spirit. But I do not think they will really secure this advantage unless some of the members from our country are placed on the staff of this Office. Moreover, if some people from Asia, particularly, India, Japan and China, are placed on the staff of the International Labor Office, these people will catch a sympathetic spirit for the International Labor movement. If they do that, when they return to their country after some years of service in the Office, they will prove themselves to be the missionaries of the International Labor movement. I base my argument chiefly upon this principle, that I want some of my countrymen to come here and to learn the International Labor movement and then to return to my country to be the missionaries of this movement. I should like the Director to give us some information on this point.

There is another question upon which I should like to have an explanation from the Director, and it is this. The International Labor Organisation maintains some agents in some of the countries of the world to collect information and to distribute information throughout the different countries, such as England, France and the United States of America. But I find that the International Labor Organisation does not maintain any agent in any of the Asiatic countries. I should like to know from the Director whether he does not attach any importance to securing information about the Asiatic countries, such as India, Japan and China, with regard to labor questions, and if he does attach importance to it, I should like to know why he does not maintain any agents in any of the Asiatic countries. If it is difficult for the Director to secure information about any countries in the world, those countries are not England, France or the United States of America. He can secure all the information he requires about those countries from the newspapers and from the organisations for the different movements, such as the Labor movement and the Employers' movement, and he can also obtain information from the Government publications. But I am quite sure that he must find it very difficult to secure information about Asiatic countries. Therefore I feel that it is absolutely necessary for the International Labor Office to have agents in Asiatic countries, such as India, China and Japan, because then, and then only will the International Labor Office be fully informed on these questions.

The Secretary-General replied to the speech as follows :

The Secretary-General : The question which has been raised by Mr. Joshi is not by any means a new one to the International Labor Office ; it is one with which we have been familiar for some

The question was much discussed in the Commissions and in the Assembly of the League of Nations, and the Office is well aware of the necessity of having as extensive an international staff as possible.

I have explained in the Report which is before you, in Section 47, the conditions under which the staff of the International Labor Office is recruited. "According to article 395 of the treaty the staff of the Office shall be appointed by the Director, who shall, so far as is possible, with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these persons shall be women".

You will notice that the first consideration is that the staff shall be efficient, and that subordinate to that is the provision that persons of different nationalities shall be selected. This is the policy which the International Labor Office has followed.

We have already, in the International Labor Office, the representatives of 21 nationalities. It is true, as Mr. Joshi has pointed out, that the members of the staff are predominantly French and English, but the reason for that is that the work of the Office has to be carried on in the two official languages of the Organisation. It has frequently happened in our experience that extremely well-qualified persons in some special department are not sufficiently conversant with the French and English languages in order to express their thoughts and their ideas properly in those two languages and it has been necessary to add to them a staff of persons who are competent to put their ideas into proper form in either English or French.

However, the Governing Body and the Director will not lose sight of the necessity of augmenting the staff from members of other and distant nationalities, in proportion as it is necessary to obtain information, and to avail themselves of their assistance.

I might say, although we have not yet an Indian in the Office, we have an ex-member of the Indian Civil Service with the staff, who performs most useful work in keeping in touch with what goes on in India by following matters of national life from newspapers and so on, and we have already taken steps to secure two Indian officials. Negotiations are in progress with the Indian Government with a view to obtaining the services of these two Indians.

I may also say, as Mr. Joshi has mentioned, that we have had for some time, one permanent Japanese official, and we have also another Japanese official who has been seconded to us.

Mr. Joshi also raised the point of national expense. He wished that the Office should have at its disposal as much information from distant countries as possible, he asked why we have no national correspondent in India, as we have in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, and Washington. Well, if the Governing Body had only the means of establishing national offices in cities of these different countries, and in other cities of Europe, it would welcome the opportunity with joy. The reason why there are not more national offices is, that there are not more funds, and if I may say so, without malice, it is the very representatives of those distant countries, who were anxious to diminish our budget at the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations. It is necessary, therefore, if they desire to have more offices of this kind established, that they should give instructions to their representatives on the League of Nations to provide further means of establishing them.

There are, of course, two other ways in which information may be obtained. The first is those means which depend on the Office itself. But there is also another way which I would recommend to the notice of the Delegates who are here from all countries. The countries themselves may help the International Labour Office very much by establishing special services for the supply of information to that Office. I would like to cite the case of Japan, which, for some time now, has had a delegation with the International Labor Office under the leadership of Mr. Inuzuka. He has a delegation with him composed of 18 Members. Of course, I realise it is not possible for other countries whose exchanges are not so favorable as Japan's, to send delegations of this size to Europe, but it might be possible for countries to send to Geneva either a social attache or agent, or to make arrangements with their countries for a special supply of information to be sent to the International Labor Office.

Therefore, in conclusion, in reply to this question, I beg to say that the International Labor Office is doing all it can to make its staff as international as possible, and, secondly, I hope that all the Delegates of the countries here will do their best to secure to the International Labor Office such information as it is possible to obtain from all the countries belonging to the Organisation.

In the course of the debate on other items of the Report Mr. Gupta made a speech but fortunately has not involved the Government of India in giving his opinion on the status of the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations. Mr. Gupta's speech came as a great surprise to many when he made out that the Conventions and Recommendations passed by the Conference are "not