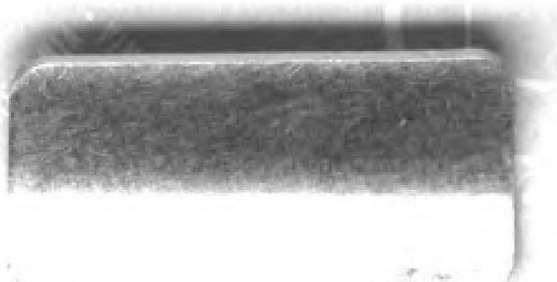
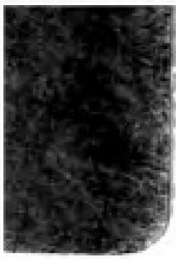


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Gandhi & the Indianisation
OF
The Empire

BY

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(Late Member of the Legislative Assembly in India)



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PREFACE.

THE book has been produced in the hope that it will educate the public as to the political condition of India. It is not in any way propagandist. There is no bias in favour of Government, party, race or creed. Whilst the Indian is criticised for being too exclusive or distant, the White Man is warned that he cannot lightly throw off the burden which he has fastened upon himself. Secession from the Empire will not help him in the least. The further he wanders from the Imperial fold, the more readily will he fall a victim to the new world forces which have been liberated by the war.

It may be asked why the period prior to 1919 has not been treated in greater detail. The answer is that about this time, we had a new grouping of forces and, consequently, the beginning of a new page in history. In proportion as European unity threatened to dissolve in chaos, Asia pressed its claim for recognition. When the Treaty of Sevres was negotiated, the whole Indian world was stirred. When M. Franklin-Bouillon and the French Premier, M. Briand, settled their differences with Turkey by signing in October, 1920, the Agreement of Angora, they not only tore up the pact of London of November, 1915, by which England and France had agreed not to make separate treaties, but they bequeathed to France a legacy of relative isolation in her Ruhr policy, and to England, a tradition of hatred with Turkey. Hitherto, it had been suspected that France rather than England had been responsible for what was regarded as being an iniquitous Treaty. From henceforward, the whole of the blame was saddled on England. The signing of the abortive Treaty of Sevres in

1920, and the events connected with it, are an important landmark in the history of the relations of the British and the Mohammedans.

Another factor in the situation was caused by the Revolution in Russia which changed that country from an ally of Britain into an enemy.

With the murder, in 1919, of the Amir of Afghanistan, Habibullah, who had always been the friend of Great Britain, and with the accession to power of a new Amir who was the friend of Russia, the whole situation in the East rapidly altered for the worse, the invasion of India by the Afghans in 1919 and the rising of the tribesmen in Waziristan in response to the new Amir's call for a Jihad or Holy War against the British being proofs of the altered condition of affairs.

As if this was not enough, the Grand Assembly of Angora, resenting what it considered to be an anti-Turkish policy on the part of Mr. Lloyd George, entered into an arrangement with Russia on March 16th, 1921, the substance of which was as follows :—

I. The contracting parties agreed to ignore all treaties on international conventions to which they had not been voluntary parties. The Russian Soviet Government engaged itself not to recognise conventions which had been declared by the Grand Assembly of Angora to be null and void. The Turkish frontiers would be those recognised in the National Pact published by the Chamber of Deputies of Constantinople on January 28th, 1920.

II. Whilst Turkey would retain Kars and Ardahan, which had been secured to her by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, she would cede to Georgia the town and port of Batoum.

III. The Straits would be open to ships of all countries. The right of navigating them would be regulated by a conference composed of delegates of the powers concerned. But the absolute independence of Turkey and the safety of Constantinople would be respected.

IV. Turkey would be liberated from all financial conventions concluded with the late Russian Government as well as from all obligations imposed by various international treaties.

V. Soviet Russia agreed to the abolition of the Capitulations.

An additional pact was foreshadowed by which the Government of Angora would sign no peace without the approval of the Russian Government.

But there was much more behind this than appeared on the surface; for Mustapha Kemal Pasha took little trouble to conceal his plan of raising against Britain, Persia, Afghanistan, India, Palestine, Mesopotamia and even Egypt. (Michel Paillarès, *le Kémalisme devant les Alliés*, Paris, 2, rue du Bouloi).

It will be seen therefore, that between 1919 and 1921, the whole political outlook in the East had changed. Henceforth it was Britain, not Russia, which was regarded by a large section of the Mohammedan world, as being its enemy.

In India, the Nationalist Hindus, vaguely troubled during the war by the fear lest British rule would be replaced by Germano-Turk domination, imagined themselves at the time of the peace to be in a more favourable position than they had occupied for a thousand years. The Russian menace had disappeared. The bogey of Pan-Islamism had been exorcised. Britain, staggering under a burden of debt, had become relatively powerless. But there was a fly in the ointment. As the reward of loyalty, India was given the somewhat unsatisfying sop of the "Reforms." Whilst the majority of the members of the newly constituted Legislatures would be elected by the people, there would be "Dyarchy" in the Provinces. Some of the subjects would, it is true, be "transferred" to Ministers who represented the electorate, but others would be "reserved" for the consideration of the Governor and the "Members of Council." Complete Provincial autonomy had, in fact, been withheld.

Although three of the Executive Councillors of the Viceroy were to be Indians, their powers were hedged in by limitations. The Army could not be touched. The Imperial Services were immune from molestation even in the Provinces. The government of the country could, in an emergency, be carried on in spite of the Legislature.

As the Reforms embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919, were considered inadequate, the year 1919 forms the starting point of a new era of agitation.

Hitherto, the chief critics of the Government had been the *intelligentsia*, who were largely composed of Brahmin lawyers or those who reflected their views. They had, in the eighties, formed a body nominally representative of the Indian Nation, which they termed the Indian National Congress. At a later date, the members were returned by an electorate consisting of persons who had paid a subscription of four annas. The methods employed were not illegal, and the objective was Home Rule on parliamentary lines, the *intelligentsia* to exercise the powers hitherto vesting in the European.

But the Congress could hardly be said to be representative of the country. The Mohammedans, in particular, held aloof, their interests being watched over by a somewhat similar body called the Muslim League. An agreement, however, was arrived at in December, 1916, at Lucknow. The Panjab Mohammedans were to return one half of the elected Indian members, whilst in the other Provinces, the Mohammedan share was to be as follows:—

United Provinces	30 per cent.
Bengal	40 „
Behar	25 „
Central Provinces	15 „
Madras	15 „
Bombay	33 $\frac{1}{3}$ „

To safeguard minorities, it was agreed that if a substantial majority ($\frac{3}{4}$ ths) of the Hindu or Mohammedan

members objected to a bill, it should be withdrawn. The effect of the agreement was to make the Mohammedans, who were in a minority, masters of the situation since they would be in a position to block every Hindu proposal until their demands, however preposterous they might be, were conceded.

Another objection was that if the electorate was to be expanded so as to be representative of the various communities in the country rather than of the *intelligentsia* in which Brahminical interests preponderated, there would be an insufficient margin for Sudras, Christians, Pariahs and others. As a matter of fact, the promoters of the Anti-Brahmin movement in the Madras Presidency were opposed to the Congress proposals, and advocated "Communal Representation" or representation by Communities.

Amongst Mohammedans, there was by no means unanimity of opinion. From the *New India* of December 30th, 1916, it would appear that, in order to carry the Panjab scheme of representation, a new branch of the Muslim League had to be started in the Panjab, Mr. Shafi's followers being disaffiliated. In Madras, the proposals were criticised on the ground that a 15 per cent. representation was inadequate.

Amongst the high-caste Hindus themselves, there was also some dissatisfaction. From the *New India* of January 3rd, 1917, it appeared that the All India Hindu Sabha and the All India Hindu Conference objected to granting separate representation to Mohammedans. If it was to be given, it should be based upon the numerical strength of the community.

Now the effect of the Reforms was to upset the scheme of representation arranged by the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow. The percentage allotted to the Mohammedan community was cut down. The position of the Brahmin was weakened since the interests of Sudras and of minorities such as the Sikhs were amply safeguarded. From the year 1919 onwards, therefore, the country was disturbed by the presence of a powerful intellectual minority whose

political ascendancy was at stake. With the advent of Gandhi who was an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity and whose influence was considerable amongst the poorer classes, the *intelligentsia* received an unexpected ally. Henceforward the perplexed Government had to face an opposition composed largely of discontented elements amongst the Mohammedans, the Brahmins and the masses. The rise of Gandhi in 1919 had, in fact, inaugurated a new chapter in the history of anti-British agitation in India.

CLARE COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE,
March 30th, 1924.

J. F. BRYANT,
M.A. (Cantab.), F.G.S., I.C.S.

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THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

THE trend of modern political thought in India is twofold. In the first place we have an intensely national movement. Its demands are voiced by the "Indian National Congress." Its aim is a self-governing India either within or without the British Empire. It proposes to attain this end by establishing a government parallel to that of the British and then to overthrow the latter by a gigantic strike,—by passive disobedience on an unprecedented scale.

The second movement is Mohammedan in character although Hindus may be admitted as supporters. It is friendly to Turkey and is consequently animated by a deep distrust of nations such as the British which, until recently, were hostile to Turkey.

Operating in British territory, the Khilafat Conference deals with questions outside India, except in so far as it co-operates with the Congress in return for the latter's support. Its demands as voiced by its principal Officers, Hakim Mohamed Ajmal Khan and Dr. M. A. Ansari, are :—

(1) The Turkish portion of the Ottoman Empire comprising Thrace with Adrianople, Constantinople and the whole of Anatolia including Smyrna should be restored to Turkey with full Sovereign rights without any controls and without the capitulations. [These demands have been practically settled, with the exception of the Mosul question, at the recent peace of Lausanne.]

2 THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

(2) The Arabic speaking portion of the Ottoman Empire comprising Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Hedjaz, that is, the whole of the Jaziratul Arab, should be given full independence without any non-Muslim control, provided that the suzerainty of the Sultan Khalifa should be maintained over the holy places of Islam. (*The Leader*, Allahabad, 22 March, 1922).

Examining these proposals in detail, it may be asked, "What is the Turkish portion of the Ottoman Empire?" To this question, the Indian Khilafatists have never given a succinct answer and it is therefore necessary to turn to Turkish sources. In the second Congress which met at Sivas on September 1st, 1919, it was decided amongst other things that :—

"Not an inch of territory would be given to Armenia or to any other foreign power. A line would be drawn from the South of Mosul straight to Alexandretta and everything north of this line would belong to the Ottoman Empire." (*Le Kemalisme devant les Alliés*, Michel Paillares, Paris, 2 Rue Bouloi).

It will be seen, therefore, that Mosul was claimed so far back as 1919, and that it was still claimed at the abortive Conference at Lausanne. The final peace treaty has not settled this question and the ownership of Mosul with its oil-fields still remains to trouble the relations of Great Britain with Turkey.

The Jazirat-ul-Arab is really the Arabian Peninsula, but the Khilafat Conference maintains that Palestine, Syria and portions of Mesopotamia, especially those east of the Great Rivers, should be included. The matter is interesting from the point of view of the French who, disregarding their obligation not to treat separately with the Turks, evacuated Cilicia and signed the Convention of Angora on 20th October, 1921. It is

possible that the Turks may not again openly trouble them as at Marash, Ourfa, Aintab, Sis and Hadjin, but it is not to be supposed that other Mohammedans will acquiesce for ever in their possession of Syria. The inclusion of 'Syria' in the Khilafat demands is significant, since it shews that the movement is aimed not only against Britain, but also against France.

We now come to the question of the 'Holy Places of Islam.' In reply to a supplemental question put by Sir Frank Carter in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi in the Spring of 1922, the Government replied that they were unable to enumerate the Holy Places of Islam.

In the Koran, there is singularly little information on the subject. Whilst at Medina, Mohamet prayed towards Jerusalem and it was only after his triumphal return to Mecca that the latter became the Kūṭba of Islam. Although homage to the dead is inconsistent, according to some writers, with true Mohammedanism, yet Medina became sacred after the death of the Prophet who was interred there. Kerbela and Nejef are sanctified by the martyrdom of descendants of the Prophet.

Damascus holds the remains of the Omayyads, Bagdad those of the Abbasides, and Adrianople those of the Sultans of Turkey who were also Khalifas of Islam. Cairo may also be added to the list on account of the Fatimite dynasty. But the list does not necessarily end there. We might possibly include Delhi or Multan where holy saints lived, taught and died. From this, it is but a step to Cordova and Seville, and from there to Paris, where the Government has recently erected a mosque and a College and where it is possible that some saint of repute may shortly be interred. Excluding, for the moment, Cairo, Delhi, Multan, and towns in western Europe, it will be seen that the Sacred Places

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of Islam fall, for the most part, within the Jazirat-ul-Arab. Damascus is in territory mandated to France. Most of the others are in territory mandated to Britain. To a large extent the claims advanced in respect of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the Holy Places overlap each other. They are, practically the same thing, and the long and short of the whole matter is that the Khilafat Conference objects to British ascendancy in Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia.

But the Holy Places are not the only instances in which the Mohammedans may claim extra territorial jurisdiction which clashes with that of the Government of the country. The Khilafat is the Muslim equivalent for the Papacy and the Khalifa has been termed the Pope of the Mohammedans. But if we except the present incumbent, Abdul Majid, the Khalifa is invested with temporal as well as spiritual authority. Until recently, there has been in the East no line of demarcation between the two. The authority of the Commander of the Faithful is not confined to his dominions. It is acknowledged by Mohammedans living under foreign domination as, for example, in India. Even those sects which do not acknowledge his authority, sympathise with him. Thus it is only necessary to peruse the history of the relations of Persia with the Western Powers to become convinced of the fact that even the Shiites prefer the Turks to any Christians. The military penetration of Persia, the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813, the Treaty of Torkmantchai in 1828, the Capitulations, the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, the penetration of British Troops in the Great War and the Anglo-Persian Treaty of the 9th August, 1919, were all regarded as being inconsistent with Persian Nationality. Even when some tangible benefit was conferred,

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an unfavourable conclusion was often drawn. The construction of roads and telegraph lines, the navigation of the Persian Gulf and the Karoun, Reuter's concession, the Imperial Bank of Persia and the tobacco concession are instances in point. The Russo-Persian Treaty of 26th February, 1921, annulling as it does the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 9th August, 1919, may indicate that even Russians were preferred to British. Be that as it may, the effect of the Treaty is to make Persia politically subservient to Russia.

The Sheikh of the Senussi is another instance in point. Nominally independent of the Khalifa, it may be recalled that he invested a late Sultan at Constantinople with the Sword of Othman (*Tour D'horizon Mondial*, Dr. A. F. Legendre, Payot et Cie, Paris) and that the Senussi fought against the Allies. The Sheikh of the Senussi also attended the Conference of Sivas (Lothrop Stoddard).

The Wahabis are another case. It may be asked why they fought against the King of the Hedjaj; why they are represented at Sivas; and why it is at present necessary for the British Government to subsidise Ibn Saud.

To revert: As expounded by the Pan Islamists, the authority of the Khalifa is not limited by parties. His laws, if intended for Mussalmans, are binding on the Mohamedan population of countries not subject to his sway. (*The Khilafat and England* by Syed Mahmud, Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, Patna). The Khilafat implies temporal obedience because the Khalifa is the heir, not only to the religious, but also to the temporal power of the Prophet. (*Ib.*)

Every Muslim religious authority has laid it down unequivocally and emphatically that the allegiance which the Muslim owes to the Khalifa is both temporal and spiritual (Mohamed Ali, *India and the Empire*, re-

printed from *Foreign Affairs*, July 1st, 1920, Orchard House, Great South Street, Westminster, S.W. 1).

It will be seen, therefore, that it is in the power of some of the Turks to cause endless administrative difficulties in any territory in which there are discontented Mohamedans.

At the Conference at Gaya in December, 1922, it was asserted that the Khilafat movement had been in progress for three years. In the trial of the Ali Brothers in 1921, it came out incidentally that after their release at the conclusion of the Great War there was no Khilafat movement to speak of. It is commonly supposed that it is the successor of or runs parallel to 'Panislamism.' If so, how is it that Hindu Nationalism which in spite of the Congress League Agreement, was once secretly antagonistic to Pan-Islamism, supports the Khilafat movement?

If we question the former Nationalist attitude, we have only to peruse Bepin Chandra Pal's *Imperialism and the Empire*, Calcutta, 1912. Hitherto the interests of the Indian Mohamedan have been over the sea. He looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as his head. He was taught by his religion to wage war against idolaters, polytheists and those who associate man with the Deity. If we assume, however, that there is no Khalifa or only a Spiritual Khalifa, all mundane difficulties vanish. Indian Mohammedans need no longer look to Constantinople for guidance in temporal matters. Nationalism may replace Internationalism. Wahabis Shiites, the followers of the Sennussi, Arabs, Berbers and others may join hands with the Turks. Jihad without a Commander of the Faithful may be regarded as impracticable. Hence a lasting truce with the Idolater presents no difficulties. The claim to the Holy Places of

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Islam is no longer inconsistent with Arab Independence if that claim does not trench upon matters temporal.

It is true, that as pointed out by Toynbee, (*The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, by Arnold J. Toynbee, Constable and Company, 1923), Indian Moslems and Turkish Nationalists attacked the problem of the Khalifa from different standpoints. The Grand Assembly of Angora wished to get rid of him whilst the Khilafat Conference aimed at freeing him from foreign control. "In the Indian's eyes, he was a tragic captive, in his own countrymen's a sordid tool." But success against the foreigner condones many faults. At the recent Khilafat Conference, in spite of the secession of the Muslim League, the Turks have been more than forgiven. Their action has been approved and their choice of Abdul Majid ratified, subject to the reservation that he should not have been deprived of his temporal powers.

Before going further, it may be desirable to prove that the Angora movement has been directed against the Sultan Khalifa from the very outset, and that those Indian Khilafatists who have approved the action of the Grand Assembly, are also committed to the policy of dissociating the Khalifa from his temporal authority.

The Turkish constitution of 1876 curtailed the powers of the Sultan Khalifa who retorted by nullifying the reforms and banishing their principal advocates. In 1908, however, the latter returned to power, and in September, published a programme of ministerial responsibility, the right of the Chambers to initiate legislation, the election of two thirds of the Senate by the people, universal suffrage, equality of all persons before the law, freedom of association and social reform. The Young Turks declared that they wished to transform Turkish Theocracy, despotic and Mohammedan as it was,

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The Young Turks had to emancipate social and legal life from the oppressive control of Islam—" *Emanciper la vie sociale et juridique Ottomane de la tutelle pesante de l'Islam* " (*Ib. p. 21*). When they ventured into the streets with their wives, sisters, or daughters, the defenders of the Shariat attacked them (*Ib. p. 22*). The Young Turks or rather, some of them, were accused from time to time of being Freemasons and Jacobins (*Ib. pp. 35, 36, 37*).

In April, 1909, they fought against the Sultan Khalifa, dethroned him in virtue of a fatva of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and installed in his place Mohmed Rechab V.

We have the testimony of a high Turkish officer that the late European war took place without the knowledge of the Sultan Khalifa regardless of the fact that war is preeminently the business of the Commander of the Faithful—"The responsibility for a war commenced unknown to the Sovereign or to the Ottoman people by a German vessel under a German Admiral devolves entirely upon the makers of recent treaties of which the Ottoman People as well as the Courts of Europe were ignorant. These treaties were concluded between the Government of the Kaiser and the leaders of the Revolutionary Committee." (Declaration made by Damad Ferid at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, 11 June, 1919, vide *Le Kemalisme devant les Alliés, Paris, 2, Rue de Bouloi, 1922*).

After the armistice, the anti Khalifa policy of Enver Bey, Talaat, and Djemal Pacha was continued by Mustapha Kemal. Many of the members of the Constituent Assembly were in fact members of Parliament who had been able to escape from Constantinople."

(*The Turks and Europe* by Gaston Gaillard, London: Thomas Murby & Co., 1 Fleet Lane, E.C., 1921). The Nationalist movement had, at the outset, co-operated with some questionable elements and had been mixed up with the intrigues of the former members of the Committee of Union and Progress." (*Ib.* p. 182).

"The armistice appeared to be the end of the Committee of Union and Progress." In reality those Young Turks who were not openly compromised in the deportations and massacres, only awaited a favourable opportunity to recommence their exploits. The indulgent and undecided attitude of the Allies with regard to them when they entered Constantinople, favoured their designs and increased their audacity. The Committee believed that all was not lost if it could oppose with firmness the weakness of the Old Turks and the foolish policy of the Allies. But it was necessary to change its title and its chief. "Unionism" being worn out and discredited, it adopted "Nationalism." Enver being absent and disgraced, it ranged itself under the banner of Mustapha Kemal (*Le Kemalisme devant les Alliés* Michel Paillares, Paris, 2, Rue de Bouloi, 1922). But whether Kemalism is or is not the same thing as Unionism, its Anti Khalifa policy is the same. It was responsible for a Government parallel to that of the Sultan, it has waged war against the Sultan, it has flouted the futva of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, it has replaced the Sultan by its own nominee, it has deprived the Commander of the Faithful of his temporal power and it has not invested him with the Sword of Othman. The Khilafat Conference by endorsing the above policy in spite of a warning (December, 1922), from the Jamait-ul-Ulema that the temporal and spiritual power of the Khalifa cannot be separated, is in reality a party

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to it. But in Abdul Majid, a figure-head remains who may be useful in dealing with those Mohammedans who look for a Vice Gerent of God on earth. Lifeless as he is, he may be set up and led to conquer the Infidels, like the dead Cid, by the terror of his name. He can at any time be replaced by a more convenient tool on the ground that a Khalifa without power *ipso facto* ceases to be a Khalifa. Finally, he is artistic and imbued with French culture. His choice is likely to be acceptable to France.

It may be argued that the Khilafat Conference is in no way the puppet of the Turkish Nationalists. Its aims are Pan Islamic whilst those of Mustapha Kemal are Nationalist. It has demanded the political and territorial independence of Arabia and it has put forward a claim to the Holy Places of Islam neither of which matters are touched upon by the Kemalists. But, as a matter of fact, there is no real inconsistency. It is obvious that Pan Turkism would not be a suitable war cry for a country like India in which there are no Turks. Pan Turkism was reserved for home consumption, Pan Turanism for people of Turanian origin and Pan Islamism for places like India in which religion would prove a stronger call than love of a country in which they were not materially interested. In the next place, it was obviously inconvenient that Mustapha Kemal should act as the spokesman of the Arabs or claim the guardianship of their Holy Places. Such a demand might be regarded as an attempt against their independence. It was preferable in every way that Indian Mohammedans should make the claim on behalf of Islam. If any want of connection be observed, it may be glossed over by inventing a new term "Pan Islamic Nationality." The discrepancies, therefore, do not imply

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

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any divergence of aims. If any further proof of the connection between Angora and the Indian Khilafat Conference is wanted, we have only to read the speeches of Mr. Hazrat Mohani and others in December, 1921. He clearly advocated an understanding with the Federation of Central Asian Mohammedan States (including Angora) for the purpose of destroying the British Empire.

The Angora Government and the Khilafat movement both started after the signing of the abortive Treaty of Sevres. Both received an important impetus when the Greeks landed at Smyrna in May, 1919. In both, the dominating notes--at any rate until recently--are anti-British and anti-Greek. The funds collected in India are, nominally at any rate, for purposes connected with the Angora Government. We have a Smyrna Fund, an Angora Fund, funds for the recruiting of volunteers for the Turkish army, and funds for buying aeroplanes for the Turks. The Khilafat leaders are not always men of the old Mohamedan stamp. In many cases they bear the impress of the modernised Muslim University at Aligarh. They have travelled. They have imbibed the democratic ideals of western politics. They are the Young Turks of India. For the moment there is an alliance between them and the priesthood. Both are united in their sympathy with Turkey in her misfortunes. But though making use of the priesthood as represented in the Jamait-ut-Ulema, the Khilafat leaders do not, as a rule, belong to the priesthood. Already there is the beginning of a split, the Jamait-ul-Ulema having refused to countenance the separation of the temporal from the spiritual powers of the Khalifa. Another source of weakness is the absence of a common ideal. Nationalism which is the driving force behind

the Angora Government, can never be very popular with the Indian Mohammedan since under a National Indian Government, he would be outvoted by Hindus whom he regards as idolaters. A "Young Turk" movement in India without the forces of Nationalism behind it can never be formidable except in so far as it can continue to adapt to its purposes the proletariat, the Congress, the Priesthood as represented by the Jamait-ul-Ulema, and the Akalis.

The proletariat is the troubled sea in which the other forces in India drag their nets. It cannot be neglected by any one party for fear lest it may be captured by the others. Its outward manifestations are the Labour Unions in towns and the agrarian movements in the country. These will be dealt with in separate chapters.

As the heir to the Congress-League scheme or entente, the Khilafat Conference has obtained considerable power in the Congress, and it required all the eloquence of Ghandi to defeat in December, 1921, and afterwards at Delhi, the advocates of violence and revolution. So great is the fear less the Congress may be captured by the Khilafatists, that the Hindus have prepared a second line of defence in the Hindu Mahasabha and in their temples into which they can retreat if necessary. It is doubtful whether, with the virtual secession of C. R. Das, the Congress possesses any real power at the present moment. Its members are returned by electors whose only qualification is the payment of four annas. Its powers are impaired by the fact that it must defer to the Khilafat Conference in any question in which the latter body is practically unanimous. Whilst the Congress professes to voice the aspirations of Hinduism as opposed to the Mohammedan aims of the Khilafatists, there is no real unity. The one body is essentially Nationalist whilst

the other looks for inspiration to Angora or Constanti-
nople. A strong and independent India can never be very popular with the Mohammedan states of Central Asia. They dominated India before the advent of the British, and, though they will not admit it, at the back of their minds they regard themselves as possessing a reversionary interest in their ancient possessions. It may be in this sense that a prominent Khilafat leader expressed the hope at the Gaya Conference that the independence of India would be achieved with the aid of the Turks. Meantime, the Congress is a convenient meeting place both for Mohammedans and Hindūs, neither of whom can afford to let the other out of its sight. Its deliberations are important since through them we get a clue to what goes on behind the scenes.

We next come to the relations of the Khilafat movement with the Jamiat-ul-Ulema or Assembly of the Priests. Nominally their policy has hitherto been identical. But the Jamiat-ul-Ulema is the stronghold of Pan-Islamism. It has regarded as its ideal a united and universal Mohammedan world-state with the Sultan-Khalifa nominally at the head of affairs but with the priesthood exercising the real power. How far a Theocratic Government is reconcilable with a Government by the people as represented in the Angora Grand Assembly is an open question. Already there is a rift in the lute, exception having been taken to the separation of the temporal from the spiritual power of the Khalifa. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema is somewhat disconcerted at finding out that the "Khilafat" movement which it has hitherto supported is, in reality, an Anti-Khilafat movement. Even the Sheikh-ul-Islam or High Priest of Islam at Constantinople has become virtually a nonentity. Government by the people has ever been incompatible with Government by the Priesthood.

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moment being recalled to memory—are being used as fuel to fan the flame of hatred.

The Crimean War and the intervention of Great Britain in 1878 are represented as having been due to jealousy of Russia rather than to love of Turkey.

Coming now to Constantinople, the British Embassy after the fall of Kiamil Pacha is said to have shown coldness in its treatment of the Young Turks, (*Le Sort de l'Empire Ottoman*, par André Mandlestam, Librairie Payot, Paris). Minor matters such as the refusal to supply officers and loans, and ill temper over the purchase of two German men-of-war are alleged to have widened the breach. The refusal of the British on the outbreak of war to deliver two war vessels which she had built for Turkey, or to return the money which had been paid, is also alluded to by Turkish apologists. But these matters are merely of academic interest, the real reasons for Turkey's entry into the war being the secret arrangement with Germany which was at war with Turkey's territorial enemy Russia. As the war went on the population became more apprehensive. The Allied note of January 10th, 1917, was to the effect that the Ottoman Empire would be cast out of Europe and that subject races would be freed from its sanguinary tyranny (*Le sort de l'Empire Ottoman*, p. 547). The publication by the Bolshevists of the secret Anglo-Franco-Russian agreement of 1916, by which Russia was to get Constantinople was another disquieting factor. The Treaty of Sevres and the landing of Greek Troops at Smyrna on May 15th, 1919, were the crowning acts complained of. It was asserted that Britain had broken her word. It was pointed out that on 12th January, 1915, His Excellency, Lord Harding, had declared in the Indian Legislature that "The Mussal-

mans of India should rest assured that nothing would be done by us or our Allies in this war which is likely to injure their religious feelings and sentiments. The Holy Places of Islam shall remain immune from molestation and every care will be taken to respect them. No operations will be conducted against the sacred seat of the Muslim Khilafat. We are only fighting the Turkish Ministers who are acting under the influence of Germany, and not the Kalifa of Islam. The British Government not only on their behalf but also on behalf of their Allies take the responsibility for all these pledges" (Substance of the official declaration of the Government of India in November, 1914). Mr. Lloyd George on 5th January, 1918, said "nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital nor the rich renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." The history of subsequent causes is too long to be enumerated here, but it has been assumed that the British Cabinet is prejudiced against the Mohammedan world since it threw out a Secretary of State for India who had unauthorisedly published a telegram favourable to the Khilafatists.

As for the Bolshevist part in promoting a legacy of hatred between Britain and Islam, the reader is referred to Mr. Lothrop Stoddard's recent work on Islam. "Since what is first wanted (by anarchists) is the overthrow of the existing world order, any kind of opposition to that order, no matter how remote doctrinally from Bolshevism, is grist to the Bolshevist mill. Accordingly, in every quarter of the Globe, in Asia, Africa, Australia and the Americas as in Europe, Bolshevist agitators have whispered in the ears of the discontented their gospel of hatred and revenge. Every nationalist aspiration, every political grievance, every social injustice, every racial

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discrimination, is fuel for Bolshevism's incitement to violence and war." But the Khilafat movement is not primarily Bolshevist in character. It only makes use of Bolshevism since the common aim of both is to destroy the British Empire. ~~The part played by the Russian Government in fermenting Indian unrest will, therefore, be lightly treated.~~

In all the elaborate network of Bolshevik propaganda which to-day enmeshes the East, we must discriminate between Bolshevism's two objectives: one immediate, the destruction of western political and economic power, the other ultimate, the Bolshevising of the Oriental masses and the consequent extirpation of the native upper and middle classes precisely as has been done in Russia and as is planned for the countries of the West. (*The Revolt against Civilisation*, Lothrop Stoddard, London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1922).

In 1919, Afghanistan sent an Indian, Barakatulla, at the head of a mission to Lenin. Barakatulla was neither a Socialist nor a Communist. He was remorsefully opposed to the exploitation of Asia by European capitalists, an exploitation of which the English were the principal exponents. His alleged mission was to secure political and economic independence by expelling the British from India. In this respect, he was the natural ally of the Communists.

But Barakatulla was by no means alone. At Kabul, the principal Bolshevik agent was Bravin, an old Czarist officer who was familiar with Central Asian problems.

At Herat, Suritzky, another Russian agent, was treated with great consideration.

At Moscow, there was a school of anarchy in which four hundred Indians were instructed in the most effective

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methods of agitation. No attempt was made to inculcate equality and the Rights of Man. Propaganda were conducted on racial rather than on international lines. It was the Indian's love of his country and of his ancient civilization that was appealed to. The pride and arrogance of the European, his contempt for coloured races, and his exploitation of the East in the interests of Capitalism were exaggerated and denounced. In the rapacity with which she exploited coal, iron, petroleum, wheat and cotton, England was held up to execration as being the greatest predatory kingdom, not only of the present age, but of all history.

There was another important school at Tashkent.

There can be no doubt but that the revolutionary outbreak in the Punjab in April, 1919, was due to some extent to Bolshevist and German propaganda. (*Tour d'horizon mondial, Legendre, Payot & Cie., Paris.*)

But whilst Mohammedans were invited to join the Russian proletariat which would free them from every yoke, in particular from the British, who were represented as being the most bloodthirsty enemy of Islam, persistent attempts were also made to deprive them of all cohesion and to discredit their natural leaders. The peasantry in Turkestan were reminded that the world and all that therein is belongs to Allah. All men are born equal in the sight of Allah. "Whence come, therefore, the Pashas and Beys, Rajahs and Maharajahs, Maliks and Khans. . . . Allah Verdi . . . possesses twelve horses and does no work, while in the same village there is Abdulla, who possesses no horses and works twelve hours a day. . . . Communism does not permit this injustice. Hence Abdulla must become a Communist." (*The Asiatic Review, October, 1923.*)

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Committee for the defence of Islam held a meeting in Berlin. Amongst the people present were Talaat Pasha representing the Turanian movement, and Husein Bey Resludof representing the Eastern Central Committee instituted by the Muscovite Foreign Commissariat for the liberation of Islam. (This was at the head of organisations working in Persia, the Transcaspian Areas, Anatolia, Afghanistan and India. . . . *The Turks in Europe*, by Gaston Gaillard, Murby and Co.).

In 1921, the British authorities signed a trade agreement with the Soviet Government, with a view to promote commercial relations between the two countries, the question of political relations being postponed until the Soviet Government had satisfied certain indispensable conditions. After this, there was some slight curtailment of the activities of Russian agents in Asia, but this state of affairs soon ceased.

In Persia, M. Shumiatsky, the Russian representative at Teheran, succeeded in organising a group of anti-British workers with the assistance of funds from Moscow.

In Afghanistan, M. Raskolnikov, the Soviet representative in Kabul, distinguished himself by exceptional zeal. On February 17th, 1923, he informed the Soviet authorities in Tashkent that every possible means should be used to aggravate the undoubted existing crisis by making a breach between Afghanistan and the English, and that the immediate delivery of arms and money would have an immense significance. As regards Waziristan, arrangements had been made to supply 3,000 roubles and ten boxes of cartridges.

M. Raskolnikov implored the Commissariat not to curtail his extraordinary expenses for Indian work as this would cause an irretrievable loss to the work of the

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Legation in its most vital spheres. These extraordinary expenses for the year October, 1922, to October, 1923, were estimated by M. Raskolnikov in November, 1922, at 800,000 out of a total Legation expenditure of 1,200,000 Kabul rupees.

Another communication dated 8th November, 1922, shewed that special attention was being paid to the region north of Peshawar, to the Mohmands, but that funds were insufficient.

The necessity of arming the frontier tribes was also inculcated in a communication dated 16th March, 1923, from M. Karakhan, the Assistant Commissary for Foreign Affairs, to M. Raskolnikov.

Nor did the Soviet Government fail to carry its activities into India. In November, 1922, seven Indians who had been trained as Communist agitators at Tashkent, were arrested after their arrival in India from Moscow whence they had travelled under the guidance of Russian civil and military officers by a circuitous and difficult route in order to avoid detection.

In the same year, a number of bank notes of £100 each, issued through Lloyd's Bank and the Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank in London, to Nikolai Klishko, Assistant Official Agent of the Soviet Government in London, in June, 1921, were cashed in India on behalf of a revolutionary Punjabi in touch with other Indian seditionaries who are known to have been closely associated with the Russian representative in Kabul.

In a recent communication to M. Kharakhan, M. Raskolnikov said: "I consider it most important to maintain personal touch with and render at least the minimum amount of assistance to Indian revolutionaries. It is necessary to assign at least 25,000 gold roubles. Failing this, the existing organisation must collapse.

In their note of September 7th, 1921, the Soviet Government indignantly repudiated any connection between themselves and the mischievous body known as the Third International. It is singularly unfortunate, if this be the case, that a member of the Soviet Government, M. Sokolnikov, People's Commissary for Finance, and presumably a responsible official, should, at a meeting of the Financial Commission of the Fourth Congress of the Third International held at Moscow on Nov. 25th, 1922, have been one of the body of three by whom the sums of £80,000 and £120,000 were allotted to the British and Indian Communist parties respectively. Of this sum, £75,000 had arrived in England by the beginning of January, 1923. A little earlier, in September, 1922, the Soviet Government had borne the expense of equipping and despatching to India and other Eastern countries, sixty-two Oriental students trained in propaganda schools under the Third International.

In connection with these and other acts of hostility, the British Government in a note presented to the Soviet Government at Moscow on May 8th, 1923, requested an apology for and the cessation of Soviet anti-British propaganda and hostile action, particularly in the East, and the re-call of the officials responsible.

It may be asked why Russia is so profoundly anti-British. No doubt the support given to Kolchak, Denikin and other anti-Bolshevik leaders may to some extent account for it. But the real reason must be looked for elsewhere. Russia has increased her influence in the Caucasus partly at the expense of Turkey. The Russo-Persian treaty of 26th February, 1921, placed Persia—a Mohammedan country—to some extent under the tutelage of Russia. A nationalist movement amongst the Mohammedans of Turkestan was forcibly put down by

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Bolshevists. The town of Kokand was laid waste. Some 15,000 of the inhabitants were slain. The mosques and shrines of this ancient Islamic centre were profaned and the famous library was burnt. The Soviet authorities deliberately prevented grain from Aktiubinsk and other fertile areas reaching the famine stricken population of Ferghana. Over 1,000,000 Kirghiz alone are said to have perished from this famine. . . . The Soviet Tashkent paper *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (October and November, 1920) shewed the pre-Revolution total of yoke oxen in Turkestan as 4,311,100 head, whereas the number in 1920 was 561,531. Sheep and goats had similarly fallen from 15,399,200 to 2,116,836 amongst the Kirghiz. . . . The native officials are still in such small minorities that they can have no controlling voice whatever. . . . The railways are entirely worked by Russians. The feeling of hostility is further aggravated by the Bolshevik policy of colonisation. Large numbers of Russian peasants have been brought into the country and settled on land taken from the Kirghiz. . . . Hence the Bolsheviks are very much alive to the dangers of an Asiatic conflagration, and realise that only by continuously directing its force against the British can they prevent its turning and burning themselves. . . . Dire necessity based on fear compels the Bolsheviks to continue their activities against the British in Asia. (*Asiatic Review*, October, 1923).

