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INDIA'S WILL TO FREEDOM

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India's Will to Freedom

WRITINGS AND SPEECHES
ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

BY
LALA LAJPAT RAI .

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

The leading addresses and writings on the present political situation in India of that veteran patriot Lala Lalpat Rai are herein collected and the publishers trust that the book will be of immense value to those who wish to keep in touch with the Nation's Will. It is hoped that every Indian would always remember the following words of Lalaji and strive for national liberty :

“ We in India should, one and all, take a vow that whether we have to lay down our life, whether we are mutilated or hanged, whether our women and children are maltreated, our desire for Swaraj will never grow little any the less. Every child of this land, whatever his religion or persuasion, should swear that, as long, as there is life in his limbs, or breath in his nostrils, he would strive for national liberty.”

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India's Will to Freedom

What India Needs

She Needs:

1. Parents who will love and educate but not command.
2. Teachers who will teach their pupils how to think and differ; and who will not expect them to accept what they say as gospel truth.
3. Leaders who will guide but not give orders.
4. Friends who will co-operate, in a true spirit of mutual respect and helpfulness, who will not quarrel over differences of opinion, who will not be offended by individual idiosyncracies, who will help generously in spite of differences of opinion and differences of interests.
5. Preachers who will not preach *siddhantas*.
6. Ministers who will not insult congregations by asking them to follow them in their prayers like sheep.
7. Husbands who will love, serve and co-operate, and not tyrannise nor crush the personality of their wives.

8. Patriots who will think more of fundamentals than crumbs.

9. Young Indians who will care more for manhood, honour and self-respect than material gains, who will seek opportunities of serving and suffering, who will cultivate the faculty of introspection, of generosity in judging others, of resourcefulness and initiative even at some risk.

10. Wives who will maintain their virtues of love and devotion without letting themselves be treated as slaves or inferiors or mere child-bearing machines.

11. Rulers who will not rule, but encourage the people to rule themselves.

12. Governors who will think less of dignity and prestige and more of justice and right and public good.

13. Viceroys who will think more of India than of Great Britain.

14. Landlords who will think more of the human necessities of their tenants and less of their own purses.

15. Public men who will think more of truth than of titles, honours or jageers.

16. Educationists who will be less of pedagogues and experts and more of human beings.

17. Lecturers who will be less of demagogues and more of sober exponents of ideas and truths.

18. Journalists who will write of matters that count and less of their own petty personal jealousies.

19. Reporters who will care more for facts than for their own wishes of what the facts should be.

20. Organisations that will care more for the interests and good of the country and less of their own power, popularity and purse.

Why India Is Not Happy Under British Rule

WHETHER India is to be free or slave, whether she is to be permitted once more to attain the nationhood of which for nearly two centuries she has been robbed, or is to continue to be held in subjection against her will by a foreign power, is a question of world-concern; for it is a question upon which, more than perhaps upon any other, the future peace of Asia and Europe and therefore the world depends.

To an Indian the problem of India is national; to a Britisher it is imperial (that is, a question of his own Empire); but to humanity it is international. India is such a huge slice of the earth, and contains such an immense population, that no person interested in world-affairs can ignore its importance. Historically it is the pivot of the Orient. Religiously it occupies a wholly unique place in Asia, because it is the home of Hinduism, the birth-place of Buddhism and the most important field of present day Islamic activities. It is the centre of Asiatic culture; China and Japan bow to it in reverence, while Central Asia and western Mohammedan countries look to it for support and sympathy. Its human potentialities of all kinds

are very great. Commercially, too, it is strategic for nearly half the globe. It is the key to the Indian Ocean and the clearing house of the larger part of the trade of the Orient. Its natural resources are so enormous as to defy the imagination. This is the reason why militarism and imperialism have always looked upon it with eyes of greed and glory. This is why India has inspired Alexanders, Tamerlanes, Wellesleys, Czars and Kaisers with visions of world-empire. This is why for two centuries Great Britain has shaped her foreign diplomacy, her military plans and her imperial policy with a constant eye to strengthening her hold on India, her richest province, her greatest source of wealth and prestige. This is why she has carried on so many wars to guard the borders of India, to keep open her road to India and to weaken any nation that might endanger her possession of India.

Nor will India in the future be any less an apple of discord among the nations, and a source of endless plottings, jealousies and wars, so long as she remains a subject people,—a rich prize to be coveted, sought for and fought for by rival nations. Her only safety, and the only promise of peace for the Orient or for Europe lie in her independence, and therefore her contentment, in her ceasing to be a pawn on the chessboard of the world's diplomatic, imperialistic and capitalistic plottings; in her stand-

ing on her own feet; in her growing power to protect herself, to shape her own career and to co-operate with other nations in friendly ways, and thus become a factor in constructive world-life, instead of a centre of unrest and world-contention.