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT.

An anti-British movement, nominally to protect the Holy Places, started before the War. The brothers Shaukat and Mohamed Ali, started a Society called the Anjuman-i-Khaddam-i-Kaaba or Society of Servants of

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the Kaaba at Mecca. They hinted that Turkey was about to ally herself with a Christian Power. They anticipated a glorious victory in the war which would ensue. To those who perished, an even more glorious future was assured where physical exhaustion was unknown. Mohamed Ali and his brother were in close touch with Obeidullah, the head in Kabul of a "provisional Government of India." They went to Rawal Pindi and had a conference with this head and with other notorious anti-British personalities. In 1915, they were interned in Delhi at the instance of the Chief Commissioner, now Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member of the Government of India. They were released in 1919, and played a considerable part in the Congress at Amritsar. The political atmosphere was heavily charged with electricity. The reforms had been announced inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory. The blood of the Hindu, Sikh and Mohammedan victims of Delhi, Jallianwalla Bagh and other places cemented a union between elements once considered incompatible. The agitation over the Rowlatt Bills was in full swing. Hitherto there had been no Khilafat Committee worth considering. There was no organisation—no funds. Dr. Kitchlew had been imprisoned the previous Spring. With the advent of the Ali Brothers, new vigour was infused into the movement. A conference was held at which they presided. It would appear that the question of a revolution was not then mooted. It was resolved to send a deputation to the Viceroy and another to Europe. (*Historic Trial of the Ali Brothers and others*, The New Times Office, Karachi). The immediate cause of the Khilafat agitation was anxiety lest the peace terms to be offered to Turkey would materially prejudice the power and position of Turkey. In the interview of the delegates with Mr.

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Lloyd George on 17th March, 1920, the Prime Minister said that Turkey could not be treated on principles different to those applied to Christian countries nor was she to be allowed to retain control over lands which were not Turkish. Mr. Shaukat Ali threatened that if the peace terms did not conform to certain requirements, Muslims would be forced to sever their loyal connection with the British Throne.

In Paris, the deputation was equally unsuccessful. But socially there was something to be said for it. It is to this visit that the Hon. Sir William Vincent alluded in the Assembly on the 9th March, 1922, "When I think of those poor Muhajirins whose white bones are lying about the Khyber and on the way to Kabul, who were misled by these two gentlemen and their followers, who themselves never did a Hijrat further than Paris and London, when I think of the money extorted from the poor Mohammedans of this country and squandered away in Europe and elsewhere of which no recorded account has ever been kept and no account published up to this time, when I think lastly of the Hindus, the unfortunate Hindus, dishonoured and killed in Malabar and the thousands of people, innocent in a way, but misled, driven to death and ruin at the instigation of Messrs Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and those who think with them, then, Sir, I marvel at the simplicity and great ignorance and folly of the Muslim population that submits to such treatment and recognises such men as leaders, and I marvel the more at the temerity of the Hon. member who proposes to an assembly of really intelligent men who understand things, a suggestion that men of this class, traitors to their countrymen, and traitors to their King, should be treated with any consideration."

With the failure of the religious war between Afghanistan and India in 1919, the first phase of passive resistance among the Mohammedans occurred. It was inspired by the example of the Prophet. Mahomet had refused to reside amongst the ungodly and unfriendly Meccans. He had emigrated to Medina. His flight is spoken of as Hijrat. In due time, he returned as a conqueror. Actuated by the example of their Prophet, hundreds of families in Sindh and the N.W. Frontier Province sold their land and property for what it would fetch, placed their wives and children on carts and departed in the direction of the Khyber Pass. It is calculated that in the month of August, 1920, 18,000 people animated in a high degree by religious enthusiasm, moved into Afghanistan. After a time, the Afghans who at first welcomed the pilgrims, forbade their admission. The tide rolled back. The road from Peshawar to Cabul was strewn with the graves of old men, women and children, who had succumbed to the difficulties of the journey. Those who survived found themselves homeless and penniless.

Another bye product of the Khilafat agitation was the murder of R. W. D. Willoughby, I.C.S., by a Mohammedan fanatic at Kheri in the U.P. on August 26th, 1920.

In 1921, there was a conference between the Viceroy and Mr. Ghandi. As the outcome of this, the Brothers apologised to the public in carefully chosen words. But hardly had the ink of this statement dried, when Mohamed Ali indulged at Broach and Karachi in violent speeches, in order to induce soldiers of the Crown to break their allegiance. The Brothers and others were accordingly tried and convicted at Karachi in the Autumn of 1921. It was argued in the trial that Jihad had been preached by the Khalifa in the late war.

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Peace had not yet been signed. The Jihad was, therefore still operative. But as the Mohammedans then were not strong enough to fight, and as Hijrat or migration for 70,000,000 people was impracticable, the only alternative was non-violent non-cooperation which was permitted in the Koran (Sura LX., III. 117, v. 51, etc.). Religious toleration had been permitted to all Indians in the Proclamation of 1858, King Edward's proclamation of fifty years later, and in the Royal letter to the Princes and people of India on 24th May, 1910. By their religion, it was incumbent on Mohammedans not to fight in the British Indian Army against their brother Mohammedans (Sura IV. 29, IV. 92, etc.). To force them to fight against Mohammedans, therefore, was an interference with the teachings of their religion. It was intolerance of the worst type and indicated that the Royal Proclamations were scraps of paper. It was also maintained that this was the position taken up by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema or Assembly of Priests. According to one of the accused, the teaching embodied in these doctrines was not restricted to the followers of Mahomet. Sri Krishnas' teaching of Swa-Dharma (one's own duty) was not intended for Arjun or the Pandavas or even the Hindus, but for all sentient creation as such; that Manu and other spiritual law-givers of the Hindus had expressly defined Swa-Dharma as that which existed not in hostility to—but alongside of and in sympathetic and cordial amity with Para Dharmas (others' duties); and that Hindus had morally no option but to sympathise with and help their Muslim Brethren in their endeavours for the Khilafat.

The case of the Sikhs was similar. Shri Guru Govind Singh (the last of the Gurus, after whom the Granth Sahib or Sikh scriptures are alone the Guru of the

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Sikhs), to test the steadfastness of his disciples to their Dharma, merely set his bow and arrow in position as if to aim an arrow at the Samadhir (burial place) of a saint, whereupon he was fined Rs.100 by the Communal Panch. It was evident, therefore, that religious duties were superior to one's allegiance to a spiritual teacher let alone one's allegiance to temporal rulers like Ranjitsingh (Statement of Sri Sankaracharya in the historic trial of the Ali Bros. the New Times Office, Karachi).

Although six of the seven accused were convicted on minor counts in the above Karachi Trial, yet it is open to question whether much good results. The proceedings were published by the Nationalist Press throughout the length and breadth of India, the law being that it is no offence to print a substantially true account of a trial in the law courts. It was noised abroad everywhere that six verses of the Kuran and thirty-four extracts from the traditions which were specifically quoted in the trial as well as many others which were not quoted, made it absolutely illegal for any Mohammedan to kill another Mohammedan and that the only way of getting out of the difficulty was to resign the Army. It would have been better to have retained the Brothers Ali in custody indefinitely than to have courted such a state of affairs. It was a mistake to have released them after the War. It would have been better to have re-interned them under Regulation 3 of 1918 than to have given them this opportunity of conducting propaganda work from the accused's dock.

It is now necessary to retrace our steps and to touch on another episode—the Moplah Outbreak. Attention has already been drawn to the Hijrat or migration of the Prophet to Medina and to his subsequent return as a

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victor. Passive non co-operation is not sufficient for a pious Mohammedan. It is his duty to fight against the infidels and to overcome them in the same way as the idolatrous Meccans were subdued. The Jihad or Holy War is incumbent on all followers of the Prophet when conditions are favourable. As this question is of vital importance for the outside world, a reference to the principal texts is given :—

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Sura ii.	verses 216—217.
iii.	„ 166.
iv.	„ 76—79.
viii.	„ 39—42.
ix.	„ 5 and 6, 29, 111.
xxv.	„ 52.
lx.	„ 13.

The figures are from Moulvi Mohamed Ali's translation. In other editions, there are slight discrepancies as to the verse numbers though not as to the text itself. It has been maintained that the warfare is a spiritual warfare and that it applies only to idolaters and not to the People of the Book, *i.e.*, Jews and Christians. But the whole history of Islam is a story of struggles with the Peoples of the Book. Christians, it is maintained, have fallen away from the true faith. They have associated other gods with the true God and hence all Trinitarians have committed the mortal offence of "Shirk" or "Associating." "So when the sacred months have passed away, then slay those who associate Gods with God wherever you find them and take them captive and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush ; then if they respect and keep up prayer and pay the poor rate, leave their way free to them. Surely Allah is forgiving, merciful." (Sura ix. 5).

Even friendship with the enemies of Islam is forbidden (Sura LX. v. 1). In the end, Islam will overcome all religions—all of them—though those who commit “Shirk” or “Association” may be averse (Sura LXI, v. 9).

The teaching of the Hanafi School of Sunnis on the subject of Jihad is given in the Hidayah, vol. ii., p. 140:—

“The sacred injunction concerning war is sufficiently observed when it is carried on by any one party or tribe of Muslims, and it is then no longer of any force with respect to the rest. It is established as a divine ordinance by the Word of God who said in the Koran “slay the infidels” and also by a saying of the Prophet “war is established till the Day of Judgment.” The observance, however, in the degree above mentioned suffices, except where there is a general summons, that is, when the infidels invade a Muslim’s territory and the Imam for the time being, issues a general proclamation requiring all persons to go forth to fight; for in this case, war becomes a positive injunction with respect to the whole of the inhabitants whether men or women, or whether the Imam be a just or an unjust person: and if the people of that territory be unable to reject the infidels, then war becomes a positive injunction to all in that neighbourhood; and if these also do not suffice, then it becomes a positive injunction with respect to the next neighbours and in the same manner in respect to all Muslims from east to west.

The destruction of the sword is incurred by infidels, although they be not the first aggressors, as appears from various passages in the traditions which are generally received to this effect.

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have never before been called to the faith without previously inviting them to embrace it. Yet if he, a Muslim, attack them before thus inviting them, and slay them, and take their property, neither fine, expiation, nor atonement are due because that which protects them, (*viz.* Islam), does not exist in them nor are they under protection by place (*viz.* the Dar-ul-Islam, or Muslim territory) and the mere prohibition of the act is not sufficient to sanction the exaction either of fine or of atonement for property The Prophet made a peace between the Muslims and the people of Mecca for ten years; peace moreover, is ever in effect where the interest of the Muslims requires it, contrary to where peace is not to the interest of the Muslims, for it is not in that case lawful as this would be abandoning war, both apparently and in effect. It is, however, proper to observe that it is not absolutely necessary to restrict a peace to the term above recorded (*viz.*, ten years), because the end for which peace is made may sometimes be more effectually obtained by extending it to a longer term. If the Imam make peace with the aliens for a single term (*viz.*, ten years), and afterwards perceive that it is most advantageous to break it, he may in that case lawfully renew the war after giving them due notice, because upon a change of the circumstances which rendered peace advisable, the breach of peace is war both in appearance and also in effect, and war is an ordinance of God and the forsaking of it is not becoming (to Muslims).

If the Imam make peace with the aliens in return for property, there is no scruple, because, since peace may be lawfully made without any such gratification, it is also lawful in return for such a gratification. This, however, is only when the Muslims stand in need of the property

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If infidels harass the Muslims and offer them peace in return for property, the Imam must not accede thereto, as this would be a degradation of the Muslim honour and disgrace would attach to all the parties concerned in it. This, therefore, is not lawful except when destruction is to be apprehended, in which case the purchasing of peace with property is lawful, because it is a duty to repel destruction in every possible mode."

It will be seen from the above that peace with infidels is of the nature of a truce and that it is incumbent on Muslims to renew the struggle whenever it is advantageous to do so. It may be observed that in the late war with Italy, the Sultan of Turkey did not definitely cede Tripoli to the victors, the implication being that he could recover it when he was strong enough to do so. The "Little Entente" is likewise not a party to the recent peace of Lausanne. Theoretically, war still exists between Serbia and Turkey. Many commentators are of opinion that a state of warfare always exists between Muslims and the inhabitants of the Darul Harb or countries of the infidels though some are of opinion that if the edicts of Islam are promulgated in the country in question, it becomes Darul Islam even if the inhabitants are not Mohammedans (*Hughes, Dictionary of Islam*, W. H. Allen and Co., 13, Waterloo Place).

It is not for a moment to be supposed that there are not many texts which enjoin friendship with the Peoples of the Book, or the Government for the time being established. Attention is drawn to Sura II. verse 109, XXIX. 46, III. v. 63, III. 113, IV. 59, 148, V. 34 and LX. 7. It may be argued that Jihad is also incumbent

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according to the Koran on Christians and Jews (Sura ix. 113) who are, therefore, impliedly Muslims and that the proper way of settling disputes between them and Mohammedans is by referring the matter to Allah's Judgment (Sura XLII. 10). It is also impossible to pass over this question without touching on the belief of the Shiites that as the Imamate is in abeyance, there can be no Jihad. But the general belief amongst considerable sections of the Muslims is that war must be renewed whenever a favourable opportunity occurs. In any case, Hindus are not children of the Book. Even when they are not idolators, (as, for example, the Vedantists and the Brahmo Samajists), there is a strong infusion of Pantheism in their religion. This identification of men with God is repugnant to the teaching of Mahomet. It is "Shirk" of the most pronounced character. If it was a sin to say that the Prophet Christ is God, it is far worse to associate with the Deity, men who are not even Prophets. It was this teaching which was largely responsible for the Moplah outbreak of 1921. The British Raj was said to be in process of dissolution: the time was favourable for a Jihad.

The Moplahs of Malabar consist of descendants of Arab traders and of converts to Mohammedanism from the lower Hindu castes. In fierce fanaticism, they are matched only by the tribes of the North West frontier. In the wars with Mysore towards the close of the eighteenth century, they sided with Tippu Sultan while the Nairs and other Hindus favoured the British. Between 1836 and 1853, no less than twenty-two outbreaks took place besides numerous abortive risings and conspiracies. Risings occurred less frequently after this. In 1885, however, a rebellion took place in which 20,000 arms were collected including 9,000 guns. Since then, there

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Volunteers were being enrolled steadily. The resolution of the Karachi Conference affirming the fatva of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema produced an impression that Swaraj had been obtained. This resolution which was delivered at the All India Khilafat Conference at Karachi on 8th July, 1921, was in the following terms:—

“This meeting of the All India Khilafat Conference heartily congratulates Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Angora Government upon their magnificent victories and the success of their self-sacrificing endeavours to uphold the laws of Islam and prays to Almighty God that they may soon succeed in expelling the whole of the armies of the Foreign Governments from every nook and corner of the Turkish Empire. In addition, this meeting clearly proclaims that it is contrary to his religion for a Mohammedan at the present moment to continue in the British army, or to enter the army or to induce others to join the army. And it is the duty of

Mohammedans in general and Ulemas in particular to see that their religious commands are brought home to every Mohammedan in the army. Furthermore, this meeting also announces that if the British Government undertakes any military measures against the Angora Government, directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, then the Moslems of India will be compelled to commence breaking laws (Civil Disobedience) with the concurrence of the Congress and to proclaim at the forthcoming annual session of the Congress Committee to be held at Ahmedabad, the complete independence of India and the establishment of a republic in India."

(It was in respect of this resolution that the Ali Brothers were prosecuted as detailed above).

The District Magistrate of Malabar reported that he required military support. On August 14th, three platoons of the 1st Leinster Regiment were despatched to Malabar by rail. A body of police supported by a detachment of British Troops searched a mosque in Tirurangadi on August 20th, 1921. The search was made by Moplahs who had removed their shoes. This attempt to make searches in accordance with law was the signal for a general outbreak. Although the attacks were beaten off, Lieut. Johnston and Mr. Rowley, Assistant Superintendent of Police, were killed. The railway line was cut as far as Feroke. The Mallapuram detachment had been isolated. It was with the greatest difficulty that the Tirurangadi detachment returned.

On August 24th, a force started from Calicut to relieve Mallapuram. They were attacked at Pudukuttur. The assailants shewed their traditional ferocity and eagerness for death. They attacked the front, the rear and the flank. Their casualties were 400 killed. Mr. Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, was also killed.

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On August 20th, it was reported that widespread robbery and violence were directed against the Hindu population in Ernad and Walavanad Taluks.

The action at Pudukottur convinced the Moplahs that direct attacks were not productive of much success. From this time onwards, a change of tactics was observable. Roads and bridges were rendered more impassable than ever. The inhabitants, especially those suspected of assisting the Government, were cruelly treated. The war had, in fact, become a Jihad against idolators. Incendiarism, forced conversions, and even murders became the rule rather than the exception. The actions fought at Nammini and Nilambur in September showed that the Moplah programme was based upon guerilla warfare, plunder, terrorisation and the avoidance of battle. The armed fighting gangs about this time totalled about ten thousand, but tended to grow larger. The rebellion had behind it an unsuspected degree of strength. Added to this, the country intersected as it is by streams and creeks and carrying a growth of vegetation uncommon in other parts of India, presented extraordinary difficulties. The troops available numbered about seven companies beside a section of R.F.A. Accordingly it was proposed at the end of September to enrol 350 Military Police, armed with the Lee-Enfield Magazine Rifles and to send a battalion of Ghurkhas and one of Kachins. These forces proved more useful in difficult country than the Dorsets or the Suffolks.

On February 25th, 1922, the country had so far settled down that it was possible to replace the Martial Law Ordinance by another providing for repatriation of the refugees and the gradual introduction of normal conditions. The prisoners were supposed to have numbered

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THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

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thousands. The killed must have aggregated a large number. The following information was given by the Government in January, 1922, in reply to a question put by Mr. Jeyanti Ramayya Pantulu in the Legislative Assembly :—

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| 1. No of Hindus murdered by Moplahs. | A very rough estimate puts the killed at 500. No estimate of any value is possible in regard to the number injured. |
| 2. Number of Hindus who have been forcibly converted to Islam. | The number probably runs into thousands but the Local Government regret that for obvious reasons it will never be possible to arrive at an accurate estimate. |
| 3. Number of Hindu houses looted. | Possibly 5,000, but the Local Government state that the information is naturally vague. |
| 4. Number of rebels taken prisoners. | The approximate number is 5,000. |
| 5. Number of rebels who have surrendered to military authorities. | The estimate given is 50,000. |
| 6. Number of casualties on both sides during military operations. | (a) Rebels, 3,000.
(b) Military and Police, 120. |
| 7. Cost of military operations. | The cost up to the end of December, 1921, is roughly 15 lacs. |
| 8. Number of refugees to whom relief, is being given. | On the first of January, 1922, the figure was 19,879. On the same date, about 9,000 more were said to be receiving relief from the Congress Committee. |

One result of the Moplah outbreak in Malabar has been to shake Hindu-Muslim unity. It was evident that the conversion and circumcision of their co-religionists was not altogether to the taste of the Hindu non-co-operators. In a debate in the Legislative Assembly at the beginning of 1922, it was seen that the dislike was to some extent mutual. The Mohammedans complained that the Hindus had rushed the Moplahs into the fray and had then basely deserted them. Mr. Schamnad, who is a Moplah, explained that what were regarded as murders and the like were merely reprisals for information given to the enemy when war prevailed.

It may be asked whether the Moplah outbreak was part of the general plan of operations. In the spring of the year 1921, Mr. Yakub Hassan and other leaders of the Khilafat movement were prohibited from visiting Malabar. It is probable, therefore, that the outbreak was premature. It occurred on August 20th, 1921, whereas the resolution of the All India Khilafat Conference at Karachi on 8th July, 1921, seemed to indicate that the general declaration of independence was to be postponed until after December, 1921.

The absence of accredited leaders may also have been responsible for the attacks by Moplahs on Hindus. The religious compromise with idolators was not understood. Its publication might have given offence to the Jamait-ul-Ulema. In the absence of statesmanlike leadership, the war degenerated into a series of attacks upon the so-called Hindu idolators who were more vulnerable than the Government troops.

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THE AHMEDABAD CONFERENCE OF DECEMBER, 1921.

The same conflict between militant Mohammedanism and pacific Hinduism is the keynote to the deliberations at Ahmedabad. It was evident that a creed wedded to war could not long put up with non-violence, soulforce and the like. But Gandhi was in his own country. His influence was supreme, and it was his speech more than anything else which prevented the meeting from declaring for war.

In the All-India Khilafat Conference, which met on 26th December, 1921, Hakim Ajmal Khan, the President, said that after many vicissitudes the Muslim kingdoms were on their feet again. The Central Asian Federation of independent Islamic States promised a great future for Islam—greater than ever it was before the great war. Caucasia, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt and regenerated Turkey held out the hope of a Greater Islam. The Greeks had been defeated by the Kemalists in spite of British help. Afghanistan was now completely independent as a result of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty. The consolidation of Azerbaijan, Caucasia and Persia was as significant as the great victory of the Turks over the Greeks, which had completely smashed British diplomacy and had induced France to conclude a separate treaty with Angora. He declared that Britain alone was standing in the way of a real and just solution of the Middle Eastern question.

A resolution of allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey was passed, all standing. Before the meeting adjourned for the day, the President announced that the subjects Committee of the Conference had, on the motion of Mr. Azad Sobhani supported by Mr. Hasrat Mohani and by

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a majority, resolved to ask all Mohammedans and other Committees to endeavour to destroy British Imperialism and secure complete independence.

At the resumed sitting of the Khilafat Conference when Moulana Hazrat Mohani was going to move his resolution declaring as their goal independence, and the destruction of British Imperialism, it was objected that no motion which contemplated a change in the political creed could be adopted unless it was voted for in the subjects committee by a majority of two-thirds. President Hakim Ajmal Khan upheld this objection and ruled the independence motion out of order.

MOSLEM LEAGUE MEETING, AHMEDABAD.

Originally, the Moslem League was to the Mohammedans what the Congress is to the Hindu. It was a political body and its function was to safeguard the interests of Mohammedans. After it had arrived at an understanding with the Congress, its importance declined, and until December, 1922, it was little more than a pale shadow of the Congress.

The Presidential address of the Muslim League was delivered by Hazrat Mohani. He pleaded for an Indian Republic to be termed the United States of India to be declared on 1st June, 1922, to be obtained by all possible and proper means including guerilla warfare in case martial law was proclaimed. "Non-violent non-co-operation," said he, "can only help to start the parallel Government but cannot maintain it. The question now is 'can such a parallel Government be established only through non-violent non-co-operation?' Of course, provided the foreign Government does not interfere with its

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establishments, a condition which is obviously impossible. The foreign Government will certainly interfere. We will be forced to admit that a parallel Government can be started but not continued to the last through peaceful means.

As representatives of the Muslims, 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 out violence or non-violence for it is not in their 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 the gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible for the movement to remain non-violent."

With regard to the Independence Resolution, the President, Hazrat Mohani, announced that the decision of the subjects Committee rejecting the 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.

Azad Sobhani who had moved the resolution in the subjects Committee, also moved it in the Moslem League. He believed in non-violent non-co-operation as the only way to fight their battle, but 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.

In the Congress, Hazrat Mohani also put in a strong plea for independence. He was opposed by Gandhi who

pointed out that they would be false to their constitution and to their creed if they advocated war. In the end, the motion was thrown out by a large majority. The Congress instead resolved to adopt offensive civil disobedience in trial areas in which there had been sufficient preparation.

The local working committee of the Congress held on Feb. 11th and 12th at Bardoli represented Gandhism pure and simple. The Chaura tragedy had shewn that it was impossible to keep the movement non-violent. Aggressive civil disobedience was, therefore, postponed until the population was better prepared. But at Delhi on February 25th, the environment was different. Gandhi was no longer in his native place. Mohammedanism was strongly represented. The Bardoli decisions were confirmed with the addition that individual Civil Disobedience whether of a defensive or aggressive character might be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of and upon permission being given 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 the picketing of 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 the liquor picketing mentioned in the Bardoli resolutions.

“The All India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that the resolution of the Working Committee does not mean any abandonment of the original Congress programme of non-Co-operation or permanent

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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 (preparative) formed by the Working Committee at Bardoli.

Individual civil disobedience is disobedience of orders, or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals."

The Delhi decisions imply a growing split between a violent and a non-violent policy—between the Khilafat Conference and the Gandhiites. An open rupture was only avoided by the personal efforts of Ghandi himself. A semblance of unity was preserved by allowing individuals or groups to indulge in any kind of civil disobedience that they chose to practise after obtaining a permission which it might be impolitic to refuse. Even the non-violent pledge taken by the volunteers seems to have fallen into disuse amongst Mussalmans. "I continue to receive many complaints from many quarters that the Khilafat members do not comply with the conditions of the Congress pledge for volunteers and that they raise religious objections. I regret to find that the Jamiat-ul-Ulema has sent the working committee a pledge for the volunteers which is highly unsatisfactory. That pledge does not insist upon Khaddar for personal wear. Unity between races and the re-enthronement of the spinning wheel in India's 60,000,000 homes give you the requisite strength to fight the Government, if you are non-violent. I gladly concede that you can easily fight the Government with arms without the unity and without the spinning wheel. The result will be not Swaraj but one plunderer giving place to his superior and between the two a greater grinding of the masses." (M. K. Ghandi in *Young India* of 2nd March, 1921).

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A correspondent writing in the *Young India* of 9th March, 1922, says: "I have heard responsible Mussalmans talk of withdrawing co-operation even with the Hindus. The fight is religious with them. It is the Jihad." Even the Hindus were not immune from the taint of violence. Swami Satya Deva wished the Congress Committee to assert the right to carry arms in contravention of the Arms Act regulations (*Leader*, 27th February, 1922). He justified violence for the purpose of protecting one's wife, children, property, religion and things sacred. (*Ib*).

Even Gandhi himself became, at times, pessimistic as to the future of his movement. The undercurrent at Delhi, he remarked, was strongly symptomatic of violence. The workers 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. Gandhi therefore advised those who had been imprisoned to apologise and come out of gaol. All those who do not believe in non-violence should secede from the Congress, rejoin the Colleges or the Law Courts or seek election in the Legislative Councils. Swami Shraddanand, the head of the Arya Samajists went a step further in the same direction. He wished the country to start vigorous propaganda with a view to return the non-Co-operators to the councils at the next election.

It would be interesting to know the unpublished history of the quarrel between the Khilafat and the Congress. The following account, though contradicted by Maulana-Hazrat Mohani, contains so much that is true or half true that it may be taken as affording some clue to the real state of affairs:—"Maulana Hazrat Mohani asked Mr. Gandhi how it was that while the Mussalmans were willingly bearing the brunt of Govern-

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ment's wrath and were continually going to jail, whenever the question of any right arises, you say that the Hindu population of India is twenty-eight crores and the Mohammedan only seven crores, and so you are entitled to all privileges in the proportion of twenty-eight to seven; but for being shoe-beaten, assaulted and killed (apparently an allusion to Malabar) and for going to jail, the Mussalman's proportion is ninety-five and the Hindu's only five in every hundred." Continuing this argument, the Maulana produced a long list of those who had gone to jail and showed that while the figure of the Mohammedans who had gone to jail was ninety-five in every hundred, that of the Hindus was only five per cent. Along with this, he produced another list of resignations from the government service which was a much more dismal document shewing that $99\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the resignations were by Mohammedans only. Yet another list shewed a similar disparity so far as the question of the relinquishing of titles and practice at the bar was concerned. The list of non-co-operators apologising before Courts of Law shewed a similar state of affairs.

He unfolded the names, the status and position of persons who had relinquished government appointments, and told the sorrowful tale that every vacancy had been filled up by a Hindu. The Maulana added that the Hindus gave eighteen lacks of rupees for preparing for the extermination of the Moplahs. Mr. Gandhi interrupted the Maulana and asked him to state what the Moplahs had done to the Hindus. (They had killed some and forcibly converted and circumcised others). In reply, the Maulana retorted that when the Moplahs learned that the Hindus were giving every sort of help to the enemy, they taught them a lesson. (This was the

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attitude taken by Mr. Schamnad, M.L.A., in the debate on administration of martial law in Malabar in the Spring session of the Legislative Assembly). At first, the Moplahs regarded the Hindus as their friends, but when it gradually dawned upon them that the Hindus were their enemies in disguise, they thought it their bounden duty to teach them a lesson. At this stage, Hakeem Ajmal Khan Sahib said that the occasion was not one for a recital of this kind as it may injure the unity between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Maulana Hazrat retorted, saying that he had come to know that the Hakeem Sahib was, like Mr. Gandhi, a friend of the Government in disguise, that Khan Bahadur Peerzada Mohamed Hosain Judge and Hakeem Ahmed Sayeed Khan were his agents and were bringing messages from the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to him and that he was carrying on propaganda work on behalf of the Government, in conjunction with the Hindus.

The Maulana also said that he could not bear the sight of his co-religionists (the Moplahs) being killed and ruined. The properties of the Mohammedans had all been taken away in lieu of interest, reputations had been ruined and lakhs of persons had been killed. The Maulana asked how it was that Hakeem Ajmal Khan and Mr. Gandhi had not been arrested and what was it that stood in the way of their arrest. He told them to remember that he would secure pardon for all Mussalmans and get them released. 'You,' he said, 'want Swaraj, but our object is the Khilafat. If Kemal Pasha's sword is powerful, he will right the Khilafat wrongs and we will give him whatever support we can. Your Swaraj cannot give us any advantage. On the other hand, it will do enormous harm to our cause. We realise that it is possible for us to make peace with snakes and scorpions,

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In publishing the above, the *Englishman* of 11th March, 1922, remarked that it had received from the Muslim Information Bureau, 23, Turner Street, Calcutta, a Truth pamphlet "Maulana Hazrat Mohani's grievances against Mr. Gandhi." It had been specially translated from the Masrig newspaper of Gorakhpur dated the 9th February.

As stated above, Hazrat Mohani denies its accuracy. From private information, I gather that it represents substantially what took place at a private meeting and was not intended for publication. Both at Bardoli and Delhi, aggressive civil disobedience had merely been postponed. Enlistment of workers still went on all over the country. Every preparation was being made for the impending struggle with Government. The latter, therefore had no alternative but to prosecute Mr. Gandhi for sedition. He was tried at Ahmedabad and on pleading guilty, was sentenced on 18th March, 1922, to six years simple imprisonment. In September, 1920, he had ordered the boycott of the reformed councils. In the fall of 1921, he decreed the ostracism of the Prince of Wales who came to India as the harbinger of peace and goodwill. His downfall marked the wane of an attempt to cement Mohammedanism, Hinduism, and "Untouchables" for the purpose of ending British domination in India. At his departure, the Untouchable question still remained unsolved. The Mohammedans and Hindus were animated by distrust of each other, arising out of the Moplah and Frontier questions and the rooted dislike of

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Mohammedans to Polytheists. An attempt was made to re-unite them by transferring the real power to the Mohammedans. It was a Mohammedan, Hakeem Ajmal Khan of Delhi who took Gandhi's place. The Congress is nearly forty per cent. Mohammedan. Up to 1922, it was held at centres where the Muslim League and the Khilafat Conference convened their meetings. The electorate consists of persons who pay four annas subscription. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the head of the Hindu University at Benares, advocated a qualified return to the Reforms. The latter at any rate provided an electorate which was preferable to the four anna subscription which was the only qualification for a Congress elector. If Indianisation is insisted on, particularly in the Army, and economy inculcated, the Reforms may tide over an anxious time in the political evolution in India. Unless India is able to defend herself, she cannot be said to be ripe for Home Rule. Such is the view of Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Swami Shraddanand as we have seen, wished non-cooperators to be returned to the Councils at the next elections. Gandhi himself endorsed this view in one of his better balanced moods. The petulance displayed throughout the country in 1921 had in effect exhausted itself and the Hindus were looking round for a fresh rallying point. They realised that it was premature to hope for a lasting understanding with Islam.

The Afghan and the Frontier Wars are only alluded to because of their influence upon Hindu Moslem unity. The attempted Afghan invasion was, it is true, beaten back at a cost of 23 crores of rupees, but a state of warfare still exists with the frontier tribes. Some idea of the insecurity on the border may be gained from the fact that in 1910—1920, no fewer than 61 raids took place

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with 298 British subjects killed, 392 wounded and 463 kidnapped. Property worth Rs. 21, 30, 209 was looted. Expenditure on "Police" and "Political" in the North West Frontier Province rose from Rs. 1,067,000 and Rs. 20, 97, 106 in 1902-3 to Rs. 40, 85, 804 and Rs. 51, 86, 378 in the year 1919-20 respectively. The police force was increased in the same area from 2,464 in 1904 to 4601 in 1919 and the Frontier Constabulary from 2372 to 3959. Crime went up from 1999 cases in 1904 to 5955 cases in 1919. The occupation of Waziristan materially reduced raids and kidnapping. But with the persistent calls for retrenchment and economy in the army, it is doubtful whether the occupation will be permanent. It is necessary to employ Khassadars or tribesmen who receive subsidies for controlling their fellow tribesmen. But the problem is economic and starving continental Asia will continue as in the past to knock at the doors of Hindustan.

Circumcised in Malabar and raided on the North West Frontier, it is hardly surprising that the enthusiasm of the Hindu for the Mohammedan flagged during 1922. The Parallel Government tended to become unpopular, people disliking double taxation.

An idea was also prevalent that the constitution of the Congress favoured the Mohammedan who could always bend the Hindu to his will by the simple process of gaining a three-quarter majority in support of any contentious measure.

Many thousands of mal-contented had been imprisoned by Government from November, 1921, onwards and leaders were scarce. Faction fights between Hindus and Mohammedans occurred at Multan and elsewhere. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the latter part of 1922 was calm. It was even said that non-co-operation was dead.

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The Khilafat Conference at Gaya in December, 1922, synchronised with the meetings of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem Jamait-ul-Ulema. The first Lausanne Conference had broken down. The question of peace between the Entente and Angora was still in abeyance. The Sultan of Turkey had sailed for Malta in a British battleship. The Angora Government had treated his departure as being equivalent to abdication. In his place, they had appointed one of the Royal House, Abdul Majid, to succeed him as Khalifa but had refused to invest him with temporal powers. Their action places Indian Mohammedans in a position of some delicacy. For years they had been agitating to save both the spiritual and temporal power of the Khalifa and now they learned that the temporal power had been arrogated by the Grand Assembly of Angora without even consulting other Mohammedans. It was hardly surprising under the circumstances that the Muslim League should have refused any longer to associate itself with the Khalifa Conference and the Congress. However, its place was taken by the Jamait-ul-Ulema or congregation of Moslem religious leaders, and the Akalis or Sikh Puritans.

In the Jamait-ul-Ulema, the principal speakers took the view that the Sultanate and the Khilafat must be vested in one and the same person. He should enjoy the title of His Majesty and possess both spiritual and temporal powers. It was, however, pointed out that Angora was summoning a Conference of Moslem leaders from all over the world to amend the law of Turkey in accordance with the Shariat. This showed the good faith of Turkey and proved that the Kemalists would not go against the Shariat (God's Law) touching the position of the Khalifa.

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The same difficulty regarding the spiritual and temporal powers was raised in the Khilafat Conference. A reassuring letter was, however, read from Lausanne in which it was suggested that the Turks did not intend to separate the Khilafat from the Sultanate. Dr. Ansari remarked that the news of the separation of temporal from spiritual powers had been received from quarters interested in discrediting the Kemalists. Lord Curzon had tauntingly asked the Moslems what they would do. If a mistake had occurred, the Mohammedans would remember their duty without a cue from him. In the end, the Jamait-ul-Ulema and the Khalifat Conference recognised Abdul Majid as Khalifa.

With regard to boycott, both the Khilafat Conference and the Congress referred the matter to a Committee which was to recommend a scheme. The following is the text of the Congress resolution :—

This Congress accepts the recommendation of the Enquiry Committee regarding the question of boycott of British goods and resolves that the question be referred to a committee for a full report as to what British goods may be successfully boycotted and the places from which goods can be easily obtained, and that the said report be submitted to the All India Congress Committee within two months.

Resolved further that the Congress programme regarding Khadder and the boycott of all foreign cloth shall not be affected by this resolution. The following gentlemen shall be members of the said Committee :—
Sjts. N. C. Sen, J. K. Mahta, N. C. Kelkar, M. Umar-Subani, Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahu.