Subject peoples, held down by the sword, are always discontented peoples, who are continually cursing and hating their rulers, who are continually intriguing and plotting to throw off the yoke, that is on them and gain their freedom. This must always be pre-eminently true of India so long as she is held against her will by a foreign power. In the very nature of the case no League of Nations and no other possible agency or power can ensure peace in the world so long as a great civilized nation, located in the very centre of the world's greatest continent and possessing one-fifth of the entire population of the globe, is in bondage. We see, therefore, why the problem of India is not only a world problem, but a problem more fundamental to the world's security and peace than perhaps any other whatever.

There are Englishmen who ask me and my compatriots, "Why are you not satisfied? What do you want?" The very insolence of the question is staggering. That such questions can be asked shows the utter moral callousness to which intelligent human beings can be reduced by military power and by the long practice of ruling others

without their consent. What do we want? Are we not men as well as you? What would you want, if, like us, you were held in subjection by the sword of a foreign power; if you were dominated industrially by alien capitalists; if you were exploited financially by greedy money-lenders of another land; if you were intellectually starved by rulers who deprived you of schools, and who shaped such education as you were permitted to have in such a manner as to crowd out and belittle, and so far as possible destroy your own history, literature and culture, and substitute an alien and far more materialistic civilization in its place; if you were rebuked and lectured and bullied day and night by men claiming mastery over you, who were without spiritual aims, who worshipped money and power as their gods, and who were unable even to understand much less to appreciate the intellectual, the moral and the spiritual ideals of your nation and race?

You ask of us, "Why are you not happy under British rule?" I have now given my answer. It ought to have been, obvious to you. It would have been, if your nature had not been so hardened by trampling on others' rights. We are not happy under British rule because we are not bricks or stones, because we have feelings, ambitions, national pride, because we are human. We are not happy, because the rule is alien, is forced on us, is British and not ours. From time to time we have asked

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for a little freedom under your rule, a little opportunity for self-determination, for self-development. You have answered by jails and scaffolds, by deportations and transportations.

What we want is our manhood, the right to live our lives, the opportunity to manage our affairs and to be ourselves. Permitted to be men and not serfs, permitted to be a nation with power to manage our own affairs and carry out our own ideals, we can be a source of strength to Community, we can contribute our share to the world's stock of knowledge, of art, of science, of poetry, of music; we can co-operate with the other civilized nations in keeping the peace of the world and in carrying aloft the banner of human progress. But as British slaves we are mere pawns in a game, to be used by foreign masters as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in an Empire that not only crushes out our liberty, but, at its will, even conscripts us as its soldiers to fight the battles of imperialism and conquest to crush out the liberties of other peoples.

I trust I have now made clear what it is that India wants, and why she is not content, and never can be, under British or any other foreign yoke.

Asian Review—July 1920.

The "War-Gift" From India

In my judgment, the action of the Government of India, presumably taken at the suggestion of, at least with the approval of, the Secretary of State for India, is neither just nor wise. It is economically unsound and politically foolish. India is admittedly poor—the average income per capita not exceeding £2 a year for the last forty years. Considering that during this period prices have doubled or trebled in some instance, the irresistible conclusion is that the Indian raiyat's purchasing capacity has been materially reduced, and, if he just existed before, he is less than existing now. Within the last three years more than once the price of wheat has gone as high as 12 lbs. a rupee, which is even worse than a famine price. The price of salt has risen so high that the Punjab Government has only recently threatened to recommend the opening of cheap salt stores by public bodies.

All competent authorities are agreed that in India there is no room for further taxation. How then is the £6,000,000 sterling charge, now added to the Indian Budget, going to be met? One million, it is said, will come from the enhanced duty on cotton imports, a portion of the rest from other sources of taxation proposed, and the rest by starv-

ing education, sanitation, and public works. The Indian public has been bribed into acquiescence by the enhanced duty on cotton imports. (At this distance, I do not know if they have acquiesced). In any case, the cotton duties will only bring one million. Then, in all probability, the enhanced rate is only a temporary measure. Its authors call it a War-measure, implying that at the close of the War the enhanced rate might disappear. If it does disappear, as it is likely to do, the reaction in the Indian mind will be terrible. The six million charge, however, is permanent, to be borne by generations to come.

India suffers from lack of capital and credit, and yet the Imperial Government decides to denude it to the extent of £100,000,000 by one stroke of the pen. The amount is a flea-bite to England, but in India its loss will be felt by the poorest. Even now there is plenty of wealth in Great Britain which has not been conscripted. British millionaires and lords have plenty to spare. Why, then, ask for such a contribution from India? The day of account for such acts will be an evil day for both India and England, and it behoves British statesmanship to avert it by timely forethought and wisdom.

Nation—May 1919.

A Hindu Under-Secretary For India

The appointment of a Hindu as a Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India is an event of sufficient importance to justify the hope that a radical change is coming over the spirit of British imperialism, and that adequate constitutional changes may soon be introduced to give it a legal aspect, and an enduring one. The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha would be devoid of any significance if it were a mere personal compliment, or a mere sop to Indian Nationalism. The fact, however, that Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu is the only Cabinet Minister who retains his old post in the re-shuffling consequent upon the British elections, gives us reason to think that Premier Lloyd George is at least in general accord with Mr. Montagu's sentiments about the future constitution of India, and that by appointing Sir S. P. Sinha as Under-Secretary he wants to strengthen Mr. Montagu's hands.