As regards civil disobedience, both the Khilafat and the Congress were in substantial agreement. A working committee was empowered to take necessary

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action. As a preliminary measure, the Congress Committee resolved to raise 50,000 volunteers and to collect 25 lakhs of rupees for the Tilakh Swarajyya fund before April, 1923. The corresponding figures for the Khilafat Conference were 10 lakhs of rupees and 50,000 volunteers within three months. Apparently separate funds and separate bodies of volunteers were foreshadowed, but this was not quite clear. Whilst action would apparently be deferred until preparation work had been completed, yet if Britain waged war against Turkey, the Muslims of India would immediately launch civil disobedience with a programme of propaganda among the police and army, stopping of fresh recruitment and a refusal to subscribe to War Loans. They would recruit for an Angora Legion and support the picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops and the prevention of the export of grain. The Khilafat Working committee was authorised to change or add to the programme.

The Congress inculcated the Gandhi programme of spread of Khaddar and the spirit of non-violence, but it was significant that non-co-operators were empowered to exercise the right of private defence.

The following is the text of the Congress resolution on Civil Disobedience:—

“This Congress re-affirms its opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion. When every other remedy for preventing the arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority has been tried, and in view of the widespread awakening of the peoples to a sense of the urgent need for Swarajyya and the general demand and the necessity for civil disobedience in order that the national good may be speedily obtained, and in view of the fact that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence

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has been preserved in spite of provocation, this Congress calls upon all Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering civil disobedience by strengthening and expanding the national organisation, and to take immediate steps for the collection of at least Rs.25 lakhs for the Ti-lakh Swarajayya fund and the enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge by a date to be fixed by the All India Congress at Gaya, and empowers the committee to issue the necessary instructions for carrying this resolution into effect."

An interesting feature of the Gaya meetings was the extension of the activities to far wider fields than hitherto. At the last Khilafat Conference, the Moham-medan leaders looked for inspiration to the Central Asian Mussalman States. On the present occasion, however, the President, Dr. Ansari, emphasised the need of a pan Asiatic Movement to bring about solidarity among the peoples and countries of Asia with a view to freeing them from the economic bondage of Europe. He recommended that agencies might be established at suitable centres, and that representatives of an Asiatic Federation should be sent to deliberate at the centres fixed upon each year for the Congress and Khilafat meetings.

Going beyond the limits of Asia, the Congress affiliated the British Indian Association, Johannesburg, the Natal Indian Congress Committee, the Durban Indian Association, the Durban British Indian League, the Capetown and the Kabul Congress Committees.

The attitude of the Khilafat Conference and the Jamait-ul-Ulema to the Councils was uncompromising. Dr. Ansari emphasised the futility of contesting seats. He advocated the setting up of parallel polling booths

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during Council elections where persons sympathising with the Congress might vote. The significance of the proposal was not clear. It was possibly intended to picket the elections by stationing volunteers at the booths ostensibly to enforce order.

The Jamait-ul-Ulema declared participation in the next general election to be contrary to Shariat (God's Law). This resolution differed from that passed in November by the Executive Committee of the Jamait-ul-Ulema in Delhi which permitted candidates to seek election provided that the oath of allegiance was not taken.

In the Congress, opinions were sharply divided on the question of standing for the Councils. The majority were of opinion that Civil Disobedience was the most effective method of obtaining Swaraj. A minority headed by Mr. C. R. Das, the able lawyer of Bengal, advocated entry into the legislatures in order to make them unworkable. In the end, a split occurred, Mr. Das resigning his office of President and forming a "Congress Khilafat Swaraj party" in opposition to the majority of the Congress. The party accepted the Creed of the Congress, *viz.*, the attainment of Swaraj (either within the empire or without it) by all peaceful and legitimate means, and also the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. The President (Mr. Das) was unable to accept most of the resolutions passed at the last session of the Congress. His views are contained in his presidential address. He advocated a large measure of decentralisation. "To me, the organisation of village life and the practical autonomy of small local centres are more important than other provincial autonomy or central responsibility. I must not be understood as implying that the village centres will be disconnected

units. They must be held together by a system of co-operation and integration. For the present, there must be power in the Provincial and the Indian Governments."

But although Mr. Das is in favour of the villager who is for the most part uneducated, he is against the middle classes or bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy. "If to-day the British Parliament grants provincial autonomy with responsibility in the Central Government, I for one will protest against it because that will inevitably lead to the concentration of power in the middle class. I do not believe the middle class will then part with their power. How will it profit India if, in place of the White Bureaucracy that now rules over her, there is substituted an Indian Bureaucracy of the Middle Classes."

"The very idea of Swaraj is inconsistent with the existence of a bureaucracy. My ideal of Swaraj will never be satisfied unless the people co-operate with us in its attainment. Any other attempt will inevitably lead to what European Socialists call the bourgeois government." To some, these utterances of Mr. Das may savour of Bolshevism. But he is opposed in the present state of India to any form of internationalism. "What is the ideal which we must set before us? The first and foremost is the ideal of Nationalism."

As regards the Councils, Mr. Das advocates entry in order to wreck them if the national demands are not conceded. "We should begin our proceedings by a solemn declaration of our inherent right, and by a formal demand for a constitution which would recognise and conserve those rights and give effect to our claims for the particular system of Government which we may choose for ourselves. If our demands are accepted, then

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the fight is over. But, as I have often said, if it is conceded that we are entitled to have that form of Government which we may choose for ourselves and the real beginning is made with that particular form of Government in view, then it matters nothing to me whether the complete surrender of power is made to us to-day or in twenty years. If, however, our demand is not given effect to, we must non-co-operate with the bureaucracy by opposing each and every work of the Council. We must disallow the annual budget. We must move the adjournment of the house on every possible occasion, and defeat every bill that may be introduced. In fact, we must so proceed that the Councils will refuse to do any work unless and until our demands are satisfied."

It is difficult to estimate the mentality of Mr. Das. Apparently he is intensely national. He wishes for an India which shall be really Indian and not of the West. The nationalism of which he speaks is not nationality as it exists in Europe to-day. "Nationalism in Europe, is an aggressive Nationalism, a selfish nationalism, a commercial nationalism of gain and loss."

Though Mr. Das apparently wishes for a national constitution as opposed to the parliamentary constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, he is careful not to define it apart from his somewhat vague allusions to village life and its integration in higher centres. "Swaraj" says he, "is indefinable and is not to be compared with any particular system of Government. There is all the difference in the world between Swarajyya and Samrajayya. Swaraj is the national expression of the national mind. The system of the Reformed Councils with their steel frame of the Indian Civil Service covered over by a dyarchy of deadlocks and departments is absolutely unsuited to the nature

and genius of the Indian nation. It is an attempt of the British Parliament to force a foreign system upon the Indian people."

It is evident from the above that if a form of government consistent with the national genius is promised, Mr. Das is prepared to allow British rule in India to continue five or even twenty years. But Mr. Das is in a minority in his own Congress. There is the further difficulty that he has not presented his proposal. He condemns the bourgeois type of Indian but it does not necessarily follow that he favours democratisation. The older India with its system of watertight caste compartments was in no sense democratic or even middle class. It was ruled by the highest and most exclusive sects in the world. It was intensely national and intensely self-contained. From the age of Alexander to the early Mohammedan conquests, there was virtually no intercourse between India and the outer world.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Das favours the return of some sort of Brahminical rule, are we necessarily to turn a deaf ear to his proposals? Is it not desirable to allow his party to formulate their demands? Is not Brahminism the converse of Bolshevism? Has not Hinduism been for centuries a bulwark against the doctrines of force and conquest in Southern Asia?

Mr. Das is to some extent a follower of Gandhi. If his doctrines are impregnated with altruism and non-violence, will it not be so much to the good? Is not nationalism to some extent inconsistent with Pan Islamism of the militant variety and that form of Pan Asiaticism which foreshadows a war against Europe. Amongst the ultimate aims of Pan Asiaticism are the capture of the Indian market. The whole cult of Khadder,

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the spinning wheel, boycott and Swaraj would cry out against the substitution of a new form of exploitation for the old. Before we pronounce judgment, let us await the unfolding of the evidence.

Certain it is that the Brahminical world is profoundly dissatisfied with the Reforms. Placing, as the latter do, the whole power of the ministers in the hands of the middle classes, they spell the downfall of Hindu Theocracy. The ablest intellects in the country are no longer allowed to possess a virtual monopoly of appointments not filled by Europeans. On the contrary, orders have been issued in Madras that Brahmins are not to be appointed to office until the balance of non-Brahmins has been restored. The present state of the intellectuals is infinitely worse than it was before 1920. The Brahmin then guided the Civil Service and hence ruled the country. It was he who fought the battle of Home Rule. In the hour of victory, he saw the spoils of office filched away by the middle classes. It would have been infinitely better from his point of view had there been no reforms at all.

But we have no evidence that Mr. Das favours Brahminism or regards it as a practical policy. There has been too great an awakening in India to render such a scheme possible, and it is more probable that he favours a rapprochement with the Democratic Party in the Legislative Assembly. The views of that body strongly resemble those enunciated by Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviyya in an address delivered at Delhi in the spring of 1922. Mr. Malaviyya, like Mr. Das, was of opinion that many of the Congress proposals were out of the question. There could be no Home Rule until the Army was Indianised. There could be no prosperity without economy and a balanced budget. Although

the European element will be eliminated rapidly in all the services, there will be no dishonesty. There has been no suggestion of cutting down the pay and pensions of persons in the services or of repudiation of past debts. The only proposal of the kind is with regard to the debt now being incurred on which the Government has been living because the Assembly in 1922 curtailed the expenditure by 5 per cent. It is not to be imagined for a moment that sides have to be taken in the coming struggle for seats in the Legislature. The British politician is not an adept in matters of this kind. He made a mess of things when he intervened in the revolution in France. He did still worse in Russia, Turkey and Greece. His role is to preserve law and order and keep the lists. The fight is evenly balanced. The Sudras are not without resources. They represent the wealthier portion of the electorate. They stand for communal representation. They are supported in this respect by the Mohammedans. On the other hand, their opponents are well represented as regards intellect and they also control the labour unions.

But though a policy of "wait and see" may be right as regards the Congress, the Khilafat quarrel is a different problem. We learn that a conference is to be convened at Angora to adopt the Shariat to modern conditions. This conference may break down in discord between the several Islamic races. It may on the other hand result in a practical fighting Pan-Islamic programme; and if this is directed by enmity against Britain, we may have to preserve our communications. The crying need of the age is for food and raw materials. The European does not stop to think. He does not reflect that the effect of the late war was to deflect the products of the Far East to Japan

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and America—to replace the Suez Canal by the relatively safe Panama route. “New Europe crying out for material for her factories, sees Britain at every outlook, mistress of every sea, the Red Sea and the entire Mediterranean. Every maritime route, every transcontinental railway debouching at a particular port is to his disordered vision dominated by Britain. Europe is hungry. She sees the engorged figure of John Bull standing between her and plenty. The French attitude in regard to petroleum is peculiarly significant in this respect. I shall translate passages from “*La Lutte pour le Pétrole et la Russie*” by Alexandre Michelson, Professeur agrégé de Science des Finances et Paul Apostol, Docteur ès Sciences Économiques, Paris, Payot et Cie”—“The control and distribution of liquid fuel by two powerful capitalist groups (the Shell and the Royal Dutch) whose hegemony extends practically over the entire world is extremely dangerous and every Government should pay heed to the matter. Considering the world wide distribution of these undertakings, the British Government by itself cannot solve the problems presented by these trusts. The possession by them of the sources of production, the principal pipe lines, ships and distributing agencies, makes it impossible for third parties to break their monopoly or force them to reduce their price. In the face of this danger, every country should strain every effort to defend itself against the monopolies of such trusts and to evolve its own national policy for dealing with petroleum. The principles to be followed are different in producing and consuming countries respectively. For producing countries, the principle to be adopted is the defence of the national wealth. This policy may even justify the prohibition of prospecting and exploiting by strangers. Numerous

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instances of this kind may be cited. Thus it is prohibited to foreigners to prospect for petroleum in Burmah, India, Uganda and the United Kingdom. Foreigners are not allowed to control the products of petroleum in Algeria, Australia, Barbadoes, Tanganyika Territory, France, French West Africa, Guatemala, Japan, Formosa, Sakhalin, Madagascar, Mexico, New Guinea, and probably in South Africa. Venezuela is also meditating the adoption of this policy." . . .

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It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that producing countries are virtually invited to differentiate against the Shell and the Royal Dutch Companies.

I shall now quote from a speech by Mr. Briand published in *Le Temps* of 29th March, 1920:—

"If a victorious France cannot safeguard her interests, or if, owing to lack of foresight, she becomes economically subject to another country, she will be conquered in spite of her victory. It is, therefore, my duty to occupy myself with the future. If our agreement embraces Mosul, it is because Mosul is in some respects a prolongation of the hinterland of Alexandretta. Alexandretta is the natural port for the petroleum of this region. Petroleum! Is it necessary for me to comment on this word in order to understand that it means much for the future of a country which is not deprived of it. France is not exacting. She only wishes her place in the sun. She will not submit to economic subjection any more than she will to military supremacy." . . .

The allusion to Japan brings us to the Pan Asiatic Federation alluded to by Dr. Ansari in his Presidential address to the Khalifat Conference. France which obtained a 25 per cent. interest in the Mosul Oilfield, and the United States have been placated. We nowhere

find, however, that any effort was made to propitiate Japan. Now Pan Asiaticism is no new affair. It has long been a popular cry in the East of Asia. In this connection, it may be of advantage to recall the treatment meted out to China at the Peace of Versailles. China had fought loyally for the Entente. As the reward of victory, the province of Shantung was taken away from her. It would be difficult to imagine anything more calculated to inflame the Chinese against those Europeans who were parties to the act. Pan Asiaticism was originally a Japanese cry and has been found a useful means for widening Japanese markets. It is the Asiatic Monroe doctrine. It is Japan's answer to America's demand for the open door in China. "It is incumbent upon the Yamato race to try and recover for the weaker nations of the East their rights which have been trampled under foot by other nations." (*The Foreign Relations of China*, by Bau, Nisbet and Co.) The following quotations may also throw some light on the question. "Asia for the Asiatics" the doctrine of Pan Asiaticism, is not a myth or a bogey. It really exists, however much it may attempt to conceal its presence in order to allay European opinion which is vaguely disturbed by it. It is working underground all the time and the Peace Conference has done all it can to stimulate it particularly as regards Shantung. If one doubts the existence of Pan Asiaticism, one may find an indisputable proof of it in the famous military convention of May, 1918, which Japan forced the Government of Peking to sign in order to do away with all European and more especially American intervention. We here find an undoubted endeavour to dominate exclusively the Western Pacific.

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The Turkish question is much more serious than it appears at first sight because of the solidarity not only of Islam but of all the countries of Asia. Even though this solidarity seeks to conceal itself, a writer of the Yellow race has recently proclaimed that Asia is one. Although his statement indicates ignorance from an ethnological point of view, it is nevertheless true politically. It is necessary, therefore, ever to bear in mind that there is an entente amongst Asiatics to meet what they call the "White Peril." But the Asiatic is not an idealist. He does not expect fair words or vain promises. He demands material benefits." (*Tour d'horizon Mondial*, Dr. A. F. Legendre, Payot et Cie, Paris, 1920).

We will now turn to an American source of information. Lothrop Stoddard in his recent work on Islam points out that the Angora Turks in their efforts to secure support against European invasion even went so far as to offer the Khilafat to the Emperor of Japan subject to certain reservations.

In this connection it may be asked what share of the anticipated output of Mosul was promised to Japan. France was allowed 25 per cent. America received a share, but did Japan, the rival of America get anything?

It is not to be supposed that Japan regards the Near-Eastern question with indifference. Towards the end of April, 1921, she sent to Constantinople as High Commissioner one of her ablest diplomatists. Mr. Uchida disclaimed having any special task. "He came," he said, "as a sympathetic and observant spectator." His

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curiosity led him to know everything. His sympathy opened to him the doors of Stamboul and the hearts of its inhabitants. In a short time, he was the best informed member of the 'corps diplomatique,' but Constantinople did not absorb the whole of his attention. His system of intelligence reached to the Caucasus and Central Asia. Nothing took place in Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Afghanistan or Persia without his knowing it.

If British goods are to be boycotted in India, who will fill the void? Is Japan capable of doing so? We have few facilities for probing the intricacies of Oriental politics, but it is desirable, when a clear indication of policy is given, to trace it to its ultimate ramifications, and we are grateful to Dr. Ansari for putting us on the way.

A good deal has been heard of late of the revival of Napoleon's continental scheme. If on an Indian boycott, Pan-Asiatic and European boycotts are superimposed, the outlook for Great Britain is indeed serious. The eventuality is remote, it is true, but forewarned is forearmed. The remedy lies in a lasting peace with Islam—not in a mere signing of treaties, but in a change of mentality.

But if friendship with Islam is out of the question, (I hope it is not), it will be more necessary than ever not to drift into a breach with Hinduism and thereby drive the latter into the arms of the Pan-Asiatics. Far more favourable terms can be secured at the present moment than in 1929 when the constitution is to be revised. As time goes on, our position must alter for the worse. The services are rapidly being Indianised. In the Spring of 1923, it was arranged that the British officers of eight regiments were to be replaced by Asiatics. It is only a question of time when others will go the same

way. But the pace is not fast enough to satisfy the Indian Nationalist. He does not wish to sink his Nationality and his culture in the Pan-Asiatic movement. He prefers Hinduism to Mohammedanism, and in order to develop Nationalism without let or hindrance from without, he is willing to grant advantages which it may be difficult to secure hereafter. It is obviously better to arrive at some permanent arrangement at once rather than to wait until the bond of union snaps.

The recent trend of politics in India reveals the difficulties in the way of reconciling the Hindus and the Mohammedans on the one hand, and on the other, of preventing a split between those who advocate civil disobedience and those who wish to enter the Legislative Assembly in order to wreck the Reforms.

Moulana Mahomed Ali was released on August 29th, 1923, at Jhansi. He expressed himself as utterly unrepentant and prepared to go back to jail. Interviewing leaders of different parties, he discovered that the country was distracted by Hindu-Muslim riots and quarrels as to the advisability of entering the Councils. In his speech at the special Congress at Delhi, he said that he had received a wireless message from Gandhi which was to the following effect:—

“... If looking at the state of the country, you think that one or two items of the boycott programme should be discarded or modified or added to, then in the name of love of country, I command you to give up these parts of my programme or alter them accordingly.”

Following the lead alleged to have been given by Gandhi, who was in jail, the special Congress held in September, 1923, at Delhi, passed resolutions authorising all the controversial measures. These related to the removal of the ban on Council entry, the appointment

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of a committee to organise an effective campaign of Civil Disobedience, the appointment of committees for the conclusion of the National Pact and for touring in places where riots and friction had occurred in order to bring about better relations between Hindus and Muslims, and the adoption of a modified Khadder programme involving the boycott of British goods.

Not one of these resolutions was passed without opposition. The first was necessary if the Swaraj Party (the followers of Mr. C. R. Das) was to be kept within the Congress. And once this resolution was passed, the Extremists had to be pacified by giving them a comparatively free hand in the matter of Civil Disobedience. This explains why previous resolutions which had Mr. Gandhi's full support, e.g., the resolution disapproving entry into the Legislature, had to be modified.

It should be remembered that a committee appointed to inquire into the matter of Civil Disobedience, had reported by a majority that it was impracticable. Gandhi himself had postponed it in the spring of 1922, after the outbreak of violence at Chaura Chauri. Since the Spring of 1922, the state of the country had altered for the worse owing to dissensions between Hindus and Muslims and other causes.

The resolution about boycott was even worse. It ignored the fact that boycott had always broken down in the past. It shewed an astounding ignorance of economic facts since the supply of country goods is by no means equal to the demand. It also overlooked the relative cheapness of imported as compared with Khadder articles.

The use of Khadder was to be enforced by "peaceful persuasion." But "peaceful persuasion" has in the past

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These inconsistent and rash resolutions have justified the attitude taken up by the Liberals or members of the Assembly. They have refused to come to any arrangement with the Swaraj Party or followers of Mr. C. R. Das in the Congress. The two parties will oppose each other in the elections. The Zamindars or large landlords will also have a party in the field. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru writing in the October number of the *Asiatic Review* for 1923, remarks that he will not be surprised if the result shews that the non-co-operators are in a majority in the Assembly and the Provincial Councils. He goes on to say that the situation will call for the exercise of the highest statesmanship.

KHILAFAT FINANCES.

The Central Khilafat Committee, at its meeting held on 12th January, 1922, passed the following accounts:— The total receipts during the year 1920 were Rs.643766-1-4 while the total expenditure under the various heads amounted to Rs.473688-5-8 leaving a balance of Rs. 170077-11-8.

During the year 1921, the approximate receipts were Rs.2099789-4-5 from the following resources:—Smyrna Relief Fund, Rs.626509-14-7; Angora Relief Fund, Rs.846744-13-4; Khilafat Fund, Rs.293136-5-6; Khilafat receipts, Rs.231591-15-6; Literature proceeds, Rs.4712-8-3; Khilafat badges and flags, Rs.1135-9-9; Medina Manawara Fund, Rs.7225-3-10; National Muslim University Fund, Rs. 15114-13-0; Hijrat Fund, Rs.1092-8-0; Khilafat Membership fees, Rs.2886-11-0; Miscellaneous collections, Rs.69638-13-8.

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The balance at the end of 1921, after deducting expenditure was Rs.928480-3-2. Up to June 1921, Rs.534857-13-10 had been remitted to Smyrna whilst Rs.375231-3-9 were sent direct to Angora. Remittances to Smyrna were formerly sent direct to Djami Bey, representative of the Angora Government at Rome, but afterwards money was sent direct to Mustapha Kemal Pasha through the Netherlands Trading Society and the Imperial Ottoman Bank of Constantinople.

In 1922, a fund was opened for the purchase of aeroplanes for Mustapha Kemal Pasha, but it would appear from remarks made at the Gaya Conference in December, 1922, that the response was disappointing.

The Khilafat accounts were adversely criticised in the Statesman of March 17th, 1923. It was alleged that after a search of the Khilafat Office, only three vouchers could be found. Amongst the Khilafat members themselves, there was considerable criticism of the expenditure. Thus the Secretary of the Provincial Khilafat Committee of Bengal took exception to items of which "no account will be given" and "paid to a gentleman." Eventually, however, the Statesman and the Secretary of the Bengal Committee withdrew their remarks. (*Madras Weekly Mail*, 26th April, 1923).

The above figures probably do not include the whole of the receipts. It is probable that many Provincial items are excluded. But the information is interesting since it establishes the fact that the money was not collected for the Khalifa. It was spent for the Government of Angora:—in other words, on objects inconsistent with the continuance of the temporal and the spiritual power of the Khalifa.

Of even greater interest is the manner in which the Angora Fund has been expended.

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“Collections began in September, 1921, and up to December 31, Rs. 877,186 had been deposited with Seth Chotani and his firm who acted as treasurers. During 1921, Rs. 3,75,231 were remitted direct to H. E. Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Angora, and receipts from him were duly published for public use.

During 1922, the total collections amounted to Rs. 22,59,937 and out of this, up to June, 1922, further remittances amounting to Rs. 11,52,470 were sent to Angora.

In July, 1922, it was brought to the notice of the working committee for the first time that a balance of Rs. 16,63,264 was lying with Seth Chotani; and the working committee held on July 18th, 1922, at Bombay decided that ten lakhs of rupees should be immediately remitted to Angora. Up to October, no money was sent in compliance with the resolution of the working committee, and Seth Chotani was asked to give reasons for this non-compliance. He assured the Committee that the sum of ten lacs of rupees would be remitted to Angora by instalments in the next four months. The working committee accepted this assurance and the Central Khilafat Committee at its meeting held on October 16th, 1922, at Delhi passed a resolution asking Seth Chotani to send the amount in the next four months, but again the money was not sent.

In January, 1923, some of the members of the working committee approached Seth Chotani and then for the first time they learnt that he was unable to send the promised remittances as he had suffered serious business losses owing to his being deprived of all government contracts. He readily offered to give security for the balance due by him. . . . Mr. Chotani remitted only £5000 to Angora but he was unable to comply with

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the request for further cash remittances and the committee thereupon asked him to make them a definite offer of the security that he was willing to give them.... Since then the board have taken possession of the saw mills and a good portion of the stock in trade of Seth Chotani. Further delivery of stock is in progress and it is hoped that all the arrangements will be completed shortly." . . . (Statesman, July 12th, 1923).

It is probable that there were other financial troubles; for Sheikh Mushir Hosain Kidwai, Vice-president of the Oudh Khilafat committee and one of those who was primarily responsible for the advent of the Khilafat movement in India, sent the following to the Press :

"The Khilafat fund and Khilafat Committees were formed on my suggestion when the Khilafat crisis arose. Now I consider it my duty to appeal for the abolition of both. I appeal to the office holders not to continue their expensive organisations solely for love of office. The Khilafat tours and meetings are sheer waste of energy and money considering that the Congress is performing the necessary functions. So far as the Khilafat is concerned, it is safe in the hands of the militant Turks, and in regard to the financial help promised to Angora, it must be admitted that not more than 20 per cent. of the funds subscribed have ever been sent to Turkey. We are misusing the Angora funds and the Khilafat organisations are being exploited for personal and party purposes, ignoring the vital interests of Islam. The arrangements made to recover the outstanding balance of the Angora fund amounting to Rs. 16 lakhs are anything but satisfactory. No other organisation in India can be blamed for such careless and unsystematic management of public money as the Khilafat committee. Further, the Indian Mussalmans will do

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well now to turn their attention away from the Khilafat and Angora to their own home. The recent communal riots have undeniably indicated that the Indian internal situation needs far greater attention than has hitherto been bestowed upon it." (*Pioneer Mail*, 29th June, 1923).

It is possible that the Khilafat funds were not the only ones the expenditure of which was open to criticism. One of the causes according to Prof. T. L. Vaswani of the failure of the whole non-co-operative movement was lack of honesty. Some of Gandhi's pretended disciples cared more for money than for their reputations, and the Congress funds disappeared like a mist. ("Creative Revolution," by Prof. T. L. Vaswani, Ganesh and Co., Madras; *The Calcutta Review*, January, 1923, page 207).

It is improbable, however, that the Khilafat Conference will be dissolved. A large body of officials exists. These will have to be paid. Hence subscriptions will continue to be collected. To justify the collections, the most will be made of the combined question of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the Holy Places.

The problem of replacing the present nominal Khalifa by a real Commander of the Faithful may also come to the fore at any moment. In this case, the Khilafat Conference may be of use—possibly to the Turks, possibly to other wirepullers.

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI was born on October 2nd, 1869. His forefathers had held high office in the Porbander State. Nominally a Hindu, he seems to have come in contact with the Jains, a sect which is not only vegetarian, but which holds it a sin to take even the life of an insect. It is possible that we have here the origin of the principle of non-violence to which Mr. Gandhi has ever been faithful.

He was educated at London University and the Middle Temple and was duly called to the Bar. He was never able fully to shake off the effects of his western upbringing. Indian as he was, his methods were tinged with the ideas of Passive Resistance and the General Strike, and if the caste system ever breaks down in India, it will be largely thanks to the democratic views which he did so much to popularise. The removal of Untouchability was a fundamental feature of his political teaching.

In 1893, he went to South Africa, and from that time dates his long struggle against the exclusion of Indians from citizenship. It was largely due to his efforts that an Exclusion Bill was defeated in Natal. In the South African War, he raised an Indian Ambulance Corps, was mentioned in despatches, and received a war medal.

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION. 73

In 1903, we find him in the Transvaal where he formed the British Indian Association. At a later period, he associated himself with Mr. V. Madanjit and Mr. M. H. Najar and started the Indian Opinion. In 1906, at the time of the Zulu rebellion, he raised a company of stretcher bearers and served in the same, eventually receiving another medal. By Lord Harding, he was also presented with the Kaiser-i-Hind medal.

In 1914, he raised a volunteer Ambulance Corps in London, largely composed of Indians.

At the war conference in Delhi in 1917, when Lord Chelmsford appealed for recruits, Gandhi was one of those who worked hard to secure them.

This brings us to the end of Gandhi's efforts to co-operate with the British. It has been contended that the change of attitude was due to the Jallianwalla Bagh episode and what Indian extremists are pleased to call the Panjab atrocities in the Spring of 1919. It is doubtful whether this was the case. Gandhi's Satyagraha campaign commenced before the Dyer episode. His life in South Africa and ideas gleaned by him from Tolstoy and Rousseau had made him hate, if not the individual Englishman, British Imperialism and British culture. His views are given in a book written by him in 1908 of which a new edition came out in 1921. In this "Indian Home Rule," he attacks railways, lawyers, courts of law, doctors of medicine, hospitals, machinery, mills, parliaments and even national independence if the latter entails European culture.

"Our natural means of getting about are our feet. If we discard them in favour of artificial means of locomotion, we are acting contrary to morality. No end is to be gained by rapid and fevered travelling in all directions. It betokens unnatural excitement. It take us

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away from agriculture and the spinning wheel. It is derogatory to health. It is subversive of religion and order.

The procedure of the law courts is dilatory, cumbrous, expensive and futile.

As for medicine, what end does it serve? Suppose we operate, will not the patient get ill again? Supposing that the doctors cure some victim of sinful indulgence, is there any advantage to that person in particular or to the species in general? Is there any incentive to the patient to repent and lead a better life if he knows that he can be cured so easily? Is it not better that he should pay the penalty of transgression? Is it for the good of mankind that these peripatetic carriers of disease should continue indefinitely to disseminate contagion after each reinfection?

Mills and machinery are one of the curses which the culture of the West brings in its train. Is it right that women should toil in these institutions, prostituting their maternal potentialities at the shrine of Mammon? Is not a nation which permits these things living on its capital? Is it not squandering the vitality of unborn generations for some questionable present advantage? "

He considers that the mills of his own country are only a degree less objectionable than those of the West. But he was not always consistent. He was a constant traveller by train, and he even made use of that machinery which he professed to condemn. In his paper, the Young India, of 19th January, 1922, there is the following note:—

"We regret to inform our readers that after seven hours work on Thursday, our engine failed suddenly and could not be repaired for full twenty-four hours. This has caused an unavoidable delay to nearly sixteen thou-

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Writing to a friend in India in 1909, he said:—

"Bombay, Calcutta, and the other chief cities of India are the real plague spots"—apparently because they are centres of industrialism.

"If British rule were replaced to-morrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be no better, except that she would be able then to retain some of the money that is drained away to England; but then India would only become a second or fifth nation of Europe or America." Gandhi's attitude here is explained by the passage in his book which deals with the independence of Italy. "What substantial gain," he asks, "did Italy obtain after the withdrawal of the Austrian troops? The gain is only nominal. You do not want, therefore, to reproduce the same conditions in India. India to gain her independence, can fight like Italy and in order to gain her independence, India has to be armed, and to arm India on a large scale is to Europeanise it. Then her condition will be just as pitiable as that of Europe. This means in short that India must accept European Civilisation . . . but the fact is that the Indian nation will not adopt arms and it is well that she does not."

Reverting to Gandhi's letter, we find that medical science is the concentrated essence of black magic. Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill. "Hospitals are the instruments that the devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery, degeneration and real slavery."

"India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years. The railways, tele-

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graphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, and all such have to go, and the so-called upper classes have to learn to live conscientiously and religiously and deliberately the simple peasant life giving true happiness."

We have here the key to Gandhi's philosophy. He advocated the simple life. He would till his land during the rainy months and weave clothes for himself and his family with his own spinning wheel during the dry season when no ploughing was possible. He would not educate the peasant or indeed anyone. "What do you propose to do," he asks, "by giving him a knowledge of letters? Do you wish to make him discontented with his cottage or his lot?"

With regard to the British, he remarks that if they become Indianised, they can be accommodated in India. To say that they cannot become Indianised is to suppose that they have no humanity in them. In a letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught which was reproduced in the Advocate of India of February 2nd, 1921, he says:—"We are not at war with individual Englishmen. . . . For me it is no joy or pleasure to be actively associated in the boycott of your Royal Highness' visit. . . . We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam in the manner we are, 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 a friendship of equals both in theory and in practice, and we must continue to non-co-operate till the goal is achieved."

We see, therefore, that while the simple life was the basis of Gandhi's economic theories, the keynote to his religion was Humanity,—a force which is rapidly gain-

ing ground throughout India. It is the undefined political creed of the East. But Gandhi went further than other Humanitarians. He would not even have an army except for police purposes. In the fight for independence, Soul-Force was what he relied on. It was sufficient, he considered, to subsidise the frontier tribes and introduce the spinning wheel amongst the Afghans, thus preventing them from attacking India!

And now comes the curious inconsistency of his conduct. He entered the Congress in 1917 in order to obtain self-government on Parliamentary or Western lines. All through his political life from henceforward we see these contradictory tendencies. No one ever fought harder for Swaraj either within or without the Empire, and no one ever toiled more unremittingly to expose the hollowness of the Parliamentary culture to which he would commit the country. Laying aside his earlier teaching, he acquiesced in Railways, Hospitals and Law courts because the people were not prepared for the higher simplicity and renunciation to which he aspired. But this acquiescence did not mean that the political development of India would stop there. It merely marked a stage in the complete evolution of the country.

At the National Congress held in Calcutta in December, 1920, he promised Swaraj by October, 1921. When it failed to materialise, he extended the time. He then explained that he meant the moral condition to which he had referred in his book. He had not meant self-government. He had been speaking of mastery over Self. In another place, he says that self government failed to materialise because his methods were not adhered to. An opportunist of the most pronounced type whilst he was attaining his end, his public policy was marked by a total lack of fixity of principle. By his

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Satya-Graha movement, he challenged Government to a fight and then he attacked them because they accepted his challenge. He prepared the public for aggressive Civil Disobedience, and he countermanded the movement at the moment when it was about to be launched.

An underlying factor in Gandhi's teaching is its anarchical character. If the students will not strike owing to their fathers' attitude, parental control must be abolished. If the classes will not respond, the masses must take their place. If the Government will not listen, it must give way to Swaraj. If Western civilisation stands in the way, a return to primitive Vedic conditions and a simple life without communications, commerce or industry is inculcated. His creed is philosophic anarchy but the basis of the movement (as interpreted by others) is race hatred. (Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas in the *Leader*, Allahabad, of 13th February, 1922).

The year 1918 was marked by scarcity and high prices. The Montagu Chelmsford report was published on July 8th, 1918. It widened the split between the Moderates and the Extremists. The former looked upon it as a stepping stone to further concessions. The latter regarded it as disappointing and unsatisfactory and demanded instant Provincial Autonomy. It was condemned by the European Association and by the non-Brahmins. The Mohammedans criticised it adversely because they stood to lose the overweighted representation secured to them by the Lucknow compact and because they could not vote in the ordinary constituencies. A meeting of the Moslem League was characterised by anxiety for the fate of Turkey. But what caused the greatest opposition both within the Council Chamber and outside were the Rowlatt Bills. Drafted

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with a view to combat sedition, they were attacked on the ground that they virtually nullified the Reforms. What had been given with the one hand was taken away with the other. It was to combat these bills that Gandhi launched his Satyagraha Movement. "For the last thirty years," said he, "I have been preaching and practising Satyagraha. . . . The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years, and it was coined to distinguish it from the movement then going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of Passive Resistance. . . .

"When Daniel disregarded the laws of the Medes and Persians which offended his conscience, and meekly suffered the punishment for his disobedience, he offered Satyagraha in its purest form."

(Other instances quoted by Gandhi are Socrates, Prahlad who disregarded the orders of his father because they were repugnant to his conscience, and Mirabai who separated from her husband and endured torture rather than bend to his will).

"It is also called Soul-Force. . . . Satyagraha largely appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal. It is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reforms or redress of grievances by self-suffering." (Note prepared by M. K. Gandhi, printed in the report of the Commission to inquire into the Panjab episodes, appointed by the Panjab sub-committee of the Indian National Congress, printed at the Karnatak Printing Press, 434, Thakurdwar, Bombay).

Then he goes on to say:—"Let the great Civil Service Corporation understand that it can remain in India only

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as its trustee and servant, not in name but in deed; and let the British Commercial Houses understand that they can remain in India only to supplement her requirements and not to destroy indigenous art, trade, and manufacture, and you have two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills. They, I promise, will successfully deal with any conspiracy against the State." (M. K. Gandhi, *ib.*).

The text of Gandhi's Satyagraha pledge was as follows:—

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (amendment) Bill, No. 1 of 1919 (dropped by the Government) and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. 2 of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principles of Liberty and Justice and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee hereafter to be appointed may think fit, and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property." (*ib.*).

The Satyagraha movement was started by Gandhi on 24 February, 1919, and indirectly added to the discontent engendered by high prices, scarcity, an epidemic of influenza, a more stringent Income Tax, a belief that the Reforms would be whittled down and that, in any case, they would be nullified to a greater or less extent by the Rowlatt Bills. Attacks on life and property followed, and Martial Law was proclaimed. Then followed the episodes at Jallianwalla Bagh and other places and the repulse of the Afghan invasion. The completeness with which the Government had dealt with the situation

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demonstrated the absolute futility of attempting to obtain Swaraj by armed force. For one thing, India was unarmed. The alternative, therefore, was passive resistance. The result was that Gandhi became more influential than ever. With the death of Tilak in August, 1920, his ascendancy, which had hitherto been confined to the masses, spread to the intellectual classes. For a time, the Congress and Gandhi became synonymous terms.

Another source of power was the fact that no stone was left unturned to secure the support of bodies which had hitherto left politics severely alone or which had not actively interested themselves in the movement for obtaining self-government. An attempt was made to bring in the Pariahs by promising them that the stigma of untouchability would be removed. Another measure was to associate himself with the brothers Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali for the purpose of securing a favourable peace for Turkey. From this time forward, the Khilafat claims were urged with the same insistence as India's own demands. The Khilafat movement aimed at absolute independence. (*Gandhi and Anarchy*, by Sir Sankara Nair, Holkar State Printing Press, Indore).

Gandhi's attitude, I think, may be accounted for by his political opportunism. He cared little what happened provided that he got rid of the British culture which he hated. Bolshevism itself, according to him would be preferable to the existing state of affairs. "I would prefer anyday," he said, "anarchy and chaos in India to an armed peace brought about by the bayonet between the Hindus and the Mussalmans." (*Gandhi and Anarchy*, by Sir Sankara Nair).

On March 25th, 1920, the non-official or Congress

report upon the Panjab disturbances in 1919 was published. The Lieutenant Governor was accused of having obtained recruits and monetary contributions for the war by high-handed methods. The introduction of Martial Law was adversely criticised. General Dyer's firing at Jallianwalla Bagh was referred to as a "calculated piece of inhumanity unparalleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration." The crawling order, the roll-call of students, the saluting of Europeans and the recourse to flogging were also condemned. According to Mrs. Besant (*The Future of Indian Politics*, Theosophical Publishing House), the non-co-operation movement started on April 9th, 1920. On April 17th, 1920, the whole of the progressive steps to be taken were outlined at a Khilafat meeting in Madras. The first act of non-co-operation was to be renunciation of honorary posts and titles.

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If this proved unsuccessful, all remunerative posts were to be given up.

The third progressive step was the giving up of posts in the police and military.

The last progressive step was the refusal to pay taxes to the Government.

Meantime Gandhi was temporising. He had stopped his passive resistance movement because he considered it a "Himalayan blunder" to expect the people to exercise self-control after the Jallianwalla Bagh episode. But the Khilafat Conference was too strong for him. In order to preserve unity, he consented to be dragged in its wake. At the All India Congress Committee's meeting in Benares on May 30th and 31st, 1920, the Khilafat demands were supplemented by the "Panjab wrongs" and the inadequacy of the Reform Act.

On June 1st., an Executive Council of the Congress

was formed at Allahabad. An ultimatum was sent to the Viceroy that redress should be granted before August 1st, 1920, otherwise the first progressive step would be taken. In other words, the holders of honorary posts and titles would be called upon to resign them.

As the Viceroy's attitude was considered unsatisfactory, the Congress and Gandhi outlined a more complete programme of non-co-operation. The following is the text of the Resolution which was passed at Calcutta in September, 1920, and afterwards reaffirmed at Nagpur in December :—

THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION.

“In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Government have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him ;—

“And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April, 1919, both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, 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

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the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab ;

“This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

“And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented opinion and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises :—

- ✓ (a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;
- (b) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour ;
- (c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces ;
- (d) gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and

litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes :

- (e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia ;
- (f) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may despite the Congress advice offer himself for election ; and
- (g) the boycott of foreign goods.

“ And inasmuch as non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of non-co-operation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piecegoods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.”

Commenting on these demands in the Young India for January 19th, 1922, Gandhi defined the Khilafat, the Punjab and the Swaraj positions as follows :—

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Complete withdrawal of non-Muslim influence from Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria and, therefore, withdrawal of British troops whether English or Indian from those territories. [N.B. Gandhi appears to have forgotten that Syria was in the occupation of the French].

2. Full enforcement of the report of the Congress Sub-committee and, therefore, the stopping of the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers named in the report for dismissal.

3. Swaraj means, in the event of the foregoing demands being granted, full dominion status. The scheme of such Swaraj should be framed by representatives duly elected in terms of the Congress Constitution. That means four anna franchise. Every Indian adult, male or female, paying four annas and signing the Congress creed, will be placed on the electoral roll. These electors would elect delegates who would frame the Swaraj constitution. This shall be given effect to without any change by the British Parliament."

Examining these proposals in greater detail, it may be asked whether it was likely that the four anna electors and their delegates would consent to abandon their status or adapt their views to what obtained in other parts of the Empire. The whole thing was so preposterous that Sir Sankara Nair criticised it on the ground that what Gandhi was really aiming at was not Parliamentary Government but Swarajayya as he himself had defined it in his Indian Home Rule.

What were Gandhi's ideas on the subject of Government? It would be based on the free will of the people expressed by manhood suffrage. Social and religious life would repose on the four original castes as laid down in the Vedas, although it was admitted that there

were many deplorable excrescences in them. The Law Courts with their cumbrous and ruinous machinery and their alien jurisprudence would disappear, and India would set up her old Panchayats in which justice would be dispensed in accordance with her inner conscience. "For your schools and colleges upon which lakhs of rupees have been wasted in bricks and mortar and ponderous buildings that weigh as heavily upon our boys as the educational processes by which you reduce their souls to slavery, we will give them as of old, the shaded groves open to God's light and air where they will gather round their Gurus to listen to the learning of our forefathers which will make free men of them once more."

The Nagpur session of the Congress in December, 1920, was also interesting in that the Congress Constitution was altered. Hitherto, care had been taken to keep within the four corners of the law. The Congress had been nominally loyal though impliedly revolutionary. It was now determined to enlarge its scope. Room was to be made within its folds for every variation whether Mohammedan or Hindu, moderate or extreme, constitutional or revolutionary, caste or untouchable. It was resolved, in short, to omit the qualification "within the British Empire." Article 1 of the amended constitution was as follows:—"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajayya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."

The word "legitimate" was capable of more than one interpretation. It might refer to God's law or the law of the land. This might prove useful in case of a prosecution for Sediton. The same delightful ambiguity is apparent in Gandhi's book on Home Rule. No one

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could be quite sure whether it was a moral treatise or whether it was something quite different. In the same way, there was a "reasonable doubt" in the case of the Congress proceedings, as to whether preparation for revolution was punishable by law. The existence of the Congress Khilafat volunteers might be justified on the ground that they tended to keep the movement "non-violent." Extending the argument, it might be contended that tampering with the loyalty of the army, if such tampering was compatible with the dictates of religion, was permitted under the Queen's proclamation of 1858. Such, at any rate, was one of the arguments used by Gandhi's lieutenants, the Ali Brothers, in their trial.

But we are digressing. Amongst the more interesting of the steps by which the country was to be prepared for a strike of unprecedented dimensions were the following:—

Local Committees for propaganda work were to be started.

A national fund known as the Tilak Memorial Swarajayya Fund for National Service was to be collected.

Pending the call to resign, all officers, including the Police and the Military, were to cultivate friendly relations with the people.

Though almost unnoticed at the time, there can be no doubt but that we have here a hint of a step which was afterwards taken to tamper with the loyalty of the Police and the Army.

We have also the germ of a movement to cripple Government by refusing to co-operate with it and gradually to replace it by a parallel Government with its own revenues (Tilak Memorial Fund), its own

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national schools, its own peculiar industries such as handweaving by the Nation generally, its own army (the volunteers) and its own flag.

It is true that the obligation to practice non-violence was embodied in the pledge taken by the National and the Khilafat volunteers, but this pledge was operative only so long as they continued to be volunteers. It would be easy nominally to disband them and then re-enlist them under some other name. They enforce "hartals," picket liquor shops, collect the Congress revenues, and occasionally take life as in the Chaura Chauri massacre. When their salaries are in arrear, they occasionally take to robbery as in Seoni in 1922.

How far actual violence was promoted by Gandhi's lieutenants without his permission is uncertain. There can be no doubt, however, but that the non-violent part of the campaign proved, in practice, to be a hollow mockery. The following are instances in point.

At the examination of the Calcutta University in January, 1921, the partizans of Gandhi prostrated themselves before the entrance, and intending candidates had to step on them to gain admission. But as time went on, more violent methods were employed to force the students to boycott teaching institutions recognised by the Government. During the Sanskrit College examinations at Queen's College, Benares, the roads leading to the examination halls and the school and college gates and all ways of ingress into the College compound were picketed by non-co-operators consisting of riff-raff Gandhi volunteers and Sadhus. Amongst other things, little boys were forced to lie on the road. (Letters written by the Principals of the Training College and St. John's College, Agra, and of Queen's College Benares, dated 19th, 21st, and 22nd February, 1921 respectively,

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to the Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces, extracted in the Pioneer of 6th March, 1921).

Another method of shewing dissatisfaction with British rule is the "hartal" or closure of shops which is often semi-compulsory. On the occasion of the Duke of Connaught's visit to Delhi, hartals were proclaimed on the 9th and 13th of February, and gigantic processions were organised. I was unfortunate enough to drive into one of these with my car, and I am bound to admit that the crowd was most orderly. The object of the promoters apparently was to shew how many more people Gandhi could attract than the Duke.

In their later aspects, as at Madras on January 13th, 1922, hartals embraced activities of a more general nature. The drivers of taxi-cabs and trams were intimidated and even servants were invited to stop work. The hartal, in fact, tended in the direction of a general strike for a fixed period.

A humanitarian by religion and Tolstoyan by inclination, Gandhi deprecates the use of arms even to restrain his countrymen from contravening his doctrine of non-violence. Speaking of the tragedy at Nankana Saheb in the Panjab where a number of Akalis who sought to dispossess the Mahant of the Shrine were themselves trapped and slain, he said:—"Man in Nankana where once a snake is reported to have innocently spread its hood to shade the lamb-like Guru, turned Satan on that black Saturday. The purest way of seeking justice against the murderers is not to seek it. . . . Only the strong can forgive. You will add to the glory of the martyrdom of the dear ones by refusing to take revenge. There are two ways open to you, either to establish arbitration boards for settlement of possession of all Gurudwaras or temples claimed to be Gurudwaras, or

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postponement of the question till the attainment of Swaraj. If you would let the martyrdom of Nankana bear fruit, exemplary self-restraint and suspension of the movement to take possession of the Gurudwaras by means of Akali parties are absolutely necessary." (Mahatma Gandhi's message to Khalsaji dated March 4th, 1921, extracted from the Eastern Mail of March 8th, 1921).

At a later period, he asked the Hindus of Malabar to draw closer to the Moplahs who had forcibly converted, circumcised, and even slain their brother Hindus.

Pacifist himself, Gandhi was nevertheless imbued with the idea that the goal of Swaraj might be reached by more than one road. When the non-co-operators refused to give a hearing to Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Paranjpye who were constitutional workers for Swaraj, he rebuked them, saying that even though they spoke against non-co-operation, they should have been given a hearing. Owing to such conduct, Swaraj would not be obtained within the time fixed by him. (Pioneer of March 5th, 1921).

Speaking to Sir Valentine Chirol, he said:—"Has any cloud ever arisen between my brother Shaukat and myself? Yet he is a meat-eater and I a vegetarian. He believes in the sword: I condemn all violence. What do such differences matter between two men in whom the heart of India beats in Unison." (*Leader*, Allahabad, March 5th, 1921).

On January 13th, 1922, His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, landed in Madras. The mob asserted its sway in some quarters of the city. Trams were overturned. Mr. P. Theagarayya Chetty was besieged in his house. A few people were killed. The outbreak provoked a remonstrance from a missionary, Rev. G. H.

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Macfarlane, who had himself been assaulted. Gandhi's comment on this was as follows:— . . . "But Mr. Macfarlane is so horrified at the hooliganism of Madras that he considers India to be unfit for Swaraj. On the contrary, I hold that even hooliganism may be better than the present unnatural and dishonest position. It has got to be ended at any cost. Only the present leaders cannot handle a violent movement. The majority of them have neither the desire nor the qualification for it. They are making a Herculean effort to keep it non-violent." (*Young India*, February 2nd. 1922).

Having established the proposition that Gandhi recognised that there were other roads to Swaraj than the one he trod himself, and did not unreservedly condemn them, we may refer to a few more instances shewing how hopelessly the effort to bring about a non-violent revolution failed.

In the agrarian disturbances in Rae Bareli and the surrounding areas in January, 1921. it was preached that the British Raj was coming to an end. Mr. Gandhi's name was brought in on every occasion. The mob, armed with lathis and sticks, shouted "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai," "Ram Chandra Maharaj ki jai," and "Shaukat Ali Mohamed Ali ki jai" (*United Provinces Gazette*, Extraordinary, February 2nd, 1921). A feature of the outbreak was that, at Fyzabad, the more substantial tenants, the petty zamindars, banyas, and the class which provides patwaris, schoolmasters, etc., were the principal victims, whilst the landless low-caste men were the aggressors. At Rae Bareli, it was the Taluqdars or landlords who were attacked.

After the disturbances, intimidation became the rule rather than the exception. Witnesses were afraid to come forward to give evidence. The Deputy Commis-

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sioners of Bara Banki, Sultanpur, and Fyzabad filed affidavits setting forth the grounds on which they considered it undesirable in the interests of public order that trials arising out of the local agrarian disturbances should take place in their respective districts. (*Pioneer*, March 5th, 1921.)

In *The Englishman* of February 28th, 1922, is an interesting account of an agrarian movement in Oudh. The operators confined their activities to villages off the line of railway in order to keep clear of troops and police. The leaders moved about the country collecting cesses which went into their own pockets. Short of taking life, they resorted to every form of intimidation, including the defiling of wells, the destruction of crops, and the burning of houses. It was apparently a movement against the landlords.

Another correspondent under date Allahabad, March 3rd, wrote as follows:—"It appears that the new agrarian movement which is manifesting itself in Oudh, has been seized upon by non-co-operators and other people of undesirable character, and that it calls for the closest attention from the authorities. Advices from correspondents in various parts of the United Provinces shew that the situation is far from satisfactory. In the Fyzabad area, crime is on the increase and it is impossible for the police to check it so long as their attention has to be devoted to the revolutionaries. In Sultanpur, recently, the advent of armed police at a critical juncture averted a serious riot, while in Hardoi, the situation is causing grave anxiety.

The agrarian movement also spread to Bihar. Agitators promised the ryots of the Tikari Zamindari complete "Swaraj" in the course of a few months if they would refuse to pay rent to the zamindar. Societies

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were formed with the object of overthrowing the authority of the zamindar and attaining Swaraj, which, according to the agitators, meant the end of the zamindari system and the advent of an era of no rent or taxes. There was at least one breach of the peace, a Patwari and the Tehsildar being injured as well as a minor official.

In addition to the agrarian movement, a crusade against drinking was inaugurated. Matters assumed a serious phase in Nagpur between February 21st and February 25th, 1921. The liquor shops were picketed. A Christian was assaulted and a bottle of liquor snatched away. A contractor bidding for an excise shop was beaten. Several liquor shops were looted and seven policemen and two civilians were injured by stones. (*Leader*, Allahabad, March 11th, 1921.)

The use of wine is forbidden in the Koran. There is, however, no absolute prohibition of drinking amongst the Hindus where the general rule is to allow each section of the community to work out its own salvation in its own particular way. In fact, the general toleration in religion enjoined by Hinduism is inconsistent with absolute prohibition. The drinking of Soma or Sacramental wine is enjoined in the Sastras. The consumption of toddy, which is the fermented juice of the palm tree, and spirit distilled from decaying Mohwa flowers (*Bassia Latifolia*), as well as the taking of intoxicating drugs such as Ganja, Bhang and Charas are peculiar to the East, since they were not obtainable in Europe until comparatively recently. In so far as Indian culture was derived from Persia, wine drinking may be said to have been common in court circles and among the Parsis. In spite of all this, there is an antipathy to the practice among high caste Hindus.

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The movement against drink was of twofold origin. It was a joint temperance and political campaign. It synchronised with Gandhism. In Bihar and Orissa, the first attempt to boycott liquor was made at Dumraon in the district of Shahabad on November 15th, 1920, where public meetings were held advocating abstinence from alcohol. It was declared that people disobeying the injunction would be outcasted. By January, 1921, it was in full swing throughout the province. The Excise Commissioner, in his Administration Report for 1920—1921, remarked that the air was surcharged with non-co-operation. "The non-co-operators" he said, "found that in an attack on alcohol they would most easily succeed in depriving the Government of revenue,—their real object."

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In Ranchi, a Mohammedan vendor died and the Khilafat party tried to obstruct the funeral rites.

In Palaman, the wealthy owner of a distillery was assaulted because he took over the management of certain shops when the local people were hanging back through fear. The movement started with persuasive methods which invariably gave place to physical violence and a more irresistible social pressure. The liquor shops were picketed by youths belonging to Seva Samitis (Social Service Associations) and calling themselves "volunteers." If persuasion proved useless, the customer was obstructed or assaulted. Sometimes he was robbed of his bottle of liquor. Non-violent non-co-operators even resorted to arson, twenty liquor shops having been burnt down in 1920—1921 (and many more since then).

In the Central Provinces, assault, insult, intimidation and even arson were employed. The riot in Nagpur was followed, a month later, by a more serious disturbance in which nine men were killed.

A common belief was created among the ignorant classes that with the attainment of Swaraj, they would be free to manufacture their own liquor. Some were even told they need not abstain provided they did not consume Government liquor. The collector of Mozufferpur related instances in which the agents of the non-co-operation movement slackened their activities or stopped them altogether as soon as they were paid a handsome donation in favour of any of the funds. In the United Provinces, consumers of liquor were tarred and mounted on donkeys in order publicly to disgrace them. Instances of similar conduct occurred in Madras.

Amongst the more important breaches of the peace connected with so called "peaceful picketting" to enforce temperance were the Chauri Chaura massacre and the Dharwar riot. The latter occurred on 1st July, 1921. While volunteers were picketting liquor shops, the mob tried to murder a sub-inspector of police and to set fire to certain buildings. Several persons were committed for trial before Mr. Waterfield, the Sessions Judge of Dharwar. Anant Srinivasa Dowde and twenty-two others were convicted on various charges of attempt to murder, robbery, arson and mischief, and were sentenced to undergo imprisonment for periods varying from six months to three years. Their lordships, Justices Pratt and Kanga of the Bombay High Court, delivered separate but concurring judgements on February 11th, 1922, dismissing the appeals.

The fall in revenue due to picketting was very great. It amounted to 51 lakhs of rupees in the United Provinces alone in 1921—1922 and was probably nearly twice that figure in Madras. But this does not imply that there was less drinking since illicit methods were, in many instances, encouraged by the volunteers.

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On November 17th, 1921, His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, landed at Bombay. There was wholesale rioting in many parts of the city. The Parsis who are amongst the richest and most respectable inhabitants of the town, were very roughly handled in some instances. Of the fifty-three persons who lost their lives, over forty-five were non-co-operators or their sympathisers, the hooligans, and of the four hundred persons wounded, three hundred and fifty were derived from the same class.

The massacre at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur in the United Provinces is an interesting commentary on the inability of the Congress to preserve order amongst its own volunteers. The following is not an official account. It has been culled from a statement signed by Mohamed Subhanullah, President of the District Congress Committee, and others. It was published in the *Leader*, Allahabad, on February 9th, 1922.

... "The scene presented a most horrible and gruesome appearance. Two buildings were still burning. The roofs of almost all the buildings had been burnt down. Some boxes and trunks belonging evidently to members of the police force were found lying open without their contents. Twenty-two corpses, more or less burnt and disfigured, were lying there, seven having been almost completely burnt. The dead body of the officer in charge of the Police Station, Babu Gupteswar Singh, as well as many members of the police force, could be identified by those who knew them. Besides these burnt corpses, there were two corpses, apparently of men of the mob, which were not burnt, one of them clothed in Khadder (country cloth woven to a great extent by Gandhi's followers in accordance with his cult of the spinning wheel), which had a gunshot wound. . . .

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There was a very large number of brickbats and kankar (limestone), evidently used in attacking the Police, found in the compound. On our return to the railway station at 2 p.m., we found three wounded men, two of whom were police chowkidars and one a bannia of the bazaar. The last had a gunshot wound in his thigh and the chowkidars had brickbat wounds on their heads and bodies. It is said that all the police force stationed there, including the armed guard which had been sent there a day before as some trouble was apprehended, has been murdered except two who were out on duty elsewhere, and one constable who managed to escape.

It appears that the liquor shops had been picketed and lectures delivered. The Sub-inspector, who was a zealous worker for the Aman Sabhas (the counter revolutionary party among the Indians), was very unpopular among the non-co-operators. In retaliation for his attempts to disperse them, they stormed the police station shouting "*Gandhiji ki kirpa se golian bhi pani ho gain,*" ("by Gandhi's kindness, even the bullets have turned to water"), murdered the inmates, fired the thana and the police lines threw the corpses into the fire, some of them yet breathing, attacked the telegraph office, cut the wires, and dismantled the railway line.

The Government communiqué shewed that there were a large number of volunteers among the attackers.

While the mob were indulging in their orgy of murder and incendiarism at Chaura, volunteers in Bareilly and the north were planning a great procession (*Madras Mail*). Five thousand volunteers paraded. The police dispersed (the parade). The crowd rallied and tried to seize the townhall. The District Magistrate and the Police superintendent were wounded in the face by brickbats and the magistrate ordered the police to fire.

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Two volunteers were killed and five wounded. (*New India*).

At Rajahmundry in the Madras Presidency, and in the surrounding villages, volunteers armed with bamboo staffs paraded the streets, drilling in the public squares, defying the police and suborning the populace. Collisions had taken place between opposing factions in the rural areas and the situation was strongly reminiscent of Sinn Feinism in Ireland. (*Leader*, February 12th, 1922).

But the volunteers were rapidly becoming unpopular. Mr. Hammond, the officiating Chief Secretary to the government of Bihar and Orissa, made the following statement in the Legislative Council, when he was asked what they had done that their Associations should be declared unlawful:—

... "Ask the widow of the Mohammedan, Nazir Ali Kalal, whose corpse was exhumed in Ranchi, thrown upon the public road and the face beaten in with a brick; ask Gopi Kahar at Chatra, who on the 3rd January, was beaten and taken with his face blackened through the town, because his wife committed the foul crime of selling food to those who visited liquor shops. Is this 'ahimsa'? Ask the woman of Kateya, near Siwan, Musammat Paremia Koerin, who was stripped naked and driven through the country by a howling mob. She complained, as well she might, to the government police officer, who, when he went to hold an inquiry, was attacked by a mob—a demonstration of the force of Soul Force.

Have the Council heard of those poor beggars who received tickets entitling them to go to Gulzarbagh on the morning of 22nd December, (1921) and get blankets? Do they know that these people were asked by volunteers to shew their tickets which were then taken and

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torn up; that the same day, some of the beggars when returning from Gulzarbagh, were deprived of the blankets which they had been given, which were burnt, and the beggars had to be content with such warmth as they could derive from the glow of enforced patriotism? . . . Doms (a criminal class) registered as criminal tribes were enlisted in the ranks of the National Volunteers. Ex-convicts and persons of the C class register were not only registered but being welcomed." (*Leader*, 16th February, 1922).

But the volunteers were not the only persons concerned in violence. In February, 1921, two hundred dacoits consisting of Brahmins, Thakurs and other castes were alleged to have chanted the following song while they looted the shops in Rampur Bazaar in the Wazir Ganj police circle in Oudh :—

Hail Mahatma Gandhi !
Loot all cloth.
Hail Mahatma Gandhi !
Strike two rods.

The outcry against foreign cloth was nothing new. It had been one of the main planks of the agitators in a previous outburst of political activity ostensibly evoked by the Partition of Bengal. But the boycott of foreign cloth had then broken down because there was not enough country cloth to take its place. In any case, local or Swadesi cloth could not as a rule be produced so cheaply as the imported article. Foreign cloth was disliked by Gandhi on more than one ground. It stood in the way of the development of an enormous cottage spinning industry throughout the length and breadth of India. It was also argued that in proportion as India ceased to be a market for British cloth, so would the incentive to the English to hold India as an outlet for

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their trade decrease. Shops selling foreign cloth were not only boycotted but even picketed in many instances.

Perhaps it was in connection with labour that Gandhi dealt the Government some of his hardest blows. But it is open to question whether the inconvenience which he caused to the public did not outweigh the advantages which he secured. Men of property began to curse the Swaraj campaign, and thinking persons asked whether anarchy was not too heavy a price for independence. It is not my intention to treat labour movements in India in great detail or to enumerate all the instances of lawlessness or violence. It will be sufficient to touch lightly on a few of the outbreaks.

"Ex uno disce omnes" :-

Government operates many of the railways in India and possesses a reversionary interest in most of those which it does not directly manage. By his anti-liquor campaign, Gandhi had dealt a heavy blow at the resources of Provincial Governments. Excise was not only a Provincial source of revenue, but it was also a "transferred subject." It was being dealt with by Indian Ministers elected by an Indian electorate. But railways were the perquisite of the Central Government and contributed largely to the central revenues. The heavy deficit in the budget of the Government of India for 1921—1922 was largely due to the strikes. The latter were, in effect, one of the means employed to reduce the Government to helplessness. The East India Railway Strike may be briefly referred to as illustrating the weapons employed by non-co-operators to interfere with the arteries of commerce; the labour outbreaks in Madras and Bombay will demonstrate the methods employed to paralyse an industry which stood in the way of the Charka or spinning wheel; whilst the

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On February 2nd, 1922, a European shunter and a European fireman on the East Indian Railway were alleged to have struck an Indian fireman named Ramlal. An enquiry was held, but as no injuries were found, the matter was dropped. In the opinion of some of the Indians, however, an assault had actually taken place and they went on strike to bring the matter to notice. The movement spread rapidly and on 14th February, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway participated in it. The Hon. Mr. Innes speaking on behalf of the Government in the Council of State (the upper or second Chamber of the Indian Legislature), remarked on February 13th, 1922, that the story of the assault was a fabrication and that the strike was purely political:—"I am told," he said, "that several days before the strike occurred, non-co-operator agitators had been at work among the railway staff at Agra. The ground had been carefully prepared and the men were stampeded to go on strike" (debate in the Council of State on February 13th, 1922). Continuing, the Honourable member compared the state of affairs on the East India Railway to that on the Assam Bengal Railway where agitators were also responsible for the starvation endured by the labourers in a strike of two or three months duration. In the present instance, the demand made by the strikers that the two Europeans should be handed over to them for punishment was unreasonable. In the strike on the Oudh and Rohilcund Railway, the strikers demanded that their grievances should be referred to the Khilafat Committee. That state of affairs was proceeding from railway to railway in India. It was simply a case of mischievous men trying to exploit labour for their own

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purposes. In this way, they are trying to destroy the British Government in India. (*ib.*)

The strikers set fire to wagons at Moghal Serai containing petrol. At Burdwan, the inspecting staff was attacked and there were fusillades of brickbats. Two constables fired and three persons were slightly injured (*Pioneer*, February 25th, 1922). The families of Anglo-Indians and others who were trying to work the trains were subjected to annoyance and even worse by the disciples of non-violence. (*ib.*)

LABOUR IN MADRAS.

THE history of labour in Madras reproduced the history of general politics in the same area. The tendency was to proceed from constitutional agitation to anarchy.

The scarcity of 1918 and the consequential rise in prices produced a certain amount of discontent. The forces of unrest were for a time co-ordinated by Mr. B. P. Wadia, a lieutenant of Mrs. Besant, who shared her interment in 1917. In so far as the Theosophical Society intervened on behalf of the workers, a constitutional turn was given to the agitation. An attempt was made to invite the employees to form trade unions, to inaugurate strikes and, generally speaking, to copy the West. The anarchical or revolutionary taint was imparted by Mr. V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, who had previously been convicted of sedition in the Tinnevelly District. In 1920, the labourers in the Carnatic and Buckingham Mills claimed the right of appointing their own jobbers. They resented the dismissal of thirteen of these persons. They also demanded higher wages. They struck to enforce their claims. As the

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dispute progressed, it was evident that the non-co-operators were gaining the upper hand. A suit filed by the mill owners against Mr. Wadia restraining him from interfering in their business was partially successful. Mr. Wadia left the country. The strike was brought to an end at the beginning of 1921 by the intervention of Mrs. Besant who feared the force she had endeavoured to control. It was the last effort of the Theosophical party. Henceforth more advanced leaders held the field. The workers were advised to save up for a new and more extended strike. It was the old cry over again—wages and the jobbers. The constitutional element had been eliminated. As the strike proceeded, a split between the Pariahs and the other workers became evident. Picketing or, in other words, intimidation by Khilafat workers and, later on, by caste Hindus working in conjunction with Khilafat volunteers, was practised. Pariah houses were burnt. Bomb-throwing was occasionally resorted to. Stone-throwing was so common that the police travelled in lorries covered with wire netting. But the struggle was by no means onesided. The millowners were firm. Government adopted a resolute attitude. Force was answered by force and incendiarism by arson. The strikers' resources became exhausted. The settlement which followed proved for a time the death knell of rebellion in Madras.

Nominally a failure, there was yet an aftermath of success of a kind. The non-Brahmin party which swayed the Government in Madras, had been divided. Many of their number had not assisted the Ministers in their difficult task of maintaining law and order. They had gone over to the Khilafat. It was these disgruntled individuals who afterwards besieged in his house Mr.

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P. Theagarayya Chetty, a leading non-Brahmin, and who led the rioters on the occasion of the Prince's visit in 1922.

LABOUR IN BOMBAY, ETC.

IN Bombay, Mr. Joseph Baptista occupied the place once filled by Mr. Wadia in Madras. The history of the labour movement parallels that in Madras. It is a progress from Constitutionalism to disintegration. It is the shifting of the mantle from Baptista to Gandhi.

At the All India Trade Union Congress at Jherria, on November 30th, 1921, Mr. Baptista pointed out that there had been one hundred and eighty-three strikes in the past year. Few of them had been successful, and much suffering had resulted. He urged the claims of co-operation and profit-sharing. He recommended Fabian Socialism in preference to Bolshevism. He inculcated the advantages of Education, Sanitation, Workmen's Compensation, Nationalisation and Prohibition of the export of food stuffs.

Of the 20,000 workmen who attended, 400 were delegates of labour unions (*Indian Review*, January, 1922). Most of the rest were from the neighbouring coalfields.

It is interesting to note what was happening, meanwhile, in Bombay and Ahmedabad. The failure of the strike in Madras had depleted Gandhi's resources. The National volunteers were clamouring for their pay. In South Arcot at the end of December, they had received nothing for two months. It had long been an axiom with Gandhi that cloth woven in the mills was nearly as objectionable as foreign cloth. The mills were, therefore, placed under contribution. They were offered the

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alternatives of subscribing heavily or of facing a general strike. The influence of Gandhi was supreme especially in Ahmedabad, his native place. The money was forthcoming. The subscriptions were paid from the private purses of certain individual millowners. They do not appear in the public balance sheets. The non-co-operation movement entered upon a new lease of life.

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LABOUR IN ASSAM.

Assam is pre-eminently the home of the tea industry in India, and the tea industry, more than any other, is pre-eminently British in character. Labour in Assam is regulated by the Assam Labour Act, the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act and several sections of the Indian Penal Code. The methods of recruitment are supervised by the Assam Labour Board under Section 116 (a) of the Assam Labour Act, but the actual recruiting is done by a different body called the 'Tea Districts Labour Association.'

Up to 1919, the tea industry had been distinctly prosperous. The Exchange Question then helped to change the aspect of affairs. The planters received sterling for their tea but paid their coolies in rupees. The tendency of wages was upwards. Instead of receiving fifteen rupees for each pound sterling, the planter got only eight. His facilities for rewarding his coolies out of the produce of his estate was virtually halved. The tea industry consequently declined in 1920 and 1921. Retrenchment became the order of the day. Fine plucking was inculcated. The opening up of new land was discouraged. Hence there was a surplus of labour on the estates and the conditions fostered discontent. The

Congress and Khilafat agitators found a congenial atmosphere for their propaganda. Until November, 1921, the Government did little to counteract their activities. Picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops became common. A man buying opium was tied to a tree in the Mangaldai bazaar and not released until he had taken an oath not to purchase it. A messenger going for beer was stopped and the note confiscated. On Tongani Tea Estate, the shopkeepers were told that they would be looted and their houses burnt if they supplied anything to the tea garden coolies. The 'hats' or weekly markets were similarly closed. The fear of divine displeasure proved a potent weapon. Gandhi would, it was said, strike the coolies with his thunderbolts if they persisted in working on the gardens. Large numbers of coolies left to see Mahatma Gandhi (who was not there). A member of the Indian Civil Service met a woman almost naked. He offered her a piece of cloth and some rice. She told him to take it away. She said "I refused sahib's work in the garden, and am I now to take charity from your hand? You are a sahib and I refuse to take anything from your hands. But if something comes from the hands of Mahatma Gandhi, I shall take it." Now when such an answer was given by a coolie woman, could it be said that the exodus was due to economic distress? No! The leaving of the gardens was a preconcerted movement. Agitators were preaching close to the different gardens and the coolies heard that Mahatma Gandhi was doing this and doing that to better their condition, and that if anyone wanted salvation, either in this life or the next, he must become a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. That preaching excited the people with the result that there was a tremendous cooly exodus. The agitation

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was spread all over the country. The coolies left the gardens and they refused to take any help from the Government. They began to starve and it was only when the pangs of hunger had become very acute that they accepted food and drink from Government sources. (*Speech of Khan Bahodur Manbri Amjad Ali, M.L.A., in the Legislative Assembly Debates, vol. ii. p. 3275*).

It was not only supplies to the coolies that were interfered with at the 'hats.' An attempt was made to starve out the planters themselves. Fowls, ducks, pigeons, rice, etc., could be obtained only with great difficulty.

The ryots or cultivating classes were told not to pay the rents or revenue due to Government. Gandhi had, it was said, promised that for three years they could cultivate free of charge.

Owing to the work of agitators amongst labourers who were beginning to feel the economic pinch, the coolies sold their belongings for anything they could get. A general exodus towards Chandpur set in. The labour had all been imported at one time or another. Much of it came from areas so far away as the United Provinces or Central India. Chandpur is situated in the Gangees Brahmaputa Delta. It is intersected by channels. It would be difficult to imagine an area more suited for the dissemination of water-borne diseases such as cholera. It is on the route to Lower Assam. It is the spot where the railway ends and the river journey commences. It became congested with emigrants. Many of these arrived by train while others walked the hundred or more miles from the plantations. The agitators had fomented an exodus but they had made no arrangements. The refugees were for a time sent by steamer to Goalundo in batches of 500—1000. But the Tea Association was by this time thoroughly

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alarmed. The planters feared lest they should lose the whole of their labour. The Bengal Government refused to help forward the emigration movement with Bengal Government money. Three hundred and fifty refugees rushed a Government steamer and were taken away. The others were turned out of the railway yard by Gurkha soldiers. Then cholera broke out. The agitators fomented strikes, both on the Assam Bengal Railway and on the river steamers as a protest against the action of the Gurkhas. Instead of assisting the labourers, they rendered their condition more deplorable than ever. The steamer strike lasted six weeks but the railway impasse went on for months. Meantime, the cholera became more acute, the monsoon burst and pneumonia added its ravages to those of cholera.

Eventually, the survivors were taken to their native places. Those of them who reached Gorakhpur in the U. P. were absorbed in the general population. But four hundred or more who arrived in the Central Provinces were not so fortunate: their relatives had forgotten them and there was no employment.

But it would be wearisome to enumerate further instances of lawlessness. The "non-violent movement" had produced more violence in a year and a half than any other movement in India for nearly three quarters of a century. There was a gradual revulsion of feeling in favour of the Government. The great landowners were thoroughly alarmed at the growth of agrarian movements. Gandhi had proved a false prophet. His promise of Swaraj by October, 1921, had been empty verbiage. The extensions of time asked for by him had been equally unproductive. Frequent strikes had caused the manufacturing interests to reflect. The population felt the pinch of the contributions collected by the volun-

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teers. The Moplah rebellion in Malabar, the forcible conversion of Hindus in that part of the country, as well as the kidnapping of Hindus in the Frontier Province had weakened Hindu-Muslim unity.

Gandhi's greatest mistake, however, was his attitude towards education which is valued more by Indians than any other advantage conferred on them by the Government. The students did not wish their careers to be cut short, whilst the fathers resented the threat to abolish parental authority if they did not take their children away.

The pleaders, similarly, could not be expected to be very much in earnest about the resolution that they should cease to earn their livelihood. The same argument applied to soldiers and Government servants. The surrender of titles was also unpopular.

The following figures are taken from a statement laid on the table in the Legislative Assembly in March, 1921 :

Presidency or Province.	Number of students who have withdrawn.	Number of pleaders who have suspended practice in pursuance of the National Congress resolution.
Madras	Not exceeding 40	No instance officially reported.
Bombay	241	23
Bengal	115	9
United Provinces	340	5
Panjab	25	17
Burma	509	Nil
Bihar and Orissa	198	13
Central Provinces	155	30
Assam	1	1
N. W. Frontier Province	Nil	Nil
Coorg	Nil	Nil
Delhi	22	Nil
Administered areas	54	1

Gandhi was himself disheartened at the comparative failure of his movement. In an article in his organ, *Young India*, he said he was moving with a safety lamp in a mine full of explosive gasses. "If there be an explosion, I shall not shirk my responsibility. I shall ask forgiveness, not from avenging and indignant countrymen, but from God."

In another place he threatens to withdraw to the Himalayas,—to retire from the world.

But the crowning disaster of all was that Government took advantage of the psychological moment to strike, and it struck very hard. But we are anticipating matters, and it is necessary to go back to the Congress.

The All India Congress Committee meeting held at Delhi on November 4th, 1921, authorised Civil Disobedience. This resolution was endorsed by the Congress at Ahmedabad the following December. It marked a distinct advance on the non-co-operation resolution at Nagpur the previous winter. It made it clear why Gandhi had been at so much pains to enlist paid "volunteers," and why he had refused to suspend recruitment whilst an abortive attempt was being made to arrange a peace with the Government. Civil Disobedience was of two types according to Gandhi. In its ordinary form, "Defensive Civil Disobedience," it was largely preparative. Its activities embraced passive resistance, the enlistment of volunteers, the picketing of liquor shops, the removal of untouchability, the wearing of khaddar or homespun cloth, the cult of the charkha or spinning wheel, and the preaching of Swadesi or the boycott of foreign goods. Little more was heard about the surrender of offices and titles and the boycott of schools and law courts. They were tacitly dropped from the programme. It was probable that with the advent of "Swaraj" they would cease to exist or be profoundly modified.

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The most highly developed form, Offensive Civil Disobedience was not to be resorted to until the majority of the inhabitants of a given area favoured it. Mr. Dip Narayan Singh, a leading non-co-operator of Bihar, explained it as follows: "The chief civil officer in the area selected for its operation was to be given seven days to hand over the district to the non-co-operators. The residents in the area were then to be ordered to disobey all orders and laws of Government and to refuse to pay taxes, register documents and so on. Police stations and courts were to be surrendered and officials told to deposit their uniforms and badges of office. The police stations and courts were then to be treated as Swaraj property." (Speech by His Excellency, Lord Ronaldshay, at the annual dinner of the Calcutta Trades Association on February 10th, 1922.) This agrees substantially with what was said by Gandhi when he moved the Civil Disobedience resolution at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee on November 4th, 1921, that his programme of Civil Disobedience would mean, wherever practised, the end of Government's authority and open defiance of Government and its laws.

Interviewed by a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Gandhi remarked that he would have to break through the whole of the statute book save those resolutions which are part of the moral government of the Universe. (*Leader*, February 13th, 1922).

The Congress or "Parallel Government," as it was openly termed at the Congress meeting at Gaya in December, 1922, was to take over the functions of the Government when the latter had dissolved in ruin. Thanks to the volunteers, there would, it was hoped, be no violent interlude.

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break of violence which marked the arrival of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, at Bombay.

. . . . On the same day there was a very complete "hartal" at Calcutta where intimidation was practised. According to Gandhi the Government of India and the Government of Bengal were stung into taking action. The Criminal Law Amendment Act for the purpose of dealing with volunteer associations and the Seditious Meetings Act for the purpose of dealing with non-co-operators were applied. Deshbandhu Chitranjan Das, Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and some of his co-workers in the United Provinces and Lala Lajpat Rai and his friends in the Panjab were arrested. Public meetings, public associations and the non-co-operative press in many parts of India were repressed. Gandhi protested that the acts of the Government were lacking in humanity. He instanced the shooting at Entally in Calcutta, the callous treatment of a corpse, the brutality of the Civil Guard (an anti-volunteer body), the dispersal of a meeting at Dacca, the dragging of innocent men by the "legs," the treatment of volunteers in Aligarh, the assaults upon volunteers in Lahore and Jullunder, the shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun, the dispersal of a meeting at the same place, the alleged looting in Bihar, the burning of Khadder and papers belonging to the Congress at Sonapur, and midnight searches in the Congress and Khilafat offices. (M. K. Gandhi's rejoinder to the Government of India, reprinted in *The Leader*, of February 10th, 1922).

The general argument adopted by the Government in meeting these accusations was that the facts were often incorrect, and that, in any case, the acts complained of did not warrant the interpretation put upon them. Repression had been resolved upon before the Calcutta

hartal. It was not introduced in consequence of that episode.

According to a Congress and Khilafat bulletin, 7,987 persons were imprisoned in Calcutta and fifteen districts in Bengal, the figures for Calcutta alone being 5,600. (*The Leader*, February 12th, 1922).

Gandhi had maintained that if sufficient persons were forthcoming who were willing to sacrifice their liberty, the jails would overflow and Government would be checkmated. Instead of welcoming the rush to jail, however, the Gandhi organs complained of illusage and the like, most of the instances alleged being promptly contradicted in the Government communiqués.

But Gandhi's offensive was not very popular. The Assembly had done good work. It had learnt much and it was educating the country from a political point of view. Whilst many of the members deprecated repression on the ground that the instinct of the Indian nation was tolerant or humanitarian, they had no wish to gain Swaraj unless they were able to defend their liberties when they had been gained. Admiring Gandhi as a moral teacher, the House feared that his politics would deliver the country into the hands of the Mohammedans or the anarchists. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the Assembly and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya outside it were strong upon the point that Indianisation of the Army must precede Swaraj. The idea of a Round Table Conference was in the air. Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya became the unaccredited envoy between Delhi and Ahmedabad. But Gandhi was firm. What his real views were, it is difficult to say. It is probable that he would never have compromised with western culture. Part of his scheme of non-co-operation deprecated intercourse with wives until Swaraj had been obtained. In

his Confession of Faith, he writes:—"It is not the English people who are ruling India, but it is modern civilisation, through its railways, telegraph, telephone, and almost every invention which has been claimed to be a triumph of civilisation." Under these circumstances, it is open to question whether any result could have been possible as the result of Mr. Malaviya's efforts. Apart from this, Hindu-Muslim unity was the keynote to Mr. Gandhi's scheme for obtaining Swaraj. Short of countenancing violence, he was willing to concede almost anything to the Mohammedans to preserve the appearance of unity. The Mohammedans were aware of this fact and they traded upon their knowledge. In the chapter upon the Khilafat, I have shewn that the Congress was, up to a certain point, the creature of the Conference. Now the Khilafat Conference did not at this moment wish for a peace in India which would enable the British Government to turn its attention to Turkey. The negotiations were doomed to failure before they started. Mr Gandhi desired the Government to withdraw the notifications dealing with the volunteer movement. He was anxious that fines should be refunded and that political prisoners should be released. He agreed to advise the Working Committee of the Congress to postpone general mass civil disobedience until January 31st, in order to allow negotiations to proceed. He was also willing to stop hartals. "On the contrary," said he "enlistment of volunteers and Swadesi propaganda must continue without abatement. Liquor shop picketting may continue where it is absolutely peaceful. It should certainly continue where notices unnecessarily prohibiting picketting have been issued. So may picketting continue regarding schools or foreign cloth shops. . . . Civil disobedience being an

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indefeasible right, the preparations for it will continue even if the conference comes off. And the preparations for civil disobedience consist in :—

1. the enlistment of volunteers.
2. the propaganda of Swadesi.
3. the removal of untouchability.
4. the training in non-violence in word, deed and thought.
5. unity between divers creeds and classes.”

(M. K. Gandhi in *Young India*, January 19th, 1922).

As the enlistment of volunteers was to proceed even though a conference was held, the negotiations naturally broke down. It was obvious that Gandhi's intention was merely to gain time.

At the Ahmedabad Congress in December, 1921, the main issue was between violence and non-violence. The Khilafat Committee had resolved to ask Mohammedans and members of other committees to endeavour to destroy British Imperialism. The matter was ruled out of order in the Conference on a technical objection. Amongst the means advocated was guerilla warfare.

The proposal was also thrown out in the Congress but not without a fight. In fact it was only the personal influence of Mr. Gandhi which ensured its rejection.

Instead of having recourse to warfare, it was resolved to appoint Gandhi Dictator (with the power of nominating a successor) and to resort to aggressive Civil Disobedience in trial areas, the localities selected being Bardoli, Nadiad, and Anand near Ahmedabad. It was Gandhi's own country. The necessary atmosphere of non-violence had, in his opinion, been secured. In fact, the recent Congress had been most orderly. The policing had been carried out by Congress volunteers and the

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION. 117

Delegates had even agreed that lathis were not to be used. Although Offensive Civil Disobedience embraced all acts tending to diminish or overthrow the authority of the State, except such acts as were violent or implied moral turpitude, yet there was in the trial areas no sign of any disregard of the provisions of the Arms Act. This was probably because the possession of unlicensed arms implied a resort to violence. The proper weapon for a non-co-operator was the Charkha.

The policy adopted by government at Ahmedabad to combat Defensive Civil Disobedience was to fine persons contravening the law. Imprisonment in default of payment of the fine was not awarded. Distraint was effected then and there, the watches or any other valuables of a convicted person being taken on the spot, whilst the movables in his house were also liable to be attached if necessary.

The campaign against Government education in the trial areas also fell within the sphere of defensive civil disobedience. The local authorities at Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Surat refused Government grants and claimed as a set-off against that repudiation, the right of foregoing Government inspection. They then taught sedition in the schools. The Commissioner then attached the schools and appointed officers to perform the duties with proper guarantees that normal instruction would be imparted. By statutory order, he also attached sufficient municipal funds for the purpose. The position then was that the Government schools became empty thanks to the efforts of picketers, whilst efforts were made to impart instruction in National schools controlled by Gandhi's followers. The resuscitation of the movement against state-aided institutions had evidently been resorted to in order to gain volun-

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teers for the cause in the shape of school boys. Mrs. Sarojini Nyudu who, a year before, had condemned the campaign against education, now supported it, not because it was inherently praiseworthy, but because a temporary sacrifice to gain great ends was called for.

It may be inferred that arrangements were made by the Government to combat offensive disobedience by prosecuting prominent leaders under Section 124, etc., of the Indian Penal Code. Sufficient rope was to be given and the prosecutions were to be launched when conditions made it necessary.

If this was the Government scheme, then criticising it as a whole, it was open to the drawback that no steps were taken to attach the funds of the non-co-operators or to make it illegal for the Mills to contribute. It would remove in the person of Gandhi the chief guarantee of peace, and it would leave a number of blackmailing placemen (as well as many of a different type). A logical preliminary would have been to make it illegal for the Marwaris, liquor shop renters or Mill-owners to contribute. Having introduced an atmosphere of discontent amongst those who were clamouring for arrears of pay or emoluments, it would have been easy, afterwards, to have dealt with Gandhi and the other leaders before they had formulated a fresh plan of campaign.

Offensive Civil Disobedience in Bardoli and the neighbouring areas never matured. On February 11th and 12th, 1922, the Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli and resolved to suspend action. It remarked: . . . "Every time mass Civil Disobedience has been imminent, some popular 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 in Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur. The working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended." . . . It recommended that local Congress Committees be advised to tell cultivators to pay land revenue and other taxes whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and to stay all other activities of an offensive nature. In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee further advised all Congress organisations to stop activities specially designed to court arrest including voluntary hartals, and all picketing save for the bona fide peaceful purpose of warning visitors to liquor shops against the evils of drinking. The Committee also advised the suspension of all processions and public meetings conducted for the purpose of disregarding the notices regarding such activities. These resolutions were to be subject to ratification by the All India Congress Committee.*

Although offensive Civil Disobedience in Bardoli had come to nothing, more progress was made in Madras. The Guntur District formed part of the ancient kingdom of Andhra. The minor officials were originally largely of Tamil extraction, and their presence was accordingly resented by the Telugu speaking inhabitants. A movement for the formation of an Andhra Province separate from Madras had long been in progress. It is possible that, originally, a certain amount of corruption had been rife, the existence of irrigation canals fed by the Kistna River making it easy to withhold supplies of water from cultivators who might prove recalcitrant.

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the village of Chirala into a municipality, evoked opposition. A municipality meant extra taxation and extra regulations. The success of the anti-Brahmin party at the Reform elections in 1920 accentuated the discontent of a section. The Brahmins had engineered the Home Rule movement, but the non-Brahmins had appropriated the reward of success including the power of nominating to many, if not most, of the appointments. They did not hesitate to award the spoils of office to their followers. Accordingly Guntur, where the Brahminical party was powerful, was the first place in India openly to advocate non-payment of taxes even though the preliminary conditions laid down by the Delhi Committee had not been observed. The rule as to Untouchability was, in particular, a dead letter, many of the caste people strongly resenting the views of Gandhi on the subject. As the result, the Government were able to counter the movement before it got very far. The Revenue Recovery Act (Madras Act 2 of 1864) was amended so as to permit sales of land within seven days. In the event of absence of bidders, the land might be bought in and assigned to military pensioners or Untouchables. Punitive Police were also quartered on the District. The leading non-co-operators thereupon paid their dues through relations or by money orders directed to distant treasury officers. Their names were promptly published broadcast by the Government.

Meantime news of the tragedy at Chaura Chauri travelled to the District. On February 11th, 1922, the Guntoor Congress Committee passed resolutions stopping the no-tax campaign but advising the people to elect non-co-operators in the ensuing Taluk Board, District Board, Municipal and Union elections.

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Gandhi's attitude throughout was that of an opportunist. As Dictator, he might have attempted to stop non-payment of taxes. But he was not certain whether he would be listened to. In a letter to Mr. Venkappiah, the leading non-co-operator of the Guntoor District, he said :—"If Andhra stops Mass Civil Disobedience, I shall be glad. But if it cannot stop, I shall not mind it, provided, of course, that complete control is attained over forces of violence and all conditions are fulfilled." (*Leader*, February, 15th, 1922).

The All India Congress Committee which met at Delhi, on February 25th, 1922, was an excited body. The undercurrent was strongly symptomatic of violence. The workers, remarked Gandhi, 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. Although resolutions were passed confirming the Bardoli decision to suspend civil disobedience of an aggressive character, yet they were coupled with a reservation that individual civil disobedience might be practised. In other words, if people did not like to follow the party decision, they could obey their own dictates. (*Young India*, March 2nd, 1922).

It is evident that Gandhi was very dejected. The most earnest of workers in any cause in which he was interested, he had never been consistent in his conduct. Revolutionary as he was, he had in his earlier years supported the Government. He now advised those who had been imprisoned to apologise and come out of jail. Deserted by many of his friends, and accused by others of being at heart an adherent of the Government, he drained to the dregs the cup of misery and humiliation. But it was for a season only. He found an atmosphere

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of peace in the lawcourts which he had set out to destroy. Amongst the last pages which he wrote before his imprisonment on March 18th, 1922, is a remarkable tribute to the impartiality of his trial, the dignity of the proceedings and the demeanour of the judge whose voice trembled as he pronounced the sentence. He welcomed his six years of simple imprisonment. He would have time to read, a pleasure which had for years been denied him. He was so happy that he laughed like one who had received "Moksha," or salvation. He was spared the pain of seeing his work crumble away, of witnessing Hindu Muslim unity dissolve in a series of outbreaks of violence all over India, and of being present at the Congress meeting at Delhi when it was resolved to permit election to the Councils which he had done so much to ban. He set out to cause a revolution. It is possible that by his speech against violence at Ahmedabad, he prevented a rebellion. He found an atmosphere of non-violence, but he found it in a jail. As a politician, he is moribund. As a Saint he will live for centuries in the hearts of the peasants of Gujerat. More than one Englishman who fought him remorsefully at the height of his influence, shed a tear of sympathy when he fell from power.

But let it not be supposed that Mr. Gandhi has changed. Hindu-Muslim unity is still his creed "for all time under all circumstances." But that unity must not be a menace to minorities,—Parsis, Christians, Jews or the powerful Sikhs. Whilst he is still anxious that the lawcourts, the Government schools, the councils and offices under Government should be renounced, he would restrict activity in this direction to consolidating the results already achieved. With him, the most powerful argument against devoting further time to destructive propaganda is the fact that the spirit of intolerance or

violence has never been so rampant as now. "Co-operators, he says, "are estranged from us; they fear us. They say that we are establishing a bureaucracy worse than the existing one. We must remove every cause for such anxiety by going out of our way to win them to our side. (Letter dated March 25th, 1922, to Hakim Ajmal Khan, in *The Leader*).

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This is the keynote to his politics—unity; unity of Untouchables, Hindus, Mohammedans, Co-operators and Non-co-operators. In the Khilafat movement to which he contributed so much, one may also observe the growth of a sentiment of Unity between Pan Islamism and Pan Asiaticism. He would even make further sacrifices in the cause of political unity; for Bolshevism itself, according to Gandhi, would be preferable to the existing régime. The only limit to the unifying process which he advocates is the culture of the West; for that is Satanic, inhuman.

In religion too, he apparently inculcates this same gospel of unity. Nurtured in an atmosphere of Hinduism, educated in a Christian country and associating constantly with Mohammedans, he is the friend of all religions. Furthermore, he is a zealous reader of the Gospels. His Soul Force presents an analogy with that faith which removes mountains; and, practised by a sufficient number of persons, it could, in his opinion, remove the British Empire. But it does not necessarily follow that he is Christian, because in India, Yoga, which produces the same result, has been taught and practised from time immemorial.

THE PANJAB AND THE AKALI MOVEMENT.

The Sikhs are essentially a martial race. Numerically insignificant, they bulk large in the potential military power of India. They inhabit the centre of the Panjab, their principal towns being Lahore and Amritsar. Westward they extend to the Jhelum, whilst in the East, the Sutlej is regarded as being the natural border of their territory, though many of them, the Patiala Sikhs for example, live across that river in Hindustan proper.

Lying directly in the path of the Mohammedan invaders of India, the inhabitants of the Panjab built up a polity which was a compromise between Hinduism and the religion taught by Mohamet. Nanak was the reputed founder of the Sikhs, but much of his teaching is based on that of his predecessors, Jaidev, Ramanand and Kabir. Whilst breaking with the polytheism of the Hindus, they borrowed from Sufism or from the followers of Vishnu or from both a pantheistic leaven which influenced the whole of the teachings of their followers.

Guru Nanak was born at Talwandi, better known as Nankana, not far from Lahore. He was the first of the ten inspired Gurus or Teachers of the Sikhs. It was at Sultanpur that he received his call. Bathing one day in the canal, he was caught up by the angels and taken

into the presence of the Almighty (Hari) who presented him with a goblet of nectar and commanded him to preach his word throughout the world. It is evident, therefore, that in Sikhism we have to deal with a proselytising or world religion, and in this respect it is sharply divided off from the highly nationalist cult of Hinduism. In his subsequent life, the same breadth of view is apparent. Not only did Nanak travel extensively in India but he preached over wide areas in Central Asia and Arabia. Deriving as he did his inspiration from Hari (Vihnu), he recognised no difference between Allah and Vishnu. To him, they were merely names for the animating Spirit of Creation who is God. Rejecting idols and incarnations, he denounced the institution of caste and maintained that all men were born equal.

Enriched by gifts from their disciples and grants from the Government, the descendants of Nanak transferred the management of most of the Gurudwaras or religious residences (generally endowed) to the Udasis, a sect founded by the second son of Nanak. It was only the shrines at Khadur Sahib, Gobindwal and Kartarpur (Jullunder District) which remained in the possession of the descendants of the first Guru. The Udasi Mahants or heads of the institutions enjoyed a considerable amount of independence as they were not controlled by any central body. Not only did they collect the revenues and the offerings, but they even claimed the right to nominate their successors from amongst their disciples. Nominally followers of Nanak, the Mahants gradually admitted images into the Gurudwaras and did other things which were objectionable to the more modern Sikhs. Another point of difference was that they did not wear the five symbols (rahit) assumed by

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Nanak had been a messenger of peace and reconciliation. His successors built up one of the most powerful military organisations in India. The fifth Guru, Arjun Das, was the compiler of the *Adi Granth* or Bible of the Sikhs, nearly half of this great work being his own composition. Having incurred the enmity of Chandu Lal, one of the ministers of the Moghul emperors, he was put to death in 1606 for alleged complicity in a rebellion. As a result of this, his son, Guru Har Gobind, took up arms against the Mohammedans and remained their inveterate enemy until his death. The son of the next Guru, Har Rai, was held as a hostage by the Emperor, Aurangzeb, until 1661 when he was released on the death of his father.

The 9th Guru, Teg Bahadur, was put to death by Aurangzeb. His son, Guru Gobind Singh, who became the tenth and last Guru, was a military organiser rather than a saint in the popular acceptation of the term. His career was one long struggle against Islam. He lived by the sword and he died by the dagger of a Pathan.

His great work was the institution of a sacred brotherhood called the Khalsa or "Pure." The members assumed the five Ks or symbols (*rahit*), *viz.*,

1. The unshorn hair, to remind them that man should not interfere with the handiwork of God.

2. The short drawers, to emphasise the necessity for physical and moral cleanliness.

3. The two-edged dagger or Kirpan which reminded them of the necessity of protecting their faith by force of arms.

4. The iron circlet or bangle, the symbol of the

strength of their devotion to their faith, and the emblem of eternity which is without beginning or end.

5. The comb, to keep their hair clean and their thoughts pure.

Initiation took place at Anandpur or Amritsar, the ceremony being performed by five elders. A solution of sugar in water was sipped five times by the candidate, the remainder being sprinkled by the elders over five parts of his body. He also took an oath not to mix with excommunicated persons, not to worship idols, to revere no one but a Sikh Guru, and never to turn his back on a foe. He was enjoined to believe in the Gurus as manifestations of one and the same Lord, to follow the teaching contained in the Holy Granth, to meditate on the Holy Name, to perform all ceremonies connected with the Khalsa, and to avoid the use of tobacco. After initiation, the five Ks are worn and the name Singh (lion) assumed. It will thus be seen that it was in the time of Guru Gobind Singh that Amritsar became the Mecca of Sikhism whilst baptism in the Golden Temple at that place symbolised, and still symbolises, admission into an association with military inclinations, which henceforward recognised the Granth or Sikh scriptures as its Guru or Teacher.

After the death of Guru Govindh Singh, military activities against the Mohammedans were continued by a person of Rajput extraction called Banda. For a time, he controlled the Khalsa, but the direction of this body subsequently passed to a military corporation known as the Akali or Faithful of the Eternal. The Akalis also became, for a time, guardians of the sanctuary at Amritsar. They were Sikh fanatics who not only carried out the teachings of Guru Gobindh Singh to the letter, but even believed themselves justified, on occa-

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sion, in slaying the opponents of their religion. Their uniform was black or dark blue with a conical puggree or head dress ornamented with steel quoits. Not only did they wear the five Ks but they were often profusely armed, sometimes carrying as many as five swords. More than any other sect of the followers of Guru Gobindh, they imported into their cult the idea of the lion. Their most warlike 'Jatha' or association, the Babbar Akali Jatha, was the lion association of the Akalis, whilst the Akalis themselves were, metaphorically speaking, the lions of the Panjab. In the time of Ranjit Singh, the King of the Panjab, they gave considerable trouble to the Government but were eventually mastered.

Up to the year 1920, those who styled themselves Akalis were few and far between, but towards the end of that year, parties or 'jathas' of them became numerous as the result of religious and political discontent.

We have seen that Sikhism was at its inception a kind of monotheistic Vaishnavism or Vishnu cult. Recognising as it did, no difference between Allah and Vishnu, it was tainted in the opinion of orthodox Mohammedans with the Pantheism which is associated with many forms of Hinduism. How far it contributed to inspire the Moghul Emperor Akbar with his ideas of a new Mohammedanism leavened by Hinduism is unknown. But after the death of Akbar, there was a revulsion of feeling in favour of orthodox Mohammedanism and the Sikhs began to suffer in consequence. In proportion as they were persecuted, their interest in the Mohammedan side of their religion waned. Idols were introduced in many of their shrines. Brahmin priests were employed in many of their families though Sikhism does not recognise Brahminism. It is possible

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that there would have been a fairly general lapse into Hinduism had it not been for two facts. In the first place, there was a certain amount of resentment against the Hindus (and Mohammedans) for having under the leadership of the British, conquered them during the first and second Sikh wars. It was partly on account of this resentment that the Sikhs, shortly afterwards, fought on the side of the British against the Hindus and Mohammedans during the Indian Mutiny.

In the second place, the British officers had, for military reasons, deliberately kept Sikhism alive.

Be this as it may, idols had been introduced into some of the shrines, immorality was not uncommon, the ritual was open to criticism, and the shrines themselves had passed into the possession of a sect known as Udasis who were nominally followers of Guru Nanak, but who were not entitled by descent to the posts which they filled.

Of particular importance was the Golden Temple at Amritsar, the Mecca of Sikhism. In the time of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the Temple or the Darbar Sahib as it is called, was under the management of the Government. This arrangement was continued by the British until 1859, when a committee of Sikhs was appointed for the purpose. In 1920, a self-appointed body called the Siromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee came into existence and tried to obtain possession of all the shrines with the aid of the Akalis. Although posing as reformers, it was probable that the real aim of the wire-pullers was to obtain funds for more extended political activities.

It will now be necessary to touch on the political causes of the Akali movement. At the outbreak of the great war, the Sikhs in America, many of them members

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of the Gadr or revolutionary party in India, began to return to their native country.

The Sikh emigrants in the steam-ship *Komagata Maru*, to whom permission to land had been refused in Canada, also returned to India. Burning with resentment at the treatment which they had received, and obsessed with the idea that the Government of the country was in process of dissolution, they had for the most part developed into a peculiarly dangerous type of persons. Most of them, however, were well watched within the precincts of their respective villages and were prevented during the war from doing much mischief.

Meantime an atmosphere of discontent had been engendered in the Panjab itself. Recruiting for the army had been strenuous. Subscriptions for war-loans and other purposes had been frequent. Prices soared high during the scarcity of 1918. A terrible outbreak of influenza claimed numerous victims. Two Sikh States, Napha and Patiola, were at feud with each other. An idea was prevalent that the Montagu—Chelmsford Reforms were not only inadequate, but would be whittled down when embodied in a statute. The introduction in the central legislature of certain repressive measures known as the Rowlatt Bills had been strongly resented. As a protest, Gandhi inaugurated his Satyagraha movement of passive resistance on 24th February, 1919. Firing occurred at Delhi on March 30th. An angry mob at Amritsar killed several Europeans and damaged much property. Martial law was accordingly proclaimed and public meetings prohibited. As this order was disregarded, General Dyer at Jallianwalla Bagh ordered his troops to fire and killed a large number of persons. Outbreaks at other places were also promptly repressed. An Afghan invasion which followed almost immediately was successfully repulsed.

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It was clear from the completeness with which the Government had dealt with the situation, that 'armed insurrection must result in failure. For a time, the people were completely cowed. Even Gandhi stopped his passive resistance movement nominally on the ground that he considered it a "Himalayan blunder" to expect self-control from the people after the Jallian-walla Bagh episode. Had the matter ended there, it is possible that the storm might have passed over. But the repression that followed was of a character that gave ample room for criticism. The flogging and crawling orders and the salaaming of Europeans were all matters which gave rise to much adverse comment in the unofficial or Congress report of what had transpired. Meantime, the Congress had held its meeting at Amritsar in December, 1919. The Government of India Act had recently become law and formed the principal theme of discussion. But few of the members had perused the text of the Act. Their criticisms were based upon the belief that the wording followed the Montagu Chelmsford Report, whereas it went much further. Progressive Provincial autonomy was possible under it since it was comparatively easy to change a reserved into a transferred subject. In the Central Government, it was similarly possible, by taking full advantage of the fact that no racial discrimination was to be exercised in favour of Europeans (*vide* section 96), largely to Indianise the services.

But the Congress was obdurate. It would not agree to co-operate in working the Reforms. About the same time, a split occurred between the National Home Rule League under Mrs. Besant, which was a constitutional association, and the body known as the Swaraj League which, under Gandhi's leadership, afterwards became

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involved in the non-co-operation movement. But the non-co-operation movement did not definitely start until April 9th, 1920, the unofficial or Congress report on the administration of martial law in the Panjab having been published a short time before.

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On April 17th, in Madras, the following resolutions were passed :—

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“In consonance with the spirit of the resolution adopted by the All India Khilafat Committee, this Conference, in the event of the present agitation proving futile and ineffective, calls upon all Indians to resort to progressive abstention from co-operation with Government ~~in the following manner~~ :—

Firstly, to renounce all honorary posts, titles and membership of Legislative Councils.

Secondly, to give up all remunerative posts under Government.

Thirdly, to give up all appointments in the Police and Military forces.

Fourthly, to refuse to pay taxes to Government.

The above was a Khilafat step. But as other political bodies were not very interested in obtaining favourable peace terms for Turkey, the Panjab grievances and the deficiencies of the Government of India Act were added to the demands by the All India Congress Committee at Benares on May 30th and 31st, 1920. An ultimatum to the Viceroy was afterwards issued, and as this passed almost unnoticed, an elaborate programme of non-co-operation was drawn up in September and December, 1920. The text is given in the chapter on Gandhi and non-co-operation.

Although the Nagpur Congress at the end of 1920 had affirmed the cult of non-violence, such an abstract tenet was not popular with the more warlike Sikhs. As yet,

the fear inspired by General Dyer discouraged attempts against the Government. But an easy booty offered itself in the shape of the Shrines with their endowments. These institutions which are known as Gurudwaras, are Sikh places of worship erected by or in memory of any of the Sikh Gurus. They are residential in character and, until recently, were generally occupied by a Mahant of the Udasi sect who was the head of the institution. They are often very richly endowed.

The shrine at Nankana Sahib occupied the site of the house in which Guru Nanak was born. Close by, is the Kiara Sahib, a sacred field. Although Nanak once permitted his father's cows to stray in this, no trace of damage could afterwards be found. It was in this neighbourhood that a serpent shaded the Guru's head with its hood when he was absorbed in contemplation. At another spot, the shadow of a tree remained stationary for the same purpose.

The Mahant or Head of the institution was a follower of Guru Nanak and a member of the Udasi sect. The Akalis resolved to dispossess him. According to Gandhi, they included in their ranks both co-operators and non-co-operators. Their method of procedure was by 'non-violent dispossession.' The Mahant was aware of their intentions and he applied to the authorities for protection. But no help was sent to him, so he made his own arrangements. On February 20th, 1920, a large party of Akalis was admitted to the temple enclosure and the gates were then closed on them. Pathan riflemen and others who had been concealed in the precincts, opened fire. One hundred and fifty persons were shot down. Their bodies were drenched with kerosene and then burnt.

The result was an uproar throughout the Panjab.

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The crime was so appalling that the Mahants lost popularity and could not protest effectively against the annexation of their shrines by the Akalis. The Government were in a dilemma. Technically, the Mahants were in possession and hence entitled to protection until the situation could be legalised. On the other hand, they could not be regarded as representative of the public, and the belief was general that abuses had crept into the services as conducted under their management. The Government accordingly embarked on legislation with the object of legalising new schemes of management in which all parties might have some voice. But the question was one of great difficulty and several bills were thrown out before a satisfactory settlement was arrived at. Another step taken by the Government was to prosecute the Mahant of Nankana Sahib and his principal adherents. Although a conviction was obtained, some degree of resentment was caused by the fact that the sentence passed on the Mahant was reduced by the High Court to transportation for life. After all, there was something to be said for the Mahant. He had asked for protection but he had not received it.

Meantime, there was considerable difficulty as regards the possession of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. It was by some regarded as being the Mecca of Sikhism, being peculiarly associated with the teachings of Gobind Singh, the 10th Guru. The Government accordingly caused a suit to be filed for a declaratory decree as to the right to control the Golden Temple and five other institutions. But as nobody objected, they did not wait for the final decision, and the Temple and the other institutions were accordingly handed over to the Siromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee on the understanding that this body would admit representa-

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tives from the Sikh states and that it would confine its activities to religious as distinguished from political matters. The Committee, indicated above, is a self-constituted body, which seeks to reform the shrines after getting possession of them. It is closely connected with the Akali Dal, a military organization which controlled the Akali "volunteers."

Meantime the process of non-violent dispossession of the Mahants was going on throughout the Panjab. But the campaign was not always successful. In the Gurudwara -bagh incident, for example, the Akalis who were legally in possession of the Gurudwara, asserted a right to the garden by inciting five persons to cut the trees. These stood on property belonging to local Gurudwaras dedicated to the fifth and ninth Gurus respectively. The Mahant prosecuted the trespassers for theft and they were accordingly sentenced to undergo imprisonment. The Siromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee or Society for the reform of the Gurudwaras then declared that the trees belonged, not to the Mahant, but to itself, and sent word to the Akalis to come and take the place of the imprisoned persons. Five more men were accordingly arrested and so the process went on, the Akalis mustering in ever increasing numbers. Then the police dispersed them from time to time with lathis and sticks. In September, 1922, practically all the leaders of the Siromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee and 1500 other persons had been imprisoned. Forcible dispersion had practically ceased about this time as it was urged by the critics of the authorities that too much physical force had been resorted to. Although no deaths had been caused, the condition of one or two persons was serious.

In November, 1922, a compromise was arrived at.

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The Mahant leased the land in dispute to a third party who allowed the Akalis to occupy it. The honour of both sides was vindicated. The Mahant had established his right to dispose of the property as he wished, whilst the Akalis remained in undisturbed possession of it.

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The Sikh Shrines Bill was passed on November 17th, 1922. It provided for the constitution of a Board of three Sikhs to control religious institutions. The three parties represented were the Government, the Siromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee, and the Legislative Council. Under the new Act, it was possible to remove from office guardians who proved to be unsuitable.

As the result of unconstitutional action, the militant party in the Panjab had obtained possession or some degree of control of most of the principal places of worship with their revenues which were sometimes very large. The next step was to deal with the army, or, at any rate, the Sikh portion of it. Resolution 11 of the Nagpur Congress indicated that the Gandhi party intended to get the police and the soldiers to resign. Throughout 1921 and the beginning of 1922, the Khilafat party had pointed out that it was contrary to their religion for Mohammedans to remain in the ranks while Islam was being oppressed. The Akalis started a somewhat similar movement in the Panjab. At Jullunder, two men of the 14th Sikhs wore black puggrees although in uniform. Black flags are used by non-cooperators to indicate mourning because India is in bondage, but the Akali uniform is also black. Following the disciplinary measures taken to deal with this insubordination, six men committed the same offence, and, later, twenty men deserted.

The Indian officers of the regiment attributed the outbreak to the recent release from civil custody of

certain Sikh prisoners. The delinquents were sentenced to imprisonment. In the 9th Panjabis, at the same station, a Sikh sepoy insisted on wearing a Kirpan of non-regulation length. When arrested, he went on hunger strike and the whole of his company followed suit in sympathy. He was sentenced to imprisonment and the trouble subsided. Shortly afterwards, however, five men appeared on parade in uniform wearing black pugrees and refused to remove them. This defiance, which almost amounted to mutiny, was duly punished. The two regiments were both due to go on service overseas, and it was while the men were taking their short leave before departure that agitators are said to have made special efforts to influence them.

It would appear that the families of soldiers are also exposed to intimidation. The wives and families of a famous regiment ordered on active service petitioned the authorities against the despatch of the unit. It was not because they did not want the men to do their duty, but because they knew that oppression and terrorism would be their lot while their protectors were away on service for the Raj. (*Pioneer* of February, 1922, reprinted in *The Leader* of 10th March, 1922, indirectly corroborated by the Commander-in-Chief's speech in the Budget debate in the Legislative Assembly in 1922).

In a communiqué dated 7th March, 1922, the Panjab Government describes the activities of the Akalis. They move about the Central Panjab in military formation carrying weapons which are often bared. Sometimes they have drawn their swords and threatened travellers. Large numbers enter the trains and travel free of charge. Others terrorise local officials or soldiers on leave and threaten to molest their women unless they leave the army. They have interfered with magistrates trying cases. They

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made speeches of a violent and revolutionary character claiming for themselves the Raj of the Panjab. They say they only await the order to overthrow the law.

In *Young India* of 9th February, 1922, a correspondent wrote to Gandhi as follows:—

. . . . The overbearing and disorderly conduct of Akali bands in the Hoshiarpur district has necessitated sending a military posse down there. At a meeting held at Bilaspur the other day within two miles of Hoshiarpur, about 2,000 Akalis were present. Rows of men with drawn swords formed themselves round a centre where the speakers were. The orators declared valiantly there was no government and that an Akali, according to a prophecy, would come from Cabul, and overpowering all opposition, establish himself on the throne of Delhi, and at a given signal expressed readiness to start revolutionary operations. The Akalis in Hoshiarpur have a commissariat and an intelligence service of their own. They employ camel Sowars (riders) to watch what is going on. A large crowd gathered together outside the court of a magistrate engaged in trying political cases at Gaurishanker and demanded the surrender of prisoners on their own terms.

The pledge of non-violence has been omitted from the vow of the Akalis; and the service they undertook was not exclusively confined to the Gurudwara Reform (*i.e.* to the reform of their Church). Meetings are the order of the day, and the substitution of Sikh rule for the present Government is frankly put forward. Advices from Ludhiana declare that bands of Sikh enthusiasts march to their meetings with much pomp and parade, carrying swords and axes and hammers. They march through the bazaars in regular formation and when travelling in large numbers by railway they refuse to pay for their

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tickets, sometimes even claiming the privilege of free travel, as they foolishly imagine the country is theirs.

The part taken by the Akalis in the deliberations of the Hindu National Congress at Gaya in December, 1922, has been described in the chapter on the Khilafat question. They may now be regarded as forming a somewhat unruly subsection of the Congress. Some of them favour the carrying out of the full Gandhi programme of non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience, whilst others are followers of Mr. C. R. Das and are enrolled in his Swaraj Party. It is not known how their dream of a Sikh Kingdom will conform to the Congress ideal of a united and free India dominated by the Hinduism to which the Akalis take exception.

But the Sikhs have in reality little sympathy with the non-violent part of the tenets of Gandhi. About the middle of 1922, a pensioned havildar of a Sikh regiment, an ex-army clerk, and one or two persons who had returned from abroad where they had probably imbibed revolutionary ideas, formed an Association called the Babar (or Lion) Akali Jatha. Their aim was to overthrow the influence of the Government by terrorising its supporters. Their activities were first directed against an Indian official who was alleged to have assisted in the arrest of a Sikh concerned in a conspiracy formed in 1921 to murder officials and leading men. Four murders were alleged to have been committed by this gang in March, 1923, and numerous other crimes have since been attributed to the same source. As the Association or Jatha numbered some 800 men, the aid of the military authorities was invoked, and 200 cavalry, 250 infantry and some armoured cars were sent to Jullundar. By June, 1923, the gang had split up into small sections; some two hundred arrests had been made, and the situa-

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tion was reported to be well in hand. In the subsequent campaign against the Babar Jatha, a bomb was thrown at a Superintendent of Police who afterwards died of the injuries received.

Another remarkable incident connected with this gang was the arrest of one of its most prominent members, Dhanna Singh. This person had in his pocket a bomb which he exploded killing himself and six policemen and wounding others.

To re-establish confidence in the Government, grants were made to dependents of the victims of the Babar Akali outrages. (*Weekly Times of India*, June 23, 1923).

In producing a reign of terror, the Babar Akali Jatha operated under cover of a Sikh Nationalist movement and pretended to be fighting the National battle. (*The Times Weekly*, July 12th, 1923). The wildest statements were published in the papers of the baser sort and even in the *Tribune* against the officials who were stamping out disorder. Loyal and peace-loving men who would ordinarily help the authorities hung back through a very natural fear of reprisals. (*ib.*). Aeroplanes proved most useful for the purpose of scattering pamphlets in the villages in order to re-assure the inhabitants and to promise them protection and rewards should they assist the Government.

Another field for the activities of the Akalis and their friends, the Siromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, existed in Nabha, a Sikh State. There had long been disputes between the Maharajah and the neighbouring ruler of another Sikh state, Patiala. These were eventually decided in favour of the latter power. Administration having long been unsatisfactory in Nabha, the Maharajah abdicated in favour of his minor son. The cry was raised that the Maharajah had been the victim

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of British oppression. It was alleged that the inquiry had not been public; that the Maharajah had not abdicated; that he had been forcibly deposed; that he had ever been a friend to the Akalis, and that the annexationist policy of Dalhousie was being reverted to. Much revenue and influence was being obtained from the Gurudwaras and it was obvious that more still might be obtained by taking possession of a State. The Congress in order to placate the Akalis, passed a resolution sympathising with the Maharajah. Eventually, however, some of the papers, which had supported the agitation, saw the other side of the question and became lukewarm in their support. Failing in their attempt to make an all-India question of the affair, the Akalis tried to hold demonstrations in Nabha under the cloak of religion, and to claim that Akalis from all parts of the Panjab had a right to take part in these. As the processions were in reality political and as they were inspired by a desire to restore the late Maharajah, in the hope that he might be their puppet, the Nabha State took a firm line and turned back a number of the visitors.

The institution of public kitchens or 'langar' is generally attributed to the third Guru, Amar Das. The food was cooked by persons of any class and all castes could feed together. Incidentally, it may be remarked that in Hinduism, such a thing would not be permitted. These kitchens not only possessed the sanction of religion, but could be made use of for political purposes. Relatively large numbers of volunteers could be fed and maintained by them until their services were required for some definite purpose. The Government could not very well interfere as an outcry would be raised that the Sikh religion was being interfered with. About the

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middle of October, 1923, Akali Jathas (associations) were especially numerous near the Golden Temple in Amritsar and one of them was being prepared for an unknown destination, possibly the State of Nabha. The religious institutions placed the organisers in funds, whilst the institution of 'langar' removed all difficulties as regards commissariat. The steps taken by the Government to deal with the situation are detailed in the following press communiqué issued by the Panjab Government on October 15th :—

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“The Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee which aimed at controlling the Sikh Shrines, has, from time to time, encouraged action contrary to law. Since the abdication of His Highness the Maharajah of Nabha and the election of a fresh committee, the Parbandhak Committee and the allied Akali Dal have openly encouraged bodies of Akalis to invade the Nabha State with the object of intimidating the Government and to interfere with the maintenance of law and order. These associations are in the opinion of the Government a danger to the public peace. The managing agents of these associations will now be prosecuted for sedition and conspiracy to overawe the Government, and cognate offences. At the same time the Parbandhak Committee and the Akali Dal, with their subordinate organisations, have been declared to be unlawful associations within the meaning of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908.”

It is not proposed to proceed under this Act against any persons who confine themselves to purely religious activities, but action will be taken against persons covered by the declaration who continue to act in a manner dangerous to the maintenance of law and order, and to the public peace. The action taken is in no

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way directed against the movement, for the reform of Sikh Shrines, so long as that movement is conducted according to law. (From *The Madras Weekly Mail*, Oct. 18th, 1923).

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Over two hundred persons were arrested in various parts of the Panjab in pursuance of the Government policy. As the policy of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee resembles that enunciated at an earlier period by Gandhi, *viz*, to checkmate the Government by filling the gaols until there is no room for more prisoners, it will be interesting to watch developments. The Siromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee and its volunteer organisation, the Akali Dal, has evidently a considerable measure of outside support, for the Panjab Congress Committee congratulated it on the arrests and offered to place its resources at its disposal. But these resources have been dwindling rapidly of late and the offer does not amount to very much.

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It is easy to draw parallels. It would not be difficult to shew that the movement in the Panjab has many features in common with what has taken place in other parts of India. It might even be argued that the Panjab has given a lead to other places, and that it is still the scene of the most intensive political activities. Long before the Gurudwaras were annexed by the Siromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, there had been a similar movement in Madras. The Dharma Rakshina Sabhas (societies for the protection of religion) in that Presidency had caused many of the great religious endowments to be transferred through the instrumentality of the lawcourts to new management. It might also be possible to compare the Siromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee and its branches to the central and local committees of the Congress. The Congress volunteers may or may not be paralled by the

Akali Dal and the subordinate jathas or associations. It might be inferred that both in the Panjab movement and in the Congress, the pledge of non-violence was merely a fiction to prevent the Government from interfering effectively at the outset. But all this is little better than speculation. We are on firmer ground, however, when we say that both in the Panjab and the Khilafat movements, a questionable use was made of religion as a cloak for sedition. In all the cases, the ending of British domination was the goal. But here the parallel ceases. Whereas the Congress wished for a United India, it is possible that the Siromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee and its allies aimed merely at the revival of a Sikh kingdom such as existed in the time of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. For the moment, however, some semblance of unity was preserved by the fact the British were the common enemy. It was against the latter that the common efforts were directed.

It may be asked whether the movement is likely to continue. It is impossible to say. But so long as funds are plentiful, it is unlikely that officers will be wanting or that volunteers will hang back. The Congress and the Khilafat movement are slightly in the background at the present moment whilst the Akalis stand in the limelight of the revolutionary stage.

But they represent merely a small section of a relatively small community and they have offended many powerful interests within that small community. Sandwiched between Mohammedanism and Hinduism, their dream of an independent Sikh State will remain a dream. They will continue to be the catspaw of the Congress and to receive from time to time congratulatory messages from that body, oblivious of the fact that their ultimate destiny is to be overwhelmed as they were in the past by the superior manpower of Hindustan.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

THE main feature of the Montagu Reforms was that for the first time in the history of British rule in India, the members elected by the constituencies were in a majority in the Provincial as well as in the Central Legislatures. The Constitution or, in other words, the Government of India Act, allowed a slight latitude as to numbers but the figures in 1923 were approximately as follows :—

	Total number of Members.	Elected.	Nomin- ated.
CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.			
Council of State	60	33	27
The Legislative Assembly	140	100	40
 PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.			
The Madras Legislative Council	127	98	29
The Bombay Legislative Council	111	86	25
The United Provinces Legislative Council	139	115	24
The Punjab Legislative Council	87	65	22
The Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council	103	76	27
The Central Provinces Legislative Council	70	37	33
The Assam Legislative Council	53	39	14

The Provincial Councils deal with matters of local interest as a rule, and it is, therefore, to the Central Legislature that we must turn for information as to the attitude of the representatives of the people in matters of Imperial importance.

The Upper House or Council of State as it is termed, is suspected of being to some extent the creature of the Government, but no such reproach can be levelled at the Legislative Assembly. It is to this body, therefore, that we must turn for information as to the attitude of the constitutional party or Moderates (or Liberals as they are now termed). The matter is of considerable importance in connection with the proposed admission of India as an equal partner in the Empire.

The keynote of the Assembly is self-concentration. It regards itself as the dominant feature of the administration. Its guiding maxim is *l'état, c'est moi*. Whenever Government has attempted to force its policy on the members, there has been a struggle. The Assembly may be guided; it refuses to be driven. The tactics which have generally succeeded, have been to leave a matter to be decided by its good sense.

For the same reason, the Assembly will brook no interference by the Council of State. It will not admit inferiority of status. Its self-respect impelled it to demand allowances equal to those paid to Members of the other House and the right to be styled 'Honourable.' Joint Committees on finance bills are not regarded with favour because on them the Assembly would not have a preponderant vote. Though the question of exclusive financial control was skilfully sidetracked by Mr. Hailey, it promises to be as contentious an issue in the Indian as it once was in the British Legislature. The right to withhold supplies is a most potent weapon, and the

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Members of the Assembly are of opinion that they alone are entitled to exercise it.

The tendency to become self-centred is also reflected in the policy of making India self-contained. The Members are strongly protectionist. Not only was the House desirous of increasing import duties as a whole, but it showed a tendency, which may become more marked hereafter, to make the foreigner pay heavily for India's raw products. The export duties on rice, jute, hides and tea were not only maintained for a time, but an attempt was made to expand the list. This policy of making India self-contained by taxing both imports and exports, if pushed to its logical conclusion, will tend ultimately to destroy India's foreign trade. On the other hand, the import of silver was not restricted. It suited the rich mill-owner to have cheap silver and a low rupee. Besides, there was a vague idea in the air that silver was the national metal. Indian self-respect demanded that it should not be taxed. Abundant imports of silver will continue to depress exchange, prevent the rupee from rising to the two shillings level and indirectly discourage the import of foreign goods.

The same idea, imperfectly expressed as yet, is probably responsible for the failure to take decided action to stabilise exchange. As silver is the national metal, there is no necessity, so it is thought, to link it to gold which is a foreign standard of value.

If there is any doubt as to the attitude of the Assembly in the matter of protection for Indian Industries, it is dispelled by the report of the Indian fiscal Commission which was appointed in pursuance of a resolution of the House. The majority report of the Commission tried to tone down the asperity of its views out of a nice

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regard for British susceptibilities. It advocated protection with restraint in those cases in which protection was necessary in the interests of the country, as, for example, in the case of new industries. But the minute of dissent attacked this faintheartedness and called for full blooded championship of the cause. The virtual recantation by the dissenters of a compromise in favour of protection with discrimination destroyed to a great extent the value of the report. The President himself was amongst those who supported the minute of dissent. There is a strong and almost universal protectionist feeling among educated Indians. It is said (orally) to be directed against Japan rather than against Great Britain, but Japan is not mentioned by name in the literature on the subject for fear of offending her susceptibilities. It is Britain that is the butt for the shafts launched by the protectionists. It is obvious that a fiscal policy opposed to this feeling has little chance of success. Amongst the causes which have contributed to the growth of a protectionist feeling are a desire for rapid and intense industrialisation, the existence of protection in all the great countries of the world but one, and, finally, the consciousness that the country is capable, ultimately, of being self-contained and self-sufficient. (Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission; *The Indian Review*, June, 1923).

The question of Imperial Preference was very much to the fore at the Economic Conference in London in 1923. The Honourable Mr. C. A. Innes, who is a member of the Executive or Viceregal Council, was of opinion that India could not be a party to such a policy. In all probability, future Legislative Assemblies will endorse Mr. Innes' views. As India hopes ultimately to be self-contained, she has no particular wish to be

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THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. 149

connected more intimately than at present with countries which do not confer on Indians equality of status.

In dealing with the Army, the same tendency to make the country self-contained may be noticed. The Committee appointed to consider the Esher Report repudiated the attempt to subordinate the Indian Army to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. The Army is to be, as far as possible, a purely Indian Army, officered by Indians, and existing for Indian rather than Imperial purposes.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Anglo-Indian is trying to identify himself with Indians. In para. XV. of the Committee's report, which was inspired by Col. Gidney, there was a recommendation to the Governor General in Council that Anglo-Indians should be included in the terms 'Indian Subjects' or 'Indians.'

At a later date, Colonel Gidney attempted to induce the Anglo-Indians to join the Moderate Party or Constitutionalists; but if the Moderates become merged in the Swaraj Party, the position of the Anglo-Indian will continue to be anomalous. But the policy of the Indian Members is to replace the Anglo-Indian. They prefer a wholly indigenous to a semi-foreign agency. This tendency to make the country self-contained or independent of the Anglo-Indian is noticeable in several resolutions, and in questions Nos. 155, 156, 157. 232, 233, 269, 276, 369, 382, 383, 384, 385, 416, 420, 425, 430, 449 and 450 of 1921. The general purport of these was to draw attention to alleged instances in which an unduly large number of Anglo-Indians occupied posts in the Railway Departments or under the Government of the country.

This brings us to the European himself. The non-official European members have so far refrained from

forming a party. They recognise the justice of Indian aspirations. They mix with Indians on perfectly equal terms. They are liked and respected. As business men in an assembly of lawyers, their commercial acumen is admired. They are invariably listened to with attention. Their deprecation of the attitude assumed by the Ampthill—Sydenham party has earned for them a lasting place in the regard of the Indian members. In spite of all this, they have exercised comparatively little influence upon the policy of the House. They have carried no motion of importance. They are essentially an exotic product. Popular as they are, there is only a narrow niche for them in the self-contained edifice which is under construction.

The Reforms Club at Delhi and Simla, where East and West meet for purposes of social intercourse, is not a flourishing institution. The Western Hostel at Delhi where Europeans and Indians live together, is also poorly patronised.

Somewhat similar is the position of the Muhammdans. Their ablest representative is unfortunately dead. An idea is afloat that they are inadequately represented both as regards numbers and ability. More cosmopolitan than other Indians, with extensive overseas trade, with communal interests centering on Mecca rather than on Delhi, they are bound eventually to come into conflict with the self-centred policy of the Hindus. A rapprochement between them and the Europeans or Parsees is a possibility.

An attempt has been made to form parties. There has been a Democratic Party or Party of the Left. There has also been a Nationalist Party or Party of the Centre. But as the ideal of both is Swaraj, the division is purely artificial.

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It is personality that counts rather than Party. Amongst the Madras Members, Sir Sivaswami Iyer has attracted attention. But jealousy of Madras intellectually is a feature which may have to be reckoned with. The superiority of the Right Hon. V. Srinivasa Sastriar in the Council of State was unchallenged. It is hardly likely that Madras will be allowed to dominate both Chambers.

In the Bombay section, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas has created some stir. A young man in an assembly of elders, he has little prospect of advancement in the present House though he may go far in those which come after.

In the opposite camp to Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas is Dr. Gour. A Rajput by extraction, he has many of the characteristics of his caste. Napoleonic in appearance, blunt in manner, forceful in his aggressiveness, indefatigable in planning a campaign, his influence is considerable in the Democratic or advanced party. In his Civil Marriage policy and in his support of a bill to codify Hindu Law, he is in conflict with the more orthodox elements of the House.

At times, adverse criticism has been hurled at the House. The members are accused of being too introspective—too self-centred. They forget to be imperial. Patriotism occasionally becomes parochial and policy provincial.

But if the House fails, it will not be by a conflict with the Provinces. It will be because it is not sufficiently self-centred. It has forgotten to dominate the proletariat. It has permitted the growth of a rival force. Whilst it thrashed the Government, it has left Mr. Gandhi and the Khilafat party severely alone. It has neglected the advice of the poet—

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And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.”**

But the Assembly does not endorse Mr. Gandhi's cult of the simple life to the exclusion of other forms of activity. Capitalism and the Science of the West will exist in the India of the future, and will contribute their quota to the national greatness.

The Legislative Assembly has recently come into conflict with a power behind the Governor General in Council. This is the Governor General himself. In regard to certification and the issue of Ordinances, he can, in the event of a partial or an entire deadlock, carry on the administration in spite of the Assembly. These powers may become most important should the Swaraj party or followers of Mr. C. R. Das obtain a majority in the elections and attempt to carry out their threat of wrecking the Reforms.

The Government had introduced a Bill to prevent agitators in British India from conducting propaganda against the rulers of Native States. The Assembly was not particularly interested in Native States. It was aware that there was a movement in the country to modernise them and to bring them into harmony with conditions in British India. It was also imbued with a righteous desire to preserve the liberty of the Press. The existence of Native States was a limitation upon the authority of the Assembly and an impediment to the unity of the Motherland. It accordingly threw out the bill, but afterwards experienced the mortification of seeing it certified by the Governor General and passed into law.

But it was in respect of the Salt Tax that the Assembly and the Governor General finally came to blows. During its first two years of its existence, the Assembly had

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grudgingly acquiesced in a policy of inflation and living on loans. On March 1st, 1922, an attempt was made to double the Salt Tax, but this was given up owing to the pronounced opposition of the House. In 1923, however, an attempt was made to balance receipts and expenditure by re-introducing the measure. The bill having been disallowed by the Assembly, it was certified by the Governor General and passed under Section 26 of the Government of India Act of 1919. A storm of protest was evoked. It was maintained that the certification of the Finance Bill was illegal in that it was not necessary for the "safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof." It was a blow aimed at the prestige of the House and, *pro tanto*, strengthened the position of the non-co-operators. Not only was the tax levied upon one of the necessities of life, but its incidence fell heavily upon the poorest people in the land.

Outside the House, the storm of protest was equally violent. In a speech at Bombay on April 17th, 1923, the Honourable Mr. Phirose Sethna of the Council of State protested against the re-actionary policy of the Conservative Government in Great Britain. "Was it not the much resented tax on tea," said he, "that lost to the United Kingdom what are now the United States of America."

Mrs. Besant was equally eloquent. "The power of the purse is wrenched from the hands of our parliament. What is to be done? A refusal to grant supply until grievances are redressed. Let us take a lesson from the Commons of England."

Sir Valentine Chirol remarked that it was reserved for Lord Reading and a Finance Member quite new to India to throw overboard at a very critical moment,

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together with the assurance that taxation would be by the Legislature's vote, the solemn pledge given by the Duke of Connaught at the opening of the Legislative Assembly a little more than two year's ago, that the principle of autocracy had been abandoned. Lord Reading, he went on to say, had given to the Extremists the very handle which they wanted for reviving their assault on the constitutional reforms. (Quoted from *The Times* in *The Indian Review* for May, 1923).

Mr. Charles Roberts said that on the ground of expediency, he thought that it would have been worth while to avoid the necessity for using these arbitrary reserve powers.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald thought that the financial effect was small, but the political significance of the Governor-General's certificate in relation to the Salt Tax was enormously large.

Lord Winterton said that the power had been used because the measure was essential to the financial stability of India. He did not agree that the Viceroy's statement that next March the tax would come up for review meant that it would be taken off if the Assembly voted against it.

If it will not brook interference by the Council of State, it is hardly to be supposed that the Assembly views with equanimity the position of the British Legislature. Under the present Indian Constitution, the Executive is responsible to Parliament in respect of certain matters. On 19th January, 1922, Mr. K. C. Neogy moved a resolution to the effect that Standing Committees elected by the members of the Legislature, be associated with the different departments of the Government of India, other than the Army and the Foreign and Political Departments. The motion was

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strongly opposed by the Government, but was carried by 40 to 30. Such Committees exist in many of the Provinces. They are not inconsistent with the Constitution. The members will be elected by the most powerful party or group, and as there may be trouble in the House if their advice is disregarded, the effect of the resolution is to increase the control of the Assembly over the Executive.

The Assembly has on more than one occasion come to grips with the Parliament of Great Britain. It desires that the powers at present vesting in the Secretary of State should be transferred to the Government of India and that parliamentary control should be transferred to itself. The appointment of a Commission by the Parliament to look into the question of the pay and prospects of public servants in India was regarded as an encroachment upon the province of the Assembly. The position taken up was that if the pay of Europeans in India was insufficient to attract candidates from Great Britain, India would have to do without such persons in the future. Deep resentment was expressed at a statement of the Premier (Mr. Lloyd George) that the steel frame of the Civil Service would endure for all time. Even the explanation of the Prime Minister that he did not mean what had been imputed to him did not altogether satisfy the Assembly.

Ignoring, for the moment, the irritation caused by the speech in question, it may be concluded that the general attitude of the Assembly is to reduce the All India services and to alter their character rather than to abolish them. From such fragmentary evidence as exists, it may be concluded that the Assembly favours the existence of small bodies of advisory experts employed in central offices. The relatively expensive district officer

would, in the majority of instances, be replaced by Indians paid from Provincial funds and controlled by the Provincial Governments. Although any increase of the emoluments of the British officer would certainly be objected to, yet there is no wish to repudiate engagements already entered into or to disclaim responsibility for paying pensions. But this position may alter as the result of the elections which are now in progress. But even if the Swaraj party gets into power, I doubt whether it will repudiate all responsibility for past transactions. So extreme a step has not been approved even in the Congress.

In its relations with the Colonies, the Assembly has more or less endorsed the attitude of Indians generally. The question has arisen more especially with regard to Kenya. The demands of Indians in that Colony are:—

1. Equal rights for all civilised men.
2. Strict adherence to the declarations of Lord Chelmsford in 1920.
3. Common electoral roll for all British subjects with small property qualification and the knowledge of any language recognised by any of the High Courts of the British Empire.
4. Equal representation on the Legislative, Executive and Municipal Councils.
5. Highlands to be thrown open to Indians.
6. Immigration to be free and unrestricted.
7. Free rights of citizenship to Indians.
8. Indians to be given all political and civil rights in Kenya.
9. All official posts to be thrown open to all British subjects.
10. Repeal of all racial and discriminative laws.

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Put in a nutshell, the demand of the Indians in Kenya is for equal rights, and in this respect they are supported by the Legislative Assembly. Thus, in the debate on the Kenya question in the spring of 1922, Mr. Joshi of the Servants of India Society, who was nominated as a member of the Assembly in order to voice the views of Labour, was eloquent in support of a policy of equal opportunity both for Indians and Europeans. The status of Indians had been recognised at an Imperial Conference and it was inconsistent to give with the one hand and to take away with the other. The speech of Mr. Subramaniam was especially interesting. He paid a high tribute to the European in India. In the Colonies, however, he was brutalised by his savage surroundings and was lacking in that humanity to his fellow creatures which the latter had a right to expect.

The Assembly has been criticised on the ground that it is not representative of India. Its members were returned only by the Moderate or Constitutional Section of the community. But as the Congress has recently rescinded its resolution prohibiting entry to the Councils, and as the Kenya question has in a great measure brought together the Extremists and the Moderates, we may have, as a result of the general election, a thoroughly representative House, imbued with the idea of winning, not only Swaraj, but recognition of status throughout the Empire. The Assembly has no wish to secede. It recognises that in the Greater India of the Empire it will possess an outlet for the superfluous population of India and a field for disseminating the Gospel of Humanity.

It may be asked whether the Assembly has been a success. At the outset, it represented a minority, since

the Congress party refused to co-operate in working the Reforms. At the conclusion of its three years of office, it was the principal political force in the country apart from the Governor General. Its enemies, the Extremists, had been divided and discredited. A large section of them, the Swaraj Party, had been won over to a doubtful form of Constitutionalism. The tone of the discussions had throughout been thoroughly parliamentary. Racial hatred had been distinguished by its absence, the relations between Europeans and Indians being excellent.

At the same time, it is doubtful whether a system which inculcates the grant of favours as a reward for assistance rendered to the Government can ever be an unmixed blessing. It creates a cleavage between the Assembly and the Governor General. In so far as it endorses the wringing of concessions from the British, it will trend towards estrangement and bitterness. The principle embodied in 'grievances before supply' implies a kind of non-co-operation. It is too western for the eastern mind. It is akin to Gandhism. It remains to be seen whether in the new Assembly, the Swarajists can suggest any means whereby the Government of India, the Parallel Government of the Congress and the Khilafat Movement, can be harmonised.

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PRIOR to the war, the development of the cane sugar industry in the tropical and sub-tropical parts of the British Empire had caused capitalists to recruit labour in India to work on the estates. The recruits came for the most part from the lower classes. They contracted to work on the estates for a certain number of years after which they generally settled in the land of their adoption, finding conditions there preferable to those which prevailed in India. A somewhat similar system prevailed in the tea gardens of Assam.

But the whole system of 'indentured labour' as it was called, was extremely unpopular in India. In proportion as the labouring population emigrated, it became difficult to secure workers for agricultural purposes. Those workers who were available became more independent than before. They could often get the recruiting agencies to pay off the debts which had hitherto made them more or less subservient to their employers. In fact, recruiting for the plantations tended to break down a system analogous to that which had prevailed in England in the Middle Ages,—the system of "adscripti glebae."

And then came the agitation inaugurated by Gandhi in South Africa. Indians learned that their countrymen across the seas had not rights equal to those enjoyed

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by Europeans. The system of "indentured labour" was denounced as being akin to slavery. A paper by the Rev. C. F. Andrews on conditions in Fiji where there were not enough Indian women to go round, further inflamed Indian opinion. In deference to public opinion, the system of indentured labour was stopped during the war as being derogatory to the self-respect of Indians.

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But the racial problem remained to trouble the relations of East and West. In Mauritius, Natal, the West Indies, British Guiana, and Fiji, relatively large contingents of Indians had been established. In all these cases as well as in East Africa, there was a tendency to demand equality of status with whites. And when that was not granted, local branches of the Indian National Congress began to be started in order to moot the question of Passive Resistance and Civil Disobedience.

But a further force was at work. In India, it is incumbent on all persons to have children. If the succession be interrupted, the whole family including its ancestors is consigned to what, for want of a better word, may be termed Hell. So important is it to have a son that adoption is resorted to in order to fill the gap when natural means fail. Modern political teachers defend the practice on the ground that it increases the man-power of India. Their attitude is the reverse of that obtaining in the more cultured western communities of Europe where restriction of the birth rate, or, in other words, "race suicide," bids fair to become the rule rather than the exception. But this increase of the population in India has brought about a result which must change the future trend of politics. Since there is not enough land in the country to support the rapidly increasing numbers, it is obvious that India

under existing conditions can no longer be regarded as being self-contained. She is impelled to look across the seas for an outlet for her superfluous population, or, in the alternative, to adopt some temporary economic palliative such as restriction of the birth rate coupled with the development of a cottage spinning industry which would afford employment for the underfed inhabitants. To Gandhi, the restriction of the birth rate might be justified on the ground that children should not be brought into the world when conditions were so unfavourable. With him, also, the cult of Khadder or the replacement of foreign cloth by homespun might even be justified on religious grounds. It was in this sense that he endorsed the issue of the "Gospel of Swadeshi" by D. B. Kalelkar (Ganesan and Co., Madras, 1922). According to the author, God, when he manifests himself, does not always assume a human form. He may appear in the guise of an abstract principle or of some all-compelling idea, Swadeshi was the new manifestation of Divinity.

Be this as it may, Swadeshi was also the apotheosis of Nationalism. It was a closing of the doors to the world. It was a negation of exports and imports. It was a hiding of the Light of India behind a screen. It was a retirement into the seclusion of a national monastery. It was a reversion to Mediaevalism or the Vedic ages.

By accusing the British of exploiting India, Gandhi, more than any other person, has given an opportunity to General Smuts to imply at the Imperial Conference in 1923 that those who developed their own Dharma or culture in Africa were being exploited and overwhelmed by the exponents of a different culture. By assisting at the burning of foreign cloth at Bombay in

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August, 1921, he drew upon himself the censure of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, the friend of Tagore, since the act was calculated to inspire hatred rather than love, and since it would have been preferable to have given the offending goods to the poor.

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According to Tagore, who also attacked Gandhi, the crying need of suffering humanity was "internationalism." He lamented the call for non-co-operation in India at the moment when he was preaching in the West a union of cultures; for, to him, unity was Truth whilst division was "Maya" or illusion. No people could work out its salvation by detaching itself from other races; for mankind was indissolubly linked together (*Modern Review*, November, 1921). As he himself implied, Tagore was one of that persecuted minority of "Sannyasins" who had withdrawn themselves from the narrow grooves of racial antagonisms in order to preach the unity of the human species.

Tagore was not alone. Intellectual India as a whole damned Gandhism with faint praise.

The comparative failure of Gandhi's cult of Swadeshi and the Charkha or spinning wheel marks a new stage in the history of the East. As India is no longer self-contained, it is obvious that her superfluous population must swarm into the waste areas of the earth. The Indianisation of the Tropical parts of the British Empire is no longer a matter of theoretical interest. It is one of the crying questions of the hour.

The opportunities for expanding towards the Pacific Ocean are steadily growing less as Chinese emigrants are making that quarter of the world their own. Every person of Chinese origin marries as soon as possible and their fecundity is extraordinary. About nine tenths of the population of Singapur is Chinese. Towns of im-

portance in Banka, Sumatra and Borneo are practically occupied by them. In British North Borneo, Java, Cochin-China, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tahiti, Peru and the Pacific slopes of North America, they may be the dominant race in a hundred years. They intermarry freely with the native women of the countries which they visit and hence are changing the nature of the population in Borneo, Cambodia and Siam. Any gaps not filled by Chinese are at once taken up by Japanese. Hence the opportunities for the Indian to expand eastwards are rapidly being obliterated. New Guinea and the Northern Territory of Australia are virtually closed to Indians who, in any case, do not wish to go there. Physical conditions similarly keep Central and Western Asia out of the question. British Guiana, which has been suggested by Sir Frederick Lugard at the Royal Colonial Institute on November 14th, 1922, as a settling place for Indians, is also rejected. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru hinted at the Imperial Conference, one might as well go to the North Pole.

In the northern half of Africa, Arab pressure has to be reckoned with. Hence the natural outlet for the superfluous population of India is towards East Central and South East Africa.

In a conversation which I recently had with a leading Indian politician, who was nominally a non-co-operator, I suggested Tanganyika as an Indian colony. But the reply was unsatisfactory. The position taken up by my friend was that Indians would not consent to be virtually segregated in Indian Colonies. They demanded equal rights everywhere.

One of the earliest persons to recognise India's need for Colonies was the late Mr. Gokhale, the lamented head of the "Servants of India." In his Political Testa-

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ment to the people of India, he pointed out that it was necessary to gain possession of East Africa, more especially the part now known as Tanganyika. His ideas were expanded by his successor, the Right Hon. Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastriar, the present head of the "Servants of India." It was largely due to his efforts that at the Imperial Conference of 1921, the following resolution was adopted, except by South Africa :—

"The Conference, while re-affirming the Resolution of the Imperial War 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 of immigration from any other communities, recognises there is incongruity between the position of India as a member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in other parts of the Empire."

The fierce blaze of political agitation in India in 1921 may have caused some misgivings as to whether it was wise to admit to full citizenship persons some of whom had virtually transferred their allegiance to the "Parallel Government" of the Congress, whilst others as Khilafatists wished to destroy the Empire. At any rate, Mr. Winston Churchill at a dinner in the Kenya Colony, assured his hearers that the Highlands of that Colony would be reserved for white settlers as opposed to Indians. This position was fiercely attacked in the Legislative Assembly of India as well as outside it. It was argued that whereas there was some justification for the exclusion of Indians from South Africa which was self-governing, there was none in the case of Kenya, which was a Crown Colony. The equality of status granted to Indians in 1921, except in South Africa, was a sham

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as Indians were not only excluded from the Highlands, but instances were quoted in which their rights were restricted even in the Lowlands. Not only were Indians more numerous in Kenya than Europeans, but many of them had emigrated to that country before the advent of the British. The self-respect or honour of India was at stake and her position must be vindicated.

A deputation headed by the Right Hon. Mr. V. S. Sastriar went to England in the spring of 1923 to lay the matter before the British public. As no tangible result was obtained, the question was again debated in October, 1923, at the Imperial Conference.

Viscount Peel, the Secretary of State for India, in his opening speech, re-affirmed the conclusion arrived at in 1921. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru maintained that it was India which made the British Empire truly Imperial. One fifth of the human race with a far more ancient civilisation than that of Europe joined in acknowledging the suzerainty of a common Throne. Shake that allegiance, and you shake the foundation of the entire fabric. Never before had the speaker witnessed what is happening in India to-day. Five years ago, it might have been possible to say that a wide gulf divided the masses from the classes. But the classes now lead the masses as never before. What the intellectuals think to-day, the proletariat will think to-morrow. The question before the Conference affected mainly the masses, for it was from their ranks that most of the immigrants had been recruited.

In South Africa, the problem was very serious. Here you had 161,000 Indians. They had no political franchise in Natal where most of them reside. Besides this, they fear they will lose the municipal franchise. They are restrained from acquiring townlands in townships.

In the Transvaal, there is no political franchise of any kind. As individuals, or as companies, they are prohibited from acquiring land, and, in the gold area, they may not occupy land. Laws regulating the grant of traders' licences are administered in a manner contrary to their interests. Moreover, the Union Government is contemplating legislation which will provide for the compulsory segregation of Indians in urban areas. Attention was called to the serious discrepancy between this state of affairs and what was said by General Smuts in 1917:—

“Once the white community of South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, a fear removed once for all by India's acceptance of the Reciprocity Resolution of 1917, all other questions would be considered subsidiary and would become easily and perfectly soluble.”

The speaker also drew attention to a statement by Mr. Burton, in which he described the Indians as good, law-abiding citizens who would be treated with consideration.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru then proposed that each Dominion should appoint a committee to confer with a committee appointed by the Government of India how best to give expression to the Resolution of 1921. The following is the wording of the proposal:—

“Let the Dominion Governments who have an Indian population, and let His Majesty's Government in the areas which are under their direct control such as Kenya, Uganda, Fiji and other places where there are Indian residents, appoint committees to confer with a committee which the Government of India will send from India, in exploring avenues how best and how soonest the principle of equality implied in the 1921 Resolution

may be implemented ; and, lest the force of the enquiry may be prejudiced, I will couple with my proposal a request that any anti-Indian legislation, which may be pending, should be stayed until the reports of these joint committees are available."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru then addressed General Smuts. He appealed to him, not on the basis of the resolution of 1921 to which General Smuts was not a party, but as a Humanitarian, as an Imperial Statesman and as the Prime Minister of South Africa. "Let me tell you," said he, "that while I do not wish to interfere with your absolute independence within your own borders, I am one of those men who say that the British Empire can never be described as exclusively a white empire. It comprises a large proportion of coloured races. Now, how are you going to keep the Indians, or for that matter, all other coloured races, within the Empire? Force? Never, because apart from obvious limitations of force, you cannot be untrue to your own traditions of liberty, justice and equality. You cannot afford to neglect the world's opinion on this question. Fulfil our aspirations within our own country for self-government ; fulfil our aspirations for a position of equality in the Dominions, Colonies and India, and we will stand shoulder to shoulder with you through thick and thin.

It is by preserving that sentiment that you can keep India, and I pray with all the sincerity I am capable of, that this Conference may come to some decision which may strengthen the bands between the Empire and India, for I do believe in that connection. Make no mistake, it is by sentiment and by preservation of that sentiment that you will retain us and enable us to achieve self-government and satisfy our other national ambitions outside our own country."

The Maharajah of Alwar conceded that some of the problems regarding Indians who had emigrated were not the concern of the Imperial Government. "The question of Indians in the Dominions is one that concerns the Dominions' Premiers and their Parliaments primarily, but Kenya as a Colony stands on a different footing. I believe I am right when I say that many Indian settlers went to Kenya long before it was discovered as a place suitable for colonisation by white people. They took lands, invested money, and to a great extent helped in developing the prospects of that country economically. So long as the Colony was administered by the Imperial Government, difficulties did not arise until the question of franchise to residents came under consideration. It has now been decreed, in the last decision, that recent white settlers who are in a minority, are to be given a majority of votes in relation to the Indian population, which is in a majority, thus leaving the latter at the mercy of the former, to be gradually ousted, if necessary and as seems possible, by means of legislation."

Another point raised by the Maharajah was the position of Indians as traders in the Dominions. He would limit the scope of the discussions by excluding other settlers or exploiters. "What I want to know is whether my countrymen, as citizens of the British Empire, have any right to settle in these countries, not for exploitation, not by way of peaceful penetration, but as peaceful traders to live their unobtrusive existence."

Like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Maharajah also laid stress upon the point that India was wounded in her self-respect. "If you can enable India by real action to feel that her humiliation is removed, that she can take pride in the Empire to which she has the privilege to

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The Duke of Devonshire pointed out that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was not attempting to re-open matters already settled. He did not question the right of each community of the British Commonwealth to control the composition of its own population. He did not ask the self-governing Dominions to re-open the question of Indian immigration. He frankly recognised the autonomy of the Dominion Governments within their respective territories. What he asked was that the government concerned would agree to discuss with the Government of India the steps necessary to give effect to the resolution passed by the Conference of 1921. In the last instance, it was necessary for each government to come to a decision for itself. In so far as the British Government was responsible for the colonies and the protectorates, he accepted the principle enunciated by Dr. Sapru. He pointed out that in the West Indies and Mauritius, Indians were under no political disability. In Ceylon under the new Constitution about to be issued, qualified British Indians would be eligible for the franchise and for election to the Legislative Council in the same manner as all other British subjects. In Uganda, the Legislative Council was not elective. There were restrictions both as regards race and numbers. In Tanganyika, there was no Legislative or Executive Council. As regards Kenya, he was not prepared to re-open a matter which had been settled by the British Parliament so recently as July.

Mr. Mackenzie King pointed out that in eight provinces out of nine in Canada, resident Indians had the same rights as other Canadian citizens, but this was not equally true of Canadians living in India. So far as British

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Columbia was concerned, the problem was not racial. It was purely economic. If it would help his friends in India to send a députation to Canada, the Canadians would be most happy to appoint a corresponding group to confer with them.

Mr. Bruce, speaking on behalf of Australia, pointed out that the representatives of every shade of political thought had full sympathy with the claim that lawfully domiciled Indians should enjoy full citizen rights. The Australians had the greatest admiration for the traditions and culture of India. But as there was nothing to shew that the government or the people of India desired Indians to emigrate to Australia, there was no necessity for the appointment of any committee.

Mr. Massey (New Zealand) said that Indians already resident in New Zealand were given practically the same rights as Anglo-Saxons. If there had been any objection to Indians coming to New Zealand, those objections had been raised on economic grounds by the working classes in New Zealand.

Mr. Warren pointed out that in Newfoundland, Indians were under no disability whatever.

Mr. Fitzgerald was of opinion that the only solution of the trouble was to make India self-governing. She could then bargain on equal terms and make reciprocal arrangements.

Mr. Smuts spoke strongly against giving Indians the franchise :—

“The proposal that has been made by Sir Tej Sapru does not concern South Africa, and, therefore, I do not think it is necessary for me to detain the Conference at any length. As, however, the subject is a very difficult one, I may perhaps, be allowed to say a few words in reference to the general situation.

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So far as I can judge, the atmosphere has really become worse in the last two years for a solution of this question. In South Africa, undoubtedly, it has become worse. That is due partly to the visit of Mr. Sastri and his speeches in various parts of the Empire. That was one of the reasons why I thought it might not be wise for Mr. Sastri to come to South Africa. Our difficulties are great enough as they are.

There was another circumstance which has affected the attitude and the atmosphere in South Africa very considerably, and that is the Kenya question. There is no doubt that in South Africa, a profound sympathy was stirred up for Kenya. Here you have a very small British community, a handful of settlers, who find themselves pitted against the mighty Empire of India, who find themselves against overwhelming forces, and who, although they are the most loyal community in the British Empire, consisting mostly of ex-army men, had in the end to go to the length of almost threatening force in order to maintain their position. The sympathy that was aroused and stirred for Kenya in South Africa has had a very serious repercussion there on the Indian question as a whole.

I have no fault whatever to find with the attitude of either the Colonial Office or the India Office here. I have nothing but praise for the way they handled this very difficult question, and the settlement that was come to was, I think, a wise compromise, and so far as my influence went, I used it with the people of Kenya to get them to accept the settlement, as they have accepted it. But I must say, quite frankly, that I have been very much perturbed over the attitude adopted by the Indian Government in this matter. They pressed the case against Kenya in a way which seemed to me to exceed

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the limits of prudence and wisdom, and when the settlement was ultimately made, language was used in regard to it which, I think, would certainly not help the cause of loyalty either in India or anywhere else in the Empire. The whole incident, as I say, has had a very bad effect in South Africa.

So far as we in South Africa are concerned, it is not a question of colour, it is a different principle that is involved. I think that every thinking man in South Africa takes the attitude, not that the Indian is inferior to us because of his colour or on any other ground—he may be our superior; it is the case of a small civilisation, a small community, finding itself in danger of being overwhelmed by a much older and more powerful civilisation, and it is the economic competition from people who have entirely different standards and points of view from ourselves.

From the African point of view, what is the real difficulty? You have a continent inhabited by a hundred million blacks, where a few small white communities have settled down as the pioneers of European civilisation. You cannot blame these pioneers, these very small communities in South Africa and in Central Africa, if they put up every possible fight for the civilisation which they started, their own European civilisation. They are there to foster Western civilisation, and they regard as a very serious matter anything that menaces their position, which is already endangered by the many difficulties which surround them in Africa.

In South Africa, our position in a nutshell is as follows: In the Union we have a native population of over six million; we have a white population of over one-and-a-half million; we have an Indian population of something like 160,000, mostly confined to one province, to

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the most British province in the Union, the Province of Natal. Mr. Sastri, in one of his somewhat outrageous statements, referred to this as a Boer Empire, an Empire which is swamped by Boer ideals. The fact is that the Indian difficulties have mostly arisen, and continue to grow in a part of South Africa where there are almost no Boers at all, in an almost purely British community; but you have in this province of Natal a majority of Indians and a minority of British settlers, and, whatever the mistakes of the past may have been, the grandchildren of to-day do not plead guilty to the errors of their ancestors, and they want to right the situation and safeguard the future for themselves and their children.

The tendencies in South Africa, just as elsewhere, are all democratic. You cannot go back on that manhood suffrage. Once it has come, you will probably pass on from manhood suffrage to universal suffrage. That was the act of the British Government, and not of the people of South Africa. How are you going to work that in with an Indian franchise? If an Indian franchise was given, it had to be identical; no differentiation would be allowed by Indian public opinion—and rightly. The result would be that in Natal, certainly, you would at once have an Indian majority among the voters.

But our difficulty is still greater. You have a majority of Blacks in the Union, and if there were to be equal manhood suffrage over the Union, the Whites would be swamped by the Blacks; you cannot make a distinction between Indians and Africans; you would be impelled by the inevitable force of logic to go the whole hog; and the result would be that, not only would the Whites be swamped in Natal by the Indians, but the Whites would be swamped all over South Africa by the Blacks, and the whole position for which we have striven for two hundred years or more now would be given up.

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So far as South Africa is concerned, therefore, it is a question of impossibility. Sir Tej and his colleagues say, quite rightly, that for India it is a question of dignity. For South Africa, for White South Africa, it is not a question of dignity but a question of existence, and no Government could for a moment either tamper with this position or do anything to meet the Indian point of view. That is why I think the resolution passed in 1921 was a mistake. I thought it then, I still think it, a great mistake. We got on the wrong road there. For the first time we passed a resolution through this conference by a majority. It has never been done before, and I do hope it will never occur again. Our procedure in this conference has been by way of unanimity. If we cannot convince each other, we agree to differ and to let the matter stand over.

I noticed in Sir Tej's statement a remark which almost looked like a threat; that if India fails in forcing on us the view which she holds so strongly, then she may be compelled to make of it a question of foreign policy. You cannot have it both ways. As long as it is a matter of what are the rights of a British subject, it is not a matter of foreign policy, it is a matter entirely domestic to the British Empire. If it becomes a question of foreign policy, then Indians cannot claim on the ground of their British citizenship the recognition of any particular rights. Once they appeal to a tribunal, whether it be the League of Nations or whatever it be, outside the British Empire, they can no longer use as an argument the common British citizenship. I want to keep it there. I want it to be recognised that you must not drive it too far, and you must not derive from that citizenship claims which you cannot uphold.

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Africa can complain of injustice. It is just the opposite. They have prospered exceedingly in South Africa. People who have come there as coolies, people who have come there as members of the depressed classes in India, have prospered. Their children have been to school; they have been educated, and their children and grandchildren to-day are many of them men of great wealth. They have all the rights, barring the rights of voting for Parliament and Provincial Councils, that white citizens in South Africa have. Our law draws no distinction whatever. It is only political rights that are in question. There, as I have explained to you, we are up against a stone wall and we cannot get over it."

The press opinion upon the situation in Africa is significant. In *South Africa*, November 9th, 1923, it is pointed out that the Union has the right by its constitution to control the composition of its own population. It is also hinted that the Nationalists, under Mr. Herzog, and the Labour party who have united with them, are also a force to be considered, since Labour, "staking its basic principles and its very life, has joined the racialists, secessionists and slave masters who are out to dominate Briton and Black in South Africa."

In *The Outlook*, which is referred to in the same issue of *South Africa*, it is stated that the Kenya colonists appealed to General Smuts for help and received encouraging replies. The result of any attempt to enforce racial equality upon Kenya would be, in a few years, the creation of a United States of Africa divorced from the British Crown.

On the other hand, there is a very considerable body of opinion in South Africa, which is opposed to General Smuts, as was recently pointed out by *The Cape Argus*.

Mr. Vere Stent, of *The Pretoria News*, speaking of a Union franchise, states:—

“There is a simple solution, and it is presently being applied to the troubles of Kenya, the communal vote. We must take the coloured men in as whites, but we must limit the number of their representatives, and they must vote on a different day for their candidates, who will always be limited, so that there can be no possibility of Black ruling White. White ruling Black is bad enough and leads to indefensible injustice, but Black ruling White would be infinitely worse. The natives must have representation in the House of Assembly but not in the Senate, which must remain a House of Lords based on colour.” (*South Africa, ib.*)

A recent legal decision in the Transvaal has established the position that there is no justification for the existence of the “Colour Bar.” The Labour Party are now seriously advocating the admission of Blacks in the Trades Unions on the same terms as Whites. Though this is a matter which affects Blacks rather than Indians, it may possibly indicate a change of mentality.

On the other hand, the boycott campaign in India seems to have impressed itself on a small section of South Africans as being sound politics, since some of them have signed a pledge to have no dealings with Indian traders. In Kenya, there is also a half-hearted attempt to organise an economic boycott of Indians.

But these proposals are nothing compared with the full blooded eloquence with which Mrs. Sarojini Nyudu and others at a recent *Congress* meeting in Mombassa, urged non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience as a means of obtaining equal civil rights.

Turning now to India, we find that there is no difference of opinion. All parties, Moderates and Extremists, Liberals and Swarajists, condemn the policy pursued in Kenya. It is indicated that if the Kenya problem is

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allowed to fester much longer, it will become a question of foreign policy of such gravity that upon it the unity of the Empire may founder irretrievably. But the Congress, an extreme and comparatively irresponsible body, in its meeting at Coconada in December, 1923, vetoed the independence resolution by a large majority. In India, it is more vigorous retaliation against South Africa that is urged. It would appear that according to an interview granted by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to Reuter, he suggested to the Viceroy the adoption of concerted measures against that country. The extremist attitude of boycott and retaliation will remain in the ascendant until tangible proof of equality is forthcoming.

In his speech to the Assembly on January 31st, 1924, H.E. the Viceroy of India said that he had made a vigorous protest to the Colonial Secretary against the Class Area Bill in South Africa.

On February 7th, 1924, the Legislative Assembly of India carried against the Government by 77 votes to 59 a proposal to put a countervailing duty on South African coal, ostensibly to relieve the depression in the local coal trade.

A member of the Legislative Assembly remarked to me that the matter would be settled when India had her own army and navy.

Looking at the facts as a whole, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that a change of mentality had occurred in the Dominions between 1921 and 1923. It is possible that the existence of a Parallel Government in India may have been viewed with some degree of misgiving. The Khilafatists had talked of destroying the British Empire, and this may also have produced a bad effect.

It is possible that General Smuts may have doubted

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whether any compromise was possible between Indian civilisation and the "Satanic" culture of the Dominions.

The point that has been lost sight of, however, is that the Intellectuals who now control the masses in India to a greater extent than ever have virtually repudiated Mr. Gandhi. They have the greatest respect for him as a Saint, but they do not accept unreservedly his political doctrines.

NEW CURRENTS IN OLD CHANNELS OF THOUGHT.

THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS, in his *Renaissance in India*, remarked that the times were ripe for the appearance of a new religion in India. "But what this new religion will be which will hold India together, we cannot even imagine. Hinduism will never do it. Islam cannot either. No mere eclectic religion, such as Theosophy, can help us. You will probably say that Christianity is the supreme religion of the future, and we in India are looking anxiously towards it as they are also in Japan. But the Christian religion in its present outward aspect does not greatly attract us; though its teaching, as seen in the Sermon on the Mount, is very beautiful and thoroughly Indian. We are waiting, expecting, hoping for the new religious impulse to come. When it does come, we shall recognise it and turn to it, and our present difficulties and disappointments will be ended."

What has been set forth in the following pages is neither complete nor authoritative. It is not my intention to give an account of the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, or of many other institutions which are still in the limelight. That work has been completed with remarkable thoroughness by a number of

writers, amongst whom I must mention Mr. Farquhar and Sir Valentine Chirol. It is rather my object to lead others to grope amongst the wraiths of political or esoteric cults of which the public is more or less ignorant. I approach these cults in no captious or inquisitorial spirit. They can only be judged by their fruits, and some of them have hardly begun to bear.

It may be argued that I have mixed up religion with politics, but in the East there is no hard and fast line between them. Whatever conduces to the welfare of the body politic is also, as a rule, sanctioned by religion.

Gandhi was by many Indians regarded as an incarnation of Krishna or Vishnu. But he had been brought up as a Jain. If he posed as Krishna, it would have been fatal to Hindu Muslim Unity. He rightly declined the honour.

Hitherto Hinduism has been a self-contained national religion, existing solely for the Hindus. It inculcated tolerance for other beliefs, and in turn, asked not to be molested by outsiders. It did not proselytise, and, even at the present time, it is impossible for a foreigner to be received into an orthodox sect. So entirely national is it that it is a sin for its votaries to cross the sea.

But there are indications of a more extended outlook. There is the Vedic conception of the God, who, disguised as a dwarf, asked for as much ground as he could cover in three steps. His request having been granted, he gained the whole universe in three mighty strides.

We have the case of Vishnu who, at his last incarnation, will subdue the whole world. Whether he will assume a beneficent or a terrible form is not for me to say. He is regarded as being the merciful counterpart in the Hindu Trinity of Siva the Destroyer. But it must not be forgotten that in Rama he personified the

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conquering spirit of a heroic age, whilst in the form of Krishna, he inspired Arjuna to slay his kinsmen who had usurped his inheritance. He has his terrible as well as his merciful side, and it is often the former which he shews to the enemies of his country. At the present moment, however, the indications are entirely favourable. The role which India has elected to play on the world-stage is one of spiritual regeneration rather than of militant exploitation.

It may be argued that if Hinduism is essentially a racial religion, how is it possible that it can ever become a World Faith. It must be remembered, however, that Hinduism is only nationalist in theory. In the past, Hindu culture extended across the seas as far as Cambodia and Java. In practice, it has ever been assimilative. Since all animate creation consists of manifestations of the Deity who is behind all, it is possible to reconcile idol worship and animism of the most extreme types with the highest form of idealism; for God manifests himself to his creatures in the form best suited to their intelligence. Thus, in the early ages of the world, he took the form of a fish. In the reptilian age, he appeared as a tortoise. At a later time, he became incarnated as a boar, and so on. Taking advantage of its adaptable capacity, Hinduism has absorbed into itself Aryan, Mongolian and Dravidian types, the points of difference between its sects far outranging the gap between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Whilst it strains at an individual, it can swallow a whole nation, the newcomers being regarded as one of the many castes which make up the body politic. In fact, from the Hindu point of view, the whole of Christianity as it stands could be absorbed into Hinduism without any alteration, Christ being regarded by the

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Hindu as one of the many incarnations of Vishnu. The only difficulty would be on the part of the Christians, for whereas the Hindu recognises many roads to salvation, in Christianity, "no man cometh unto the Father but by Me."

For some account of Hinduism as a political force, it is necessary to turn to the Bagavad Gita, or the Divine Lay of Krishna; for this has been the gospel of the new school led by the late Swami Vivekananda. Vivekananda's idea was the conquest of the whole world by the Hindu race. He taught Yoga (devotion by deeds and devotion by contemplation), the union between God and man, between men and the whole of humanity. (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 6, p. 708).

The book describes an episode in the battle which forms the theme of the Hindu epic poem of the Mahabharata. Arjun, the rightful heir to the throne which was the bone of contention, was overcome by the thought of having to fight against so many of his kinsmen. Krishna, who was an incarnation of Vishnu and also the charioteer of Arjun, encouraged him by pointing out that he committed no sin by slaying his kinsmen, since they were immortal and would not perish. If he hung back, he would be accounted a coward. Defeated, he would enter heaven: victorious, he would gain a kingdom.

But the greater part of the work is a moral treatise, the hostile armies remaining inactive until the dialogue was finished. Speaking of himself, Krishna, who was an incarnation of the third member of the Hindu Trinity, said:—

"Whenever piety languishes and impiety is in the ascendant, I create myself. I am born age

after age, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evildoers, and for the establishment of piety I am the producer and destroyer of the Universe, the light of the Sun and Moon, the life of animate beings and the eternal seed of all. Goodness emanates from me as well as passion and darkness I am seated in the hearts of all. I am also the beginning, middle and the end of all beings. I am Vishnu among the Adityas, the Sun resplendent midst the shining spheres, Mariki amongst the Maruts, and the Moon among the lunar mansions . . . I am the Lord of wealth among the Yakshas and Rakshasas I am the procreative force I am Rama among those who wield weapons. Among fishes, I am Makara, and among streams, the Gahnavi. Of created things, I am the beginning, the middle and the end. I am Death who seizes all and the source of what is to be. I am the chance of the gambler, the glory of the glorious, the victory of the victorious, the industry of the industrious and the goodness of the good. All that is mighty or glorious or splendid is produced from portions of my energy. He who perceives the Lord everywhere does not destroy himself through ignorance Realising that variety is unity and that it emanates from unity, he becomes one with the Ultimate. 'God-like endowments such as purity, the pursuit of knowledge, truth, tranquillity, forgiveness, compassion for all beings and avoidance of injury to others lead to final emancipation. But the possessors of ungodly qualities such as lust, anger and avarice are born again from the wombs of the ungodly. Deluded in every re-incarnation, they sink to the vilest level of existence.'

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the Bagavad Gita is distinctly pantheistic. According to it, all sentient creation may be regarded as being a manifestation of the Deity. As it is forbidden to the members of a body to war against each other, so the Hindus, being joint members in Krishna, regard themselves as one great brotherhood united by the most sacred of ties.

For political purposes, the doctrine may be extended to the world. In the opinion of the Hindus, it harmonises all systems of theology. Examined by its light, the God-man of Christianity presents no difficulties; for all men are to some extent "Sons of God." The necessity for the sinner in the gospels to be born again in order to be saved is clearly explained since all men, except such as attain emancipation, are repeatedly born again.

Whilst the principle of the brotherhood of all men is implied, the dead level of Socialism is denied. All men are not born equal. Their position depends upon what they have done in previous lives. Those who in former incarnations were actuated by anger, avarice or lust would form the Pariahs or outcasts of the body politic. As they had sowed, so would they reap. It was their Karma. Such being the case, Hinduism is the negation of all forms of Communism or Socialism. It is the greatest rampart in the world against the insidious doctrines of Bolshevists. It reconciles the teachings of religion with those of evolution; for, in the opinion of the Hindu, the Untouchable is a retrograde type as compared with the Brahmin. It teaches contentment; for suffering in this life ensures a more glorious lot in the life on this earth which is to come. It is possible even for the Untouchable, to attain to the perfection of Humanity after acquiring merit in successive re-incarnations.

Finally, religious intolerance is impossible in Hinduism. "Whatever Deity is worshipped, to that Deity does Krishna render the faith of the worshipper steadfast. The worshippers of Krishna are absorbed in Krishna. Those who worship other Divinities go to those Divinities, but the salvation thus obtained by them is ephemeral."

But there is a drawback to the religion of the Bagavad Gita. It inculcated caste. One of the sins imputed to the godless Kauravas was that they had permitted the mingling of castes. Inter-marriage and even inter-dining with Europeans would be abhorrent to the Brahmin. If you take away caste, however, you deprive Hinduism of its value as an antidote to Bolshevism. Retain caste and you are confronted with the difficulty that Europeans have no place in the caste system. Employing, as they do, Pariahs (or Untouchables) as their servants (in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies), they have themselves virtually become Untouchables. They are not admitted to the shrines. Their proper place is in the enclosures of the temple beyond the pillar at the entrance of the shrine. Surely the British are entitled to equality of status.

This is not all. Even in his own country, the Englishman is regarded by the Indians as an inferior rather than as an equal. "Whatever good the fairer races may have done their darker brethren in the past, the time has clearly come now for the East to help the West, by giving it light and a lead once more." (J. W. Petavel in *The Calcutta Review*, October, 1923). According to the Hindu, there are three degrees of culture, the "Tamasic," the "Rajasic" and the "Sattvic." The first of these may be described as being akin to barbarism and may be dismissed from consideration. The Rajasic stage embraces relatively unbalanced,

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warring nationalities of a comparatively low type. The highest degree of moral culture is the Sattvic in which, according to the Brahmin, there is more than fifty per cent. of godliness as compared with less than fifty per cent. in the previous type. It represents the balanced intellect and professes to be humanitarian in its aims. As India was, and in fact is still in a great measure administered by high caste Hindus, the term "Sattvic" represents the condition of India as compared with the relatively irreligious West which is still in the Rajasic stage of social evolution. (P. N. Bose, *The Illusions of Young India*). In fact, the Brahmin regards it as his special mission to raise the White Man to a more elevated plane of thought, and articles upon the Dark Man's burden and kindred topics appear from time to time in the Indian Magazines (*vide The Calcutta Review*, October, 1923, *vide also India's Mission to the World*, by Annada Brasad Bhattacharya, sold by the Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta). I think it was Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal who said in his *Nationalism and the Empire* that Europe would be Indianised within two hundred years, but I have not been able to verify the reference.

Of late, Indians are even beginning to suggest measures for the amelioration of economic conditions in Britain. Thus a writer points out that eighty per cent. of the population live in towns under extremely unsatisfactory conditions, and liable to be exterminated or starved in time of war. Machinery and capitalism have given bad results because the West has advanced from the age of agriculture and handicrafts to the age of factories and towns with the land system of a primitive rural age, and this has put its entire economic and social system out of adjustment, with the terrible results we now witness.

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The writer recommends that production by machinery should be regulated so as to permit the industrial population to work upon the soil during their spare time. If necessary, workmen's trains should be run to and from the towns, whilst the latter should be replanned so as to radiate along new and highly efficient means of communication in such a manner as to embody many of the characteristics of Garden Cities. It is particularly recommended that schoolboys be employed upon the land in the intervals between their book studies, which may well be cut down. In this way, education may easily be made self-supporting.

Interesting as the whole article is, there is nothing very original in it since the idea has been tried for years at Oundle School in England. Ford also advocates reciprocity between cultivation and industrialism.

The article in question is printed in the *Calcutta Review* for October and November, 1923, and is entitled "Calcutta University and the Problem of Unemployment, shouldering the Dark Man's Burden," by J. W. Petavel.

As it was unlikely that Christians and Mohammedans would accept a world religion which relegated them to a status inferior to that of a high-caste Hindu, some modification was necessary. It would obviously be inconsistent for the Indian to demand equality of status in Kenya, for example, when the European was not regarded as an equal in India. Further, there has been the Non-Brahmin movement. The exponents of the Anti-Brahmin awakening will not admit inferiority of status as compared with the Brahmin. And lastly, there is the demand of women for equal rights. Having once been aroused, woman is going to remain very much awake.

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These views are not my own. Indians themselves criticise a social polity based on inequality: "We find fault with Western civilisation because of what are thought to be its defects in point of colour-bar and racial distinctions, its exploitation of weaker peoples, and its worship of money and material wealth; but we forget that in our country, we, by our conduct, stand condemned in the eyes of God and man for sharing these defects in our treatment of our own countrymen and in our spiritual, social and economic relations." (The late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar in his introduction to *Religion and Modern Life*, by S. C. Roy, published by the Asutosh Library, Calcutta, 1923).

These considerations have caused attention to be turned to Buddhism which, by some, is regarded as Hinduism without caste. In spite of superficial differences, the two religions, in their esoteric aspects, closely resemble each other. (*Esoteric Buddhism*, by A. P. Sinnett).

The doctrine of Karma is common to both.

The Sankhya philosophy of one school of Brahmins is based on theoretical pessimism which is also the keynote of Jainism and Buddhism. The logical outcome of Pessimism is the doctrine of liberation as the *Summum Bonum*; and this doctrine of liberation is taught in all three schools. (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*).

On the other hand Mr. Bertrand Russell combats the view that there is a common Asiatic culture. He points out that while Hinduism is a mystic pantheism derived from meditation on the soul rather than from a study of the outer world, Buddhism is purely phenomenistic. It is rationalism combined with an extreme pessimism leading to the view that freedom from desire is the only salvation.

Chinese philosophers, however, have not been prone to consider that all is vanity. Our terrestrial existence with its pleasures and duties has seemed to them sufficient to justify itself, provided men would practise courtesy and benevolence and moderation, for which no religious sanction was sought. . . . In this respect, they resemble the eighteenth century with its bland rationalism and its merely conventional religion. They are, of all great nations, the least religious. (The Hon. Mr. Bertrand Russell in *The Nation and Athenaeum*, September, 1923).

The cultured Chinaman may be irreligious, but he is certainly humanitarian. He detests war in all its forms. It is possible that this trait in his character is derived from Buddhism, which is the most humanitarian of religions with the possible exception of Jainism.

In India, Buddhism made so many compromises with the traditional faiths that in the end it became indistinguishable from them. (Bertrand Russell). It was absorbed by Vishnavism, Krishna and Buddha being probably identified with each other. (Herbert Baynes).

In China, in the Mahayana form, it became a cheerful polytheism with a host of laughing Boddhisattvas, whose innumerable statues adorn the temples. (Bertrand Russell). Among these Boddhisattvas, or heirs-apparent of Buddha, none is more revered than Maitreya the Merciful who will become Buddha 5,000 years after the passing of Sakhya Muni. This divinity is now worshipped in China as Kwan Yin and in Japan as the Goddess of Mercy.

To the Buddhist, Christianity presents no difficulties; for "Christ is the dear Nazarene, the Arhat who attained Nirvanam to whom every Buddhist will bring adoration." (*The Way of the Buddha*, by Herbert Baynes, London, John Murray, 1909).

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Buddhist Missionary Societies are hard at work in India; for the Buddhist, like the Christian and the Mohammedan, is a proselytiser. But it is in the esoteric domain that the most interesting development has occurred.

The Suddha Dharma Mandalam, or White Lodge, is a mysterious body acknowledging the supremacy of the Great White Brotherhood. The colour "White" refers to purity of doctrines rather than racial characteristics. The spiritual head of the association is Narayana, which is one of the names of Sri Krishna. In the *Sanatana Dharma Deepika*, by Hamsa Yogi, the connection between Narayana and Nara or Humanity is clearly brought out. Although one is the head of the order and the other is the secretary, yet they are virtually one and the same being. It is the unknown country north of the Himalayas in which these mysterious bodies hold their meetings. In this new religion—if it is new—there is to be no caste. Woman, similarly, will enjoy equality of status with man.

The message of the Suddha Dharma Mandalam does not appear to be for the Hindus in particular. It is to mankind as a whole; for membership is open to all. At the same time, the discipline in the upper grades is so strict that no Westerner could undergo it.

To compensate Brahmins for the loss of their supremacy, stress is laid upon the fact that by appropriate Yoga or devotional discipline, they may attain magical and other powers far beyond those inherent in them at present. It was by Yoga that Gods like Siva attained their present position.

The fact of membership must not be divulged. The Society is one of the most secret in the world.

The new religion is apparently a political force for

the growth of Nationalism in India is alleged to be in pursuance of Narayana's plan for the betterment of the 315 millions concerned. Whilst it condemns that form of Imperialism which regards the coloured races as a field for exploitation, it is probable that the Suddha Dharma Mandalam is not opposed to an Empire based on altruism.

Dr. S. Subramanian has written some interesting articles on the matter in *The Theosophist*. The following literature, most of which is in the British Museum, may also be studied :—

1. *Pranaya Vada*, by Maharshi Gargyayana, with *Pranava Vadarta Deepika*, by Swami Yogananda.
2. *Yoga Deepika*, by Bagavan Narayana, and Commentary, by Hamsa Yogi.
3. *Bagavad Gita*, by Sri Krishna, with a Karika, by Maharshi Gopila.
4. *Sanatana Dharma Deepika*, by Hamsa Yogi.

To a Westerner who is not a member of the order and who is not even a Theosophist, the teaching appears to inculcate Humanity pure and simple.

It is interesting to compare the Suddha Dharma Mandalam with Positivism. In the place of God in the theistic sense, Comte substituted the Grande Etre—Humanity—as the supreme object in the universe. The Positivists have worshipped Humanity, they have prayed to it, they have found consolation and strength in Communion with it. Surely then it has become their God. (*International Journal of Ethics*, July, 1900, p. 425).

Leaving the Suddha Dharma Mandalam, we will next turn our attention to Mr. Rabindranath Tagore. An idea had gradually been spreading in India to the effect that it was the fierce Nationalism of the West which stood in the way of the entry of Indians into other countries.

This idea has not yet found full expression, but it is latent in the minds of some of the foremost thinkers of India. There can be no doubt, however, that the present attack upon the Nationalism of the West which is being engineered from Bengal, derives some of its force from a desire to break down the walls which at present bar the access of Indians to the countries of the West. But whilst it is possible that the so called "Internationalism" of the East is merely an outgrowth of Nationalism, no such reproach can be brought against the teaching of Tagore.

The Tagore family came prominently before the public on account of its association with the Brahma Samaj. The latter was, at its inception, a reaction from Hinduism in its grosser and more idolatrous forms. To many, it was a Christianity without Christ. To others, it was pure Theism. The pure heart was its basis and intuition served to distinguish between right and wrong. "We could accept those texts only of the Upanishads which accorded with the heart. Those sayings which disagreed with the heart we could not accept. Nirvana or absorption in Divinity was not salvation, but extinction." Such was the teaching of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, the father of the poet. He had received enlightenment at Shanti Niketan, whither he had retired for meditation and study, and it was at Shanti Niketan that his son, Rabindranath, afterwards founded a school and an university for the enlightenment of the mind of India. As the Brahma Samaj was a reaction from the complexities of Hinduism so were the methods pursued at Shanti Niketan a reversion to the simplicity of an earlier cult. We have here a school in the forest, the simple life, the negation of existence in great cities and the association of teacher

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and pupil more or less on terms of equality. A religious tone pervades the establishment, whilst vegetarianism implies disapproval of the slaughter of animals and the more violent phases of existence in the West.

The Shanti Niketan University, known as Visva Bharati, was opened on December 23rd, 1921. It marks an extension of the principles adopted in the school. Women are now admitted as students.

The fees being very low, there are no elaborate buildings such as one is accustomed to associate with western centres of culture. Similarly, there are no examinations and no degrees. There are five groups of study, *viz.*, Language and Literature, Philosophy, History, Arts, and Music. Special facilities are given for research in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Buddhist Philosophy.

The object is to provide a centre of study of ancient religions and culture in which East and West shall co-operate thereby enabling the East to gain a full consciousness of its own special purpose, ignorance of which has hampered the co-operation of East and West, and has prevented that union of complementary achievements which is necessary for Universal or World culture.

So much for the general environment: we will now revert to the political views of Tagore. According to him, the rival energies of the nations of the West are employed in "extending man's power over his surroundings, and the people are straining every nerve upon the path of conquest; they are ever disciplining themselves to fight nature and other races; their armaments are getting more and more stupendous every day; their machines, their appliances, their organisations are for ever multiplying." The ancient civilisation of India, he goes on to say, had another ideal, which was that of

the perfect comprehension of all, the inclusion of every element in the universe, and not the shutting out of any atom of God's creatures. Man's freedom and his fulfilment were not to be gained, in that eastern belief, through war and the argument of the strong hand, but by love.

"By compelling weaker races to slavery and trying to keep them down by every means, man struck at the foundation of his greatness. Civilisation can never sustain itself upon cannibalism of any kind." (*Rabindranath Tagore*, by Ernest Rhys, Macmillan and Co.).

An ardent nationalist in his early life, he became imbued with the idea that nationalism was responsible for the fierce rivalries, of the West, for the growth of armaments, the outbreak of wars and for the underlying currents of violence and unrest which, in the opinion of many Indian publicists, are characteristic of the culture of Europe. He accordingly gave up his earlier theories and became an internationalist. But his internationalism is not that of the I. W. W. or the Third International. It is tinged with the Pantheism of Vedantism and Sri Sankara Charya. He attacks those features of modern life which are inconsistent with this philosophy. "Just see," he says, "what hideous crimes are being committed by British patriotism in Ireland. It is a python which refuses to disgorge this live creature which struggles to lead its separate life. For patriotism is proud of its bulk, and in order to hold in a band of unity, the unities that have their own distinct individualities, is ever ready to use the means that are inhuman. I love India, but my India is an idea and not a geographical expression, and, therefore, I am not a patriot,—I shall ever seek my compatriots all over the world." (*Rabindranath Tagore, ib.*)

It may be asked whether Tagore's views are purely personal or whether they appeal to a wider circle. He is a Brahmo Samajist. In two of the three samajis of the sect (the Sadharan Samaj and the New Dispensation Samaj), the idea of brotherhood and hence of "humanity" is involved. "God is the Father of men, and hence all men are brothers." *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Volume 6, page 822). "Humanity" is also preached by many of the workers associated with Tagore at Shanti Niketan. Amongst others, I may mention the Rev. C. F. Andrews.

If the principle of nationality is responsible for much of the greed, mistrust, strife and jealousy of the West, it follows that a union or entente of nationalities is equally objectionable. Rabindranath Tagore has not a good word to say for the League of Nations. "It is founded on force and has no spiritual foundation."

Both Gandhi and Tagore were at one in believing that the West worshipped Mammon and Force. Both of them agreed that soul-force was the only weapon which would overthrow that nationalism. They pointed to the general history of evolution, in which man without arms had replaced heavily armoured monsters. In the final struggle, it would also be the meek who would inherit the earth. The destinies of India had been entrusted to Narayana—to force which is inherent in the soul rather than to the strength which is characteristic of the brute. The aim in view is to deliver man from the bonds which strangle his mentality. We have to persuade the butterfly that the liberty of heaven is worth more than the dungeon of the cocoon. We have no term for nation, for we identify ourselves with Narayana the Supreme Being. If we can overthrow the proud, the strong and the rich by demonstrating the

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power of the Spirit, then the Empire of Materialism must collapse. Man will then have discovered the real Swaraj. We, the ragged beggars of the East, we shall then have restored its lost liberty to Humanity. (Condensed from letter dated March 2nd, 1921, in the *Modern Review* for May, 1921).

Sufficient has been said to shew that Tagore and Gandhi were at one in their wish to raise mankind to a higher level by Soulforce or Spirituality. Whilst to Tagore, the abolition of Nationality and the institution of a world state was the object to be aimed at, with Gandhi, Indian Nationality, with all its drawbacks, was a necessary preliminary to action in a larger sphere. The same idea is latent in the teachings of Mr. C. R. Das. India must first realise herself before she can deliver her message to Humanity. "She must realise her individuality and evolve her destiny without help or hindrance." (*Young India*, January 12th, 1922).

Gandhi had emphasized the necessity for Hindu Moslem unity if Swaraj was to be obtained. Since his imprisonment, a large number of political thinkers in India have been giving much thought to the question of how Mohammedism and Hinduism can be brought together on a common platform. What the Mohammedan dislikes in the Indian is caste, idolatrous practices where they exist, Pantheism which he identifies with Shirkh, and the reverence with which Indians regard cows. As a common religion, Vedantism is out of the question since it is unlikely that the followers of Mohamet would welcome anything emanating from Brahminical sources, but no such objection exists in the case of Sufism which is not only very much the same thing, but possesses the advantage that it is a product of Mohammedan countries. It is Vedantism without the taint of the Vedas and

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without the drawback of caste. In the Koran, God is distinct from the world, but in Sufism, Persian and Indian influences are apparent. Sufism teaches that the soul has emanated from the Deity in the same way as a ray of light emanates from the sun and that the religious goal to be aimed at is re-union with the Godhead. The devotee passes through three degrees of enlightenment. In the first, he is a Moslem in whom the motive to worship and obey is love as distinguished from fear. In the second, he practices asceticism, and in the third, the Sufi identifies himself with the all pervading Deity. He is in fact a mystic; for, according to the doctrine which he professes, there is a mystic union between God and man. This longing for union between the human and the Divine Spirit is the burden of all Sufi song and the be-all and end-all of all Sufi effort. When Rabia went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and saw the Kaaba, she said "I see only bricks and a house of stone; what do they profit me? It is Thou I want."

To the enlightened Sufi, the outer forms of religion do not matter in the least: "He who worships God by the light of ordinary religions," said Hallaj "Is as one who seeks the sun by the light of the stars." Sri Krishna taught the same truth when he said in the Gita: "However men approach me, even so do I welcome them, for the path which men take from every side is mine."

Such being the attitude of Sufism with regard to the outer forms of religion and their bickerings, it is not surprising that all the forces of Mohammedan orthodoxy were turned against this heterodoxy. Matters came to a head when a woolcarder of Iraq, Husain bin Mansur alias Hallaj, who was a disciple of Junaid, outraged the popular feeling by declaring "Ana' ul Haqq," I am

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the Truth." The result was that he was sent to the gallows. His dying words were: "my friend is not guilty of injuring me: he gives me to drink what, as master of the feast, he drinks himself."

From the above, it may be inferred that the new religion, which shall collect together in one political fold Mohammedans and Hindus, has not yet been found. But the quest still proceeds, for Hindu Moslem unity is one of the foundations upon which the new polity of the East is being erected. Mr. Bhurgri, a late member of the Council of State, is one of the principal advocates of Sufism. His views are contained in the May number of *To-Morrow* for the year 1923. A further interesting contribution on the same subject, from which I have borrowed freely, is contained in the July issue.

Sikhism has been suggested as the future religion which would bring together Hindus and Mohammedans. Perhaps there is no other cult in the country so well adapted for the purpose. But unfortunately there is no definition of Sikhism. Its votaries may be followers of Guru Gobind Singh, or of one of the other Gurus, or may be almost indistinguishable from ordinary Hindus. Nor is there any Scripture which is exclusively authoritative for all the sects. The followers of the earlier Gurus, for example, follow the *Adi Granth*, whilst with the followers of Gobind Singh, it is the *Dasma Padshah ka Granth* (Scriptures of the tenth King) which is most valued. The term Sikh was defined at a meeting held in the Nabha State Gurudwara in 1921, as follows:—

"A Sikh is one who believes in the Guru Granth Sahib, has undergone the Amrit ceremony and observes Rahit." But many of the Sikhs are not initiated into the Khalsa (ceremony of Amrit), nor do they wear the iron circlet and the other symbols which together make up the five K's or "rahit."

Another objection to Sikhism is that it has not adapted itself to the changing spirit of the times. Nominally a religion of peace and reconciliation, its character was fixed by the warlike Guru Gobind Singh, who declared that from henceforward there would be no more Gurus, but that the Granth or Scriptures would be the Guru or Teacher of the Sikhs.

Sikhism is highly Pantheistic and hence is not likely to be acceptable to the more orthodox Mohammedans. Apart from this, Mahomet is regarded as being the seal of the prophets. He was the last of the great inspired writers. Hence it is hardly likely that the Mohammedan would recognise the Gurus (who came after Mahomet) as the ten manifestations of one and the same Lord as is believed by the followers of Gobind Singh.

An interesting development from Sikhism is a creed that has recently been suggested as a means of providing a common religious platform. It is that each person may worship God according to the teaching imparted by his Guru. But as this would legitimise Pantheism, it is hardly likely that the Mohammedans will seriously consider it.

The tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, according to one account, was slain by a Pathan. But, according to the version generally accepted at the present time, he is believed to have disappeared at Hazur Sahib in Hyderabad, Deccan. In fact, the Sikhs known as Hazuris, who have made a pilgrimage to and been initiated at Hazur Sahib in Hyderabad, correspond very closely with Hajis or Mohammedans who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca. To revert, there has been no Guru of the Sikhs since Gobindh Singh. To the fanatic, there is no evidence that he is not still alive. It is quite possible,

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therefore, that some leader of militant Sikhism may at some future date try to strengthen his position by posing as the long-lost Guru. It may be remembered that a person calling himself Ram Singh, a resident of Bhaini in the Ludhiana District, and a carpenter by trade, once gave out that he was an incarnation of Guru Gobind Singh and preached against the British Government. His followers were known as Kukas or "shouters" from the frenzied vigour with which they said their prayers. In 1872, owing to an outbreak, many of them were placed under restraint and their leader, Ram Singh, was deported.

It is evident, therefore, that Sikhism falls into line with other Indian religions. Hinduism can produce a new Krishna, Buddhism a Bodhisattva, and Sikhism a Gobind Singh.

The difficulty is with regard to the Semitic religions. Mohamet being the "Seal of the Prophets," it is virtually impossible to produce a new prophet; for in Islam, prophets take the place of incarnations of Divinity. But in Persia, there is a link between India and Arabia; for when Islam subdued the Persian peoples, "the primitive Arab tradition gave place to a rich philosophy and gorgeous mythology, in which Mahomet became a mysterious being suspended between Heaven and Earth. (Prof. S. Radha Krishnan, M.A., in the *Indian Review* for November, 1923.) The Shiites who are the dominant Mohammedan sect in Persia are legitimists. They hold that the Khalipha, or Imam as they term him, should descend from Mahomet. But the last representative of this line, who was the eleventh Imam, disappeared. Since then, the Shiites have been waiting for him or his successor. The resemblance between the religions of India and those of Persia becomes even more ac-

centuated when we study the Bahai sect. This was founded by Mirza Ali Mohamet, of Shiraz. He professed to be an intermediary between the 12th Imam and his followers. In 1843, however, after a pilgrimage to Mecca, he assumed the role of Imam.

After him, there were two claimants to the succession, Subh-i-Ezel and Baha-u-llah (the splendour of God). In 1863, the latter declared himself to be "He whom God shall manifest."

In 1892, Baha-u-llah was succeeded by Abdul Baha. In 1900, many Americans adopted the religion of Baha. In its present form, it professes to harmonise all religions and all branches of knowledge. Christian, Jew, Socialist, Buddhist, Spiritualist, Theosophist, Scientist and Humanitarian can, it is claimed, find their highest ideals in the creative power of the Bahai principles. But in reality it is Pantheism with Buddhist and Gnostic additions. It is akin to Vedantism and Sufism. According to it, all beings are emanations from the Deity who will ultimately absorb them.

Those who would study the question further will find much to interest them in *A Traveller's Narrative*, by Edward G. Browne, University Press, Cambridge, England; also in *Bahai, the Spirit of the Age*, by Horace Holley, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., Broadway House, 68—74, Carter Lane, E.C.

The Christian writings and even the Koran are frequently being used by Indians to convert the Mohammedans to a new way of thinking, since the Gospels and much of the Bible generally are acknowledged by Mohammedans as being authoritative, whilst the somewhat pantheistic Christianity of St. John and St. Paul has much in common with Hinduism. "According to the Koran, Moslems are those who believe and work

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righteousness, all those who trust in the Lord and do good. In conformity with this view, H.H. the Aga Khan said the other day that Mahatma Gandhi was a Moslem. Even Jesus did not say "by their beliefs, ye shall know them," but he said "by their fruits, ye shall know them," and Peter rightly observes "of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation, he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." (Prof. Radha Krishnan, *ib.*).

"It is impossible for a thinker like Mahomet to advocate forced conversions. We cannot compel men to change their beliefs. Let there be no compulsion in religion." (Sura II., 257). "Wilt thou then force men to believe when belief can come only from God." (Amir Ali in *The Spirit of Islam*). . . . Sir Abdur Rahim said the other day "it is a wholly false notion that the religion and law of Islam enjoin conversion by force." (*Calcutta Review*, May 1923). . . . Through the interaction of Islam and Hinduism which are to-day looking towards each other, India's vision of harmonising the different religious systems that have met on her soil will be promoted." (Prof. Radha Krishnan, *ib.*).

The same sort of tolerant teaching is embodied in the doctrines of the Ahmediyyans, a Mohammedan sect of comparatively recent origin, originally living in the Panjab, but now having a branch even in England. According to the translation of the Koran, published at *The Islamic Review Office*, Woking, Surrey, jihad or the injunction to fight against unbelievers is metaphorical in its significance. Actual slaying with the sword is not implied. It is only the weapons of peace that should be used.

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accepted by orthodox Mohammedans. Prof. Radha Krishnan borrows largely from members of the Shiite sect such as the Aga Khan, and also from Sufism. The Ahmediyyans, similarly, are not regarded as orthodox. Further, there is the difficulty that the question is not only religious but economic. Starving Central Asia must continue, as in the past, to knock at the doors of India.

But what the Hindu seems to have forgotten is the fact that it is open to question whether there is any Khalifa at present in Islam, since the present incumbent has no temporal powers and is almost certain to be replaced by a more warlike candidate. The Mohammedans, especially those of India, are looking for a real Khalifa in the same way as the Mohammedans of Persia are looking for an Iman. Here there is an opening which presents possibilities.

I have finished this fragmentary survey and I now wish to give a word of caution. There are Indians who by appropriate discipline and suitable phrases profess to be able to harness the Gods of their country. Conversely, there are politicians to whom the magic catchwords of Liberty, Humanity and Self-determination are valuable merely as a means to impose upon the West. There are those who value the Empire only in so far as it can be of use to India. There are others who hope to subordinate Britain to Asiatic interests by threatening an insurrection from time to time.

Making allowance for all these, the heart of Asia is deeply religious. Asiatic unity is not altogether a dream. It is being considered by the politician as well as by the devotee from one end of the continent to the other. And this unity will be realised when some great leader arises who will be at once Krishna, Buddha, Gobind Singh, the Imam and the Khalifa.

MENDING OR ENDING THE LEGISLATURES.

At the meeting of the Indian National Congress held at Coconada in December, 1923, the position taken up at Delhi the previous autumn was re-affirmed, though not without considerable dissent. In short, the Swarajists were to be allowed to enter the Legislatures whilst the Gandhists were to spin and boycott outside them. In the absence of Gandhi, both the Congress and the Khilafat conference were dominated by the Ali Brothers. It was possibly owing to their influence that a message had recently been received from Ghazi Mustapha Kemal thanking the Congress for its sympathy, and hoping that it would soon gain Swaraj. Mohamed Ali was the President of the Congress; his brother, Shaukat Ali, presided over the Khilafat Conference, whilst Maulvi Syed Ahmed who had been tried with them at Karachi, occupied the chair at the Jamiat-ul-Ulema or conference of Moslem Divines. A change of the Congress Creed so as to make it clear that absolute independence was aimed at, was urged by some of the members, especially in view of the Kenya decision. On the other hand, the organisation of the Parallel Government had been allowed to become very rusty. Mohamed Ali advised another year of constructive effort, not forgetting the

collection of subscriptions, adding that if Government had not by that time sent for Gandhi, expressed its regret and authorised him to inaugurate Swaraj, the flag of the Indian Republic should be unfurled. In the end, the Independence Resolution was rejected.

Shaukat Ali in the Khilafat Conference declared that it was well understood that the British nation was the greatest enemy of Islam. Any fight with Afghanistan would have to be fought by British soldiers at the expense of the British taxpayers. Both the Ali Brothers shewed the greatest solicitude for Afghanistan, the murder of a number of Europeans near the frontier having attracted attention to that part of the world.

The Khilafat Conference adopted a resolution to re-organise the Khilafat Committee, to raise funds for Khilafat workers, and to organise Khilafat volunteers who would co-operate with the Congress volunteers. Apparently it was not considered advisable to amalgamate these bodies.

In the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Maulvi Syed Ahmed said that England was the worst enemy of Islam. The English codes were opposed to Divine Law. If India were free, England, which derived its power from India, would no longer be able to harm the Khilafat.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema, while relying on Angora, expressed a hope that a conference of Moslem Divines and Leaders from all parts of the world might be convened to settle the position of the Khalifa. Individual speakers declared that the Khalifa, to whom all Mohammedans owed allegiance, would link together all Moslems throughout the world.

The complacency with which the Khilafat Conference offered to raise volunteers to co-operate with the Congress volunteers may have been due to a pact

between the Swarajists or followers of Mr. C. R. Das and the Khilafatists. The pact was possibly based on the Hindu Moslem agreement entered into at Lucknow several years before this time (*vide* the preface). Its scope, however, was to be limited to Bengal, and it was to become operative only when Responsible Government was attained. It provided for a forty per cent. representation of minorities, whether Hindu or Moslem, and for a majority of the Government appointments being given to Mohammedans.

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No resolution or enactment affecting the religion of any community was to be passed without the consent of a substantial majority of its members.

While the sacrificial killing of cows by Moslems was permitted, Hindus would not be allowed to play music before the Mosques.

The pact was naturally much resented by the youth of Bengal who would lose the majority of the Government appointments which they covet.

The clause about cow-killing was said to be inconsistent with the election cries of the Swarajists such as "vote Swaraj and save the cow."

Under the circumstances, it was hardly surprising that the Congress, differing from the Khilafat Conference, rejected Mr. Das' pact by 678 to 458 votes.

A new draft of a National Pact is (January, 1924) being circulated by Dr. M. A. Ansari, who is one of the main pillars of the Khilafat Conference, and Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai the well-known Arya Samajist of the Panjab. Hindustani is to be the national language. There is to be complete religious liberty. The various communities shall be separately represented both in the Provincial and Central Legislatures in proportion to their respective numbers. No preference will be given to any com-

munity as regards entry into the Public Services or the educational institutions.

The sacrifice of cows by Mohammedans will be prohibited except at recognised places. Religious disputes will be referred to Arbitration Boards for settlement.

In order to end European exploitation, India will become a member of an Asiatic federation.

Looking at this new pact as a whole, one is struck by the fact that it is virtually a surrender to the Khilafatists. In return for inappreciable concessions, India is to ally herself with the federation of Central Asiatic Powers or identify herself with a Pan Asiatic movement. Both of these aims are probably anti-British (*vide* pp. 39, 40, 41, 53, 61, 62 and 63). But it is possible that the ending of Russian influence in Central Asia is also aimed at. It would be an interesting position if, as the result of Zinovieff's plan of raising against Great Britain the teeming millions of Asia, Russia is herself attacked in Central Asia. Egypt, which wishes to gain the Soudan, may also eventually join an Asiatic Federation.

Before passing on to the Legislatures, it is necessary to discuss the programme of the Swaraj party. The latter is still connected, nominally at any rate, with the Indian National Congress. The closing remarks of Mr. Mohamed Ali, the president of the Congress, indicated that unless the Government of India yields, the Swaraj members of the Legislatures will refuse to sit on select committees or take any active part in the proceedings except for the purpose of obstructing them. This may explain in part why the Swarajists refused to accept any ministerial portfolios in Bengal or the Central Provinces.

The policy of the Swaraj Party was further defined at a Conference of the Swarajist members of the Provincial and Central Legislatures held at Lucknow in

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January, 1924. A resolution was passed to the effect that steps be forthwith taken to establish full responsible government for India. Now Gandhi had enunciated the proposition that the New Constitution for India was to be drawn up by the Congress. It was obvious, however, that the effect of asking a Congress composed of Gandhists, Swarajists and Khilafatists to frame a constitution would be to disintegrate it for ever. For one thing the question of communal representation for Mohammedans was in itself almost insuperable. The Swarajists, therefore, having decided in favour of instant responsible Government, cast about for an excuse for shelving the responsibility which such a step would entail. Accordingly, as a preliminary to the advent of Responsible Government and "in order to test the good faith of the Government," it was determined to ask for the release of Gandhi and other political prisoners, the suspension of repressive laws, and the summoning of a round table conference representative of the Congress, the Legislative Assembly and the Government.

It was true that the release of Gandhi was open to criticism from the Swarajists' point of view. The entry into the Legislatures in order to mend or wreck them was absolutely inconsistent with Gandhism. The Gandhi attitude was to have nothing to do with the Legislatures. Mr. Das in turn had criticised adversely Gandhi's "bungling" of the Malaviya compromise (*vide* chapter on Gandhi and Non-co-operation). On the other hand, the release of Gandhi was a measure which would be supported, outwardly at any rate, by every section of the Indian community. Instead of leading to disruption, it would be a stepping-stone to the formation of a coalition between the Independents and the Swarajists. With these two parties united, the outcome of

a "round table" conference might be awaited with equanimity.

The request for instant self-government is also interesting since it is not consistent with what Mr. Das had himself said a year before. The position then taken up by him was that if certain principles were conceded, the present Government might continue for an appreciable period.

Mr. Das' countrymen do not all share his views as to the possibility of introducing immediate self-government. For one thing the army is not yet Indianised. With the departure of the British, a Mohammedan invasion might have to be reckoned with. The National Liberals headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru have adopted a resolution in favour of "full Responsible Government in the Provinces and complete responsibility in the Central Government except in the Military, Political and Foreign Departments."

If the Swarajist demands are not granted, obstruction will be the order of the day in those Legislatures in which the Swarajists are in sufficient numbers either by themselves or in coalition with other bodies, to make their presence felt. It is true that the Governments concerned may certify measures whilst the Governor General may govern by Ordinance. But it is said that these measures will make the British unpopular, and render it easy for the public to refuse to pay taxes.

We now turn to the elections. After all the criticism that had been launched against the late Legislatures on the ground that they were not representative, it is instructive to find that the Swarajists are generally speaking in a minority. In the Legislative Assembly and in Bengal, however, they are in sufficient numbers to make their presence felt, whilst in the Central

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Provinces, they have a large majority. In the other Provinces, things will go on very much as they were before. Hence the necessity in the Congress for re-organising the volunteers so that the elected representatives of the people and the Governments may not have things too much their own way.

In the Central Provinces, approximately four-fifths of the elected members are Swarajists. It is possible that the flag incidents of 1923 may be partly responsible for this. So early as 1917 in the agitation connected with the internment of Mrs. Besant, there had been sporadic attempts in Madras to replace the Union Jack by a red and green emblem symbolising Hindu Moslem unity. Red represented Hinduism and green Mohammedanism. In so far as flag-flying tended to cause annoyance to particular sections of the public and hence to promote breaches of the peace, it was discountenanced by the authorities, the general procedure being to interdict the carrying of the flag under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and then to prosecute under section 188 of the Indian Penal Code persons disregarding this injunction.

Before going further, it may be specially stated that Mrs. Besant was in no way a party to any act implying disrespect to the Union Jack.

The flag incidents at Nagpur in 1923 were an outcome of Civil Disobedience. At Bardoli, in 1922, Civil Disobedience had been stopped by Gandhi since the murder of the police officers at Chauri Chaura shewed that the movement was premature.

In Guntur, the non-payment of taxes was easily defeated by the Madras Government.

In Nagpur, in 1923, large bands of persons marched with tricolour flags of red, green and white towards the

European quarters with the knowledge that they would annoy the whites. The first few processions were principally formed of local persons. But as interest in the proceedings waned, the Congress Committee in Bombay, on May 26th, 1923, sanctioned the movement, and two days later, the Khilafat Conference came into line. After that time, volunteers from various parts of India took part in the flag demonstrations at Nagpur. As the result of the preventive activities of the authorities, the total number of persons imprisoned up to June 19th, 1923, was 834 (*Times of India*). But there was no sign of cessation of the movement, the object of the promoters being to cause as much disaffection as possible. It was intended to start similar campaigns in Bengal and then Madras.

The firm attitude of the Government, coupled with the approach of the elections at last caused interest in flag-flying to wane. But the Province was full of volunteers. Practically the whole mobilised Congress organisation was available for the purpose of securing votes. The result is that in the Central Provinces, the Swarajists with the Independents, who may frequently be expected to vote with them, are in an overwhelming majority. Like their brethren in Bengal, they refused to take office, their object being to wreck the Reforms rather than to co-operate in carrying on the administration. The Governor having nominated two ministers who were not Swarajists, the latter retaliated by passing a resolution on January 18th, 1923, that the Governor should dismiss the said ministers on the ground that they did not enjoy the confidence of the House.

Of equal interest was the situation in Bengal. Mr. Das on being asked by the Governor to form a ministry since, although not in a majority, he headed the principal

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group, refused on the ground that the aim of his party was to destroy Dyarchy, not to continue it. When an alternative selection was made, one of the new ministers, Mr. Mullick, was unseated on petition. In the re-election which followed, his opponent, a Swarajist, was successful. Mr. Mullick afterwards resigned his office.

The strength of the Swarajists and Independents, taken together, is between sixty and seventy whilst the relics of the Moderates with the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and nominated members number between eighty and ninety.

Considerable interest centres in the revolutionary movement which is making itself felt in Bengal. It would appear that in the summer of 1923, the Government of Bengal had become aware of a conspiracy for the wholesale murder of police officers. In justice to India it may be said that the movement seems to emanate from the Communists rather than from any indigenous Indian source.

In September, 1923, seventeen anarchist detenus were imprisoned without trial under Regulation 3 of 1818.

In January, 1923, a European resident, Mr. Day, was murdered by an anarchist in mistake for the Commissioner of Police. The Public Prosecutor also received a letter reminding him that a previous Public Prosecutor had been murdered in a previous conspiracy campaign.

In a motion in the Provincial Council that the detained persons should be liberated or formally tried, the Government of Bengal were defeated by 76 to 45.

In the Legislative Assembly, the strength of the Swarajists is between forty and fifty out of a total of one hundred and forty-five. The estimated number includes the Sikh members of the Parbandbak Committee. Although in a minority, it is possible that

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they will sometimes receive support from the Independents. In fact on February 7th, 1924, the formation of a Nationalist Party in the Assembly was announced. This consists of 45 Swarajists and 27 Independents. It is therefore the dominant group in a House which has a membership of 145.

Notice has been given of resolutions to the effect that the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer are not to be a charge on Indian revenues.

Another resolution demands a boycott of British Empire goods as a protest against the treatment of Indians in the Empire.

Thanks to the ballot, a resolution demanding the release of Gandhi was set down for debate early in February, 1924. This would have been supported by almost every group in the House, and he was released unconditionally on February 4th, 1924, before the debate could take place. He had recently undergone an operation for appendicitis and his general condition made it desirable that he should no longer be detained in custody.

Although his health had suffered, Gandhi had not changed his views. He regretted the quarrels that had occurred during his absence. His statements implied that Passive Resistance, Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience were of minor importance as compared with a union of Hindus and Moslems, Extremists and Moderates; for without the unity of all Communities, all talk of Swaraj was idle. He still condemned Western Civilisation. The struggle should be continued, not against Englishmen, but against the system for which the British Government stands.

The fortune of the ballot also favoured Dewan Bahadur T. Rengachariar. This gentleman had at-

tracted considerable attention as a member of the Democratic Party in the former Assembly. Re-elected as an Independent in spite of the opposition of the Anti-Brahmin Party in Madras, he joined on February 7th, a union of Swarajists and Independents known as the Nationalist Party and was selected along with certain others to draft the constitution and the rules of the new coalition. On February 8th, he moved a resolution to the effect that the Governor General in Council should take early steps to appoint a Royal Commission to revise the Government of India Act so as to secure autonomy for the Provinces and Dominion Status for India.

But there were objections on the part of the Swarajists to the motion. Gandhi had taken up the position that the new constitution was to be drafted by delegates from the Congress rather than by a Royal Commission. As a compromise it was suggested that all the parties interested should have a voice in the matter. If the result proved satisfactory, the Swarajists or the New National Party would get the credit. If it was a failure, the Government could be saddled with the blame.

Accordingly Mr. Motilal Nehru, of Allahabad, the leader of the Swarajists in the Assembly proposed the following amendment to Mr. Rengachari's resolution:—

(a) This assembly recommends the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible government for India, and for the said purpose ;

(b) To summon at an early date representatives to a round table conference to recommend, with due regard for the protection of the rights and interests of the important minorities, a constitution for India; and

(c) After dissolving the Central Legislature, to place

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the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature, and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute.

The mover contended that the Government of India Act, 1919, was bad from beginning to end. If the amendment was accepted, the Swarajists would become the supporters of the Government. If it was not accepted, the party would pursue a policy of constitutional obstruction.

The constitutional touch was probably added to please the Independents. Mr. Motilal Nehru was speaking as a member of the new Nationalist party or coalition rather than a Swarajist.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, who spoke for the Government, said that in opposing the resolution and the amendment, he wished it to be understood that the Government of India did not stand in the way of the ultimate attainment of Swaraj. The Act, in fact, specifically provided for the realisation by degrees of responsible self-government. If the process was unduly hastened, the power won at the ballot-box by non-martial sections of the Community might easily pass into other hands on the removal of the British control; for, after all, full Dominion self-government implied the control of the Army and the abolition of external safeguards for minorities.

Several of the speakers were in favour of a definite time limit for the British occupation. It was argued that the Statutory Commission to be appointed in 1929 would not necessarily recommend complete self-government. It might even report that the Indians were unfit for such self-government as they already possessed. Its recommendations might be retrograde rather than progressive. Amongst those who favoured a time limit for

British occupation were Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

Amongst non-official Indians who spoke strongly against the resolution and the amendments were Mr. Bomanji Dalal, a Parsi merchant, and Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, one of the pillars of the former Assembly.

Sir Malcolm Hailey replying on behalf of the British Government and the Government of India, animadverted on the want of confidence in Great Britain to which some of the speakers had given expression. He was unable to hold out hope of any material amendment of the Government of India Act, 1919. He was willing, however, to inquire how far the demands of the Nationalists might be met by taking advantage of the very extensive powers of making rules which the Act authorised.

In the division which followed, Mr. Motilal Nehru's amendment was carried by 76 votes to 48.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, in a message to India dated January 6th, 1924, had declared that Britain was not going to be cowed into granting concessions. The Viceroy had made more than one speech implying that obstructionist tactics might prejudice the cause of self-government in India. Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State for India, in a statement in the House of Lords on February 26th, 1924, declined to entertain the idea of a round table conference. But His Lordship's tone was highly conciliatory. He dissociated himself from the resolution of the House of Lords in regard to General Dyer. He criticised in trenchant terms the injudicious language used by Mr. Lloyd George in his "steel frame" speech. He animadverted on the action of the Viceroy in "certifying" the salt tax.

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With regard to the Kenya question, he pointed out that the Immigration Ordinance passed by the Local Legislature had been returned by the Colonial Office for reconsideration. He regretted that there had been differentiation between Whites and Indians and he pointed out that in the Wood-Lytton report, discrimination in the franchise had not been recommended. On the contrary, the framers of the report had recommended a principle which had been adopted in West Indian and West African Colonies, namely equal franchise for all persons of similar qualifications.

His Majesty's Government regretted the mistrust, intransigence and disaffection of many Indian politicians but were consoled by the fact that there had recently been some modification of that attitude. "The Government, having themselves the same ultimate aim for India as the Swaraj Party—namely, the substitution of responsible Dominion government for the present admittedly transitional political constitution—were earnestly desirous of availing themselves, in whatever might be found the best possible method, of this manifest disposition towards effective consultation. Various modes of meeting the situation had already been unofficially suggested. The Legislative Assembly had proposed a round table conference. The Indian National Conference was proposing a deputation to England. Representatives of Indian interests in this country had suggested a mission to India. The Government, whilst open to consider any practical proposals, were not yet satisfied as to the best means for establishing that closer contact and better understanding. Some means must be sought, and they hoped, after due consultation with the Government of India, to be able with the least avoidable delay to decide upon the means they would desire to adopt.

In the meantime, the Government, a Government unequivocally friendly towards the Indian Constitutional Reform Party, appealed to that party for patience and circumspection, and for co-operation in using the councils for their essential purpose of official administration according to the views of the members on any particular question and not as a field for administrative sabotage and political exacerbation. The investigation of the situation which the Government of India had already promised to make could not fail to assist that Government, and to furnish the Government with further considered advice upon the problems involved and as to the best lines of approach to any further developments".

Far from conciliating public opinion in India, the Secretary of State's speech produced the opposite effect. The allusion to the Salt Tax was bitterly resented at Delhi judging from paragraphs, obviously inspired, which began to appear in the principal English newspapers. It was evident that if "certification" were not to be permitted, the Viceroy would be deprived of his power of passing a budget which the Nationalists were bent on throwing out.

Mohamed Ali, the President of the Indian National Congress, intent on his policy of detaching India from Britain and throwing her into the arms of an Asiatic federation, similarly condemned the speech in the strongest terms, although his standpoint was, of course, different from that of the Government of the country.

The Khalifa, Abdul Majid, having been deposed on March 4th, 1924, the position of the Ali Brothers was somewhat equivocal. For years they had been associated with a movement directed against the Khalifa. But the Moslems of India did not approve of the abolition of the office. The Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-

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ul-Ulema accordingly telegraphed to Mustapha Kemal asking him whether the Angora Assembly had agreed to acknowledge him not only as President of the Turkish Republic, but also as Khalif-ul-Islam. A reply was received (March, 1924) to the effect that though the Khalifa had been deposed, yet his powers virtually vested in the Government and in the Republic.

It was obvious that a reply of this nature, however gratifying it might be to the Khilafat Conference in India, was not altogether to the taste of the Indian Nationalists. Their ideal was a united India composed of Hindus and Mohammedans working together for the common welfare. They had in their hearts welcomed the abolition of the office of Khalifa since they thought that there would no longer be a foreign potentate to whom the Mohammedans of India would owe allegiance. But now they learned that there would be no essential change in the situation. For a somewhat powerless Khalifa, the popular President of a powerful republic would be substituted. The choice of the Indian Nationalists might conceivably lie between British rule or Mohammedan ascendancy. It was obvious that Mr. Das who, like Gandhi, was maintained in power partly because he truckled to the Khilafatists, might be gravely compromised. If this view of the situation be correct, it is easy to understand why the Swarajists did not afterwards attempt to carry out in its entirety their scheme for wrecking the Reforms.

With these prefatory remarks, we will revert to the situation in the Central Provinces. The Swarajists after a short discussion, threw out the entire budget and carried a motion reducing the salaries of the Ministers to two rupees a year. On March 10th, 1924, the Swarajists in the Central Provinces Council also

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carried by 40 votes to 22 a resolution to the effect that no articles manufactured in any part of the British Empire outside India should be used by the Government or by its contractors unless they are unobtainable in any other part of the world. It is evident that we have here an attempt to enforce through the medium of the Legislature, one of the Congress ideals of a boycott of British goods.

To meet these obstructive tactics, the Finance Minister announced that the Governor would take over the subjects which had been "transferred" to Indian Ministers. The policy of gradually transferring to Indians the administration of their own affairs is thus virtually in abeyance in the Central Provinces. The 'Reforms' are for the time being, under a cloud in this part of the world.

In Bengal, a motion expressing want of confidence in the Indian Ministers in that part of the world was defeated by one vote. On the other hand, the Swarajists in Bengal were more successful with regard to the demands on account of Land Revenue and Excise which they threw out by very small majorities.

On March 24th, they carried by 63 votes to 62 a motion to disallow the salaries of the Bengal Ministers. It is possible, therefore, that the situation created may resemble that in the Central Provinces where the Government is being carried on without ministers.

The policy of the Swarajists was outlined at the Delhi Provincial Conference held at Meerut on Friday, March 7th, 1924. The President said that Lord Olivier had shewn himself to be merely the mouthpiece of the Indian Government. He, the President, adhered to the idea of a round table conference. If that proposal proved unacceptable, they would have to withhold supplies and to prepare for intensive non-co-operation including civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes.

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The President added that the tragedy at Jaito was a blot upon the character of the Labour Government. Before going further, it will be necessary to touch lightly upon what transpired at Jaito. The place in question is a small Gurudwara or Sikh shrine in the State of Nabha. A Jatha or association of Akali Sikhs had set out from Amritsar on February 9th, 1924, reaching Jaito on February 23rd. As the result of an encounter with the local forces, twenty-one of them were killed or died from the injuries which they had received, whilst thirty-three were wounded. The affair was managed with commendable skill. No member of the party of fifty who were in charge of the Holy Granth or Sikh scriptures was struck, the casualties being confined to those who unauthorisedly accompanied the selected fifty. A considerable amount of evidence exists that a number of shots were also fired by the defeated party, their object being to gain possession of the Gurudwara, and using this as a base, gain possession ultimately of the entire State.

Undeterred by their defeat, the Akalis are fitting out (March, 1924) a fresh Jatha at Amritsar. If successful, it will embarrass the Government. If it is turned back by force, it is hoped that a certain amount of resentment against an "inhuman" Government will be engendered.

The measures taken at Jaito formed the theme of much adverse comment not only on the part of the Provincial Conference of the Swarajists at Meerut, but also in the Imperial Legislative Assembly at Delhi. But the loss of life was possibly responsible for Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of that violence which was inherent in the methods of the Akalis. Having once turned, he will probably go back even on Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience as being productive of violence and disorder.

Another disruptive influence in the Nationalist party is that a large section of it are not willing to plunge the country into anarchy.

The third factor to be considered is the Mohammedan question.

Accordingly having carried by narrow majorities motions that the Customs, Income Tax, Salt and Opium grants be rejected, Mr. Moti Lal Nehru declared that the Nationalists had "established a principle" and that the remaining demands for supplies would be discussed in the "ordinary course".

But as there was a violent outcry in the extremist press against the abandonment of the policy of wrecking the Reforms, the obstructionist tactics were reverted to, with the result that on March 17th, 1924, the Finance Bill was thrown out by 60 votes to 57.

On March 18th, the Assembly refused leave to introduce a new Finance Bill recommended by the Viceroy under Section 67 (b) of the Government of India Act, 1919, and containing only those items which His Excellency considered necessary for the safety, tranquillity and interests of British India.

Not satisfied with creating difficulties as regards taxation, the Assembly turned its attention to the anarchist conspiracy in Bengal. By 68 votes to 44 it passed an amendment demanding the repeal of Bengal Regulation No. III. of 1818, in spite of warnings from Sir Malcolm Hailey that much inflammatory literature had been circulated, that a factory for the manufacture of bombs had been discovered, that the danger to loyal Indian Officers was even greater than that to Europeans and that owing to the reluctance of witnesses to come forward, the Regulation in question was the only means of coping with the situation.

Fortunately the Council of State does not view the situation in the same light as the Assembly. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri hoped that the undesirable example set by the other House would not be followed whilst Mr. Karandikar, the only Swarajist in the Council, supported the bill. Under these circumstances, it will be passed by a single chamber and will become law in virtue of the extraordinary powers vesting in the Viceroy.

It is usual in a work of this nature to draw some general conclusion from what has gone before. But India has not yet reached her goal. To many, it may appear that the ultimate issue is whether India is to be received as an equal partner in the British Empire, in which case she may ultimately dominate that Empire, or whether she is to become a member of a Federation of States, the object of which is to end European domination in the East. It is possible that the Indian may dissent from both of these views, and that he may prefer to keep awhile to himself, developing his own polity and evolving his own destiny until the time comes for him to play a decisive part upon the stage of the world.

It may be argued that if India goes out of the British Empire, she will be torn by internal dissensions and will inevitably become the prey, sooner or later, of some Asiatic Power or federation of Powers which may be animated by an anti-British bias. What if it be so? Does India not wish to take the risk? Is it in our power, humanitarian as we are, permanently to dam back a world force? Will not the final outburst gain in intensity and disruptive power in proportion as we check the tide of evolution?

Take the other alternative: is it to our advantage to admit into our midst a race alien to us in colour, religion and sentiment which must inevitably dominate us sooner

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or later because of its superior and rapidly growing manpower? Where we have tentatively admitted it into portions of our Empire, are the results satisfactory? Is the outlook in South Africa, East Africa, Fiji and other places more promising because of the Indians who have settled there?

Is there any likelihood that they will ever amalgamate with the settlers of European descent? Are the latter satisfied with the experiment? Will they admit the Indian on the basis of absolute equality? If they do, will it not be their death warrant? Are not ominous rumbles being heard from time to time? Have there not been veiled threats of secession? (Is there any common platform on which East and West can meet?) From time to time we offer new constitutions. We gave one in 1910 and another in 1919. We may give another in 1929. There is, however, no contentment, no finality. If independence were conferred, there would be discontent. The very fact that the constitutions are European in origin is enough to damn them. What India wants is something essentially Eastern, characteristically Indian. She is unable to define her position, she is not even very clear in her own mind what it is that she does want. She does wish, however, to have an opportunity of trying to solve her own problems instead of letting them be muddled out for her. Without committing ourselves to any definite course of action, we may, at any rate, take up the position that we are perfectly ready to consider any proposals that have the support of the Indian Nation as a whole, that are likely to conduce to a lasting friendship with India and that will not prejudice the commercial and other interests of Britain.

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or later because of its superior and rapidly growing manpower? Where we have tentatively admitted it into portions of our Empire, are the results satisfactory? Is the outlook in South Africa, East Africa, Fiji and other places more promising because of the Indians who have settled there?

Is there any likelihood that they will ever amalgamate with the settlers of European descent? Are the latter satisfied with the experiment? Will they admit the Indian on the basis of absolute equality? If they do, will it not be their death warrant? Are not ominous rumbles being heard from time to time? Have there not been veiled threats of secession? (Is there any common platform on which East and West can meet?) From time to time we offer new constitutions. We gave one

in 1910 and another in 1919. We may give another in 1929. There is, however, no contentment, no finality. If independence were conferred, there would be discontent.

(The very fact that the constitutions are European in origin is enough to damn them. What India wants is something essentially Eastern, characteristically Indian.

She is unable to define her position, she is not even very clear in her own mind what it is that she does want.

She does wish, however, to have an opportunity of trying to solve her own problems instead of letting them be muddled out for her.

Without committing ourselves to any definite course of action, we may, at any rate, take up the position that we are perfectly ready to consider any proposals that have the support of the Indian Nation as a whole, that are likely to conduce to a lasting friendship with India and that will not prejudice the commercial and other interests of Britain.

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