Premier Lloyd George is reported to have said that the word "Empire" would henceforth disappear from the designation of the group of nations that in their collective capacity have thus far been called by that name. If that is true British

Imperialism must disappear, not only in name, but also in spirit. There must henceforth be a true sisterhood of free nations, call it commonwealth or league, whatever you will. If that should happen no one would be more delighted than the Indian Nationalists, because in spite of our strong dislike of the political and economical effects of British Imperialism in India, we believe that, on the whole, the British democracy is perhaps the finest in the political world of to-day. India will forget all the wrongs consciously or unconsciously inflicted on her in the past, if her future status as a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth is conceded to her in practice and secured to her by law. If the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha is an indication of that change of spirit, we welcome it most heartily and congratulate the Premier on that step.

Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha has all along been the favoured son of fortune. Born (in 1863) of a middle-class family, he received a good education, first in India and then in England, won several prizes and scholarships at Lincoln's Inn, was finally called to the bar in 1886. In 1903 he was appointed Standing Counsel to the Government of India, and in 1907 Advocate-General of Bengal. He was the first Indian to be appointed to that post, which is somewhat similar to that of Attorney-General in England, except that the Advocate-

General of Bengal is not a member of the Government of India. For about a quarter of a century Mr. Sinha occupied a prominent position at the Calcutta bar, having a very extensive and lucrative practice. In 1909 he was appointed the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In accepting that office he was reported to have sacrificed a practice which yielded to him an annual income of about 200,000.

His position as the only Indian member of the Governor-General's Executive Council did not, however, prove to be a bed of roses. The revolutionary movement was spreading fast, and though he was prepared to give his support to all reasonable measures of prevention and punishment, he was not willing to subscribe to a general policy of repression and suppression such as was favoured by his colleagues. After a year of service he resigned his office and returned to his practice at the bar.

This step made such a fine impression on his educated countrymen that in December, 1915, he was asked to preside over the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay. The speech he delivered on that occasion, though not so strong as the bulk of Indian Nationalists would have liked, was on the whole dignified and constructive. Replying to the insinuation that England's withdrawal from India would bring about

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a condition of general anarchy and chaos in that country, Mr. Sinha said :

"England has ruled this country (India) for considerably over one hundred and fifty years now, and surely it cannot be a matter of pride to her at the end of this period that the withdrawal of her rule would mean chaos and anarchy and would leave the country an easy prey to any foreign adventure. . . . I can conceive of no more scathing indictment of the results of British Rule. A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice and righteousness, but I am much mistaken if the British nation fighting now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty will consider it as other than discreditable to itself that after nearly two centuries of British rule, India has been brought to-day to the same emasculated condition as that of the Britons in the beginning of the fifth century when the Roman legions left the English soil in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths, and other barbarian hordes."

Speaking of the poverty of India, he said : "Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to whether India is growing richer or poorer under British rule, there is none with regard to her extreme poverty Rich in all the resources of nature, India continues to be the poorest country in the civilised world."

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Shortly after, to the surprise of everybody, Mr. Sinha again accepted office, as a member of the Executive Council of Bengal, a position inferior to the one which he had previously resigned. What moved him to take action is not known, but since that time he had been closely connected with the Government, and has evidently played an important part in the development of the new policy which has found expression in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for the re-organisation of the Government of India.

At the time of inaugurating his Indian Reform Scheme in 1909, Lord Morley laid down the policy of rallying the Moderates among the Indian politicians. But he did little to put it into practice, perhaps because he was opposed by the vested interests of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. The War, however, brought a change. In 1917 it was decided to give representation to India in the Imperial Conference. Sir S. P. Sinha was one of the three representatives selected, the other two being His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, a ruling chief, and Sir James Meston, a Lieutenant-Governor. In the Imperial Conference, Mr. Sinha's reasonable and moderate attitude, his high intelligence and dignified deportment won for him the estimation and respect of all his colleagues from the overseas Dominions. Later on, as one of India's

representatives, he was allowed to participate in the deliberations of the Imperial War Cabinet.

In 1918 that honor was repeated. In the course of an interview granted at that time (September 13, 1918) to the Overseas Press, Mr. Sinha was reported as saying:

"It was not the constitution alone that was wanted for India, but contentment and prosperity."

India had not been prosperous for a long time past and was not prosperous now. It was true that the jute mills in Bengal were making huge profits but the peasantry were little if any better off. The ownership of the mills was exclusively British—he might also say, exclusively Scottish—and that was where the profits probably went. They certainly did not go to the ryots who had to pay war prices for food, salt, cloth, and other necessities, but did not receive correspondingly increased payments to meet those higher charges. India had been the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for the rest of the Empire. She desired and demanded a place in the Empire worthy of her glorious past, of her present resources, and of the part she had been privileged to bear in this War. With a peaceful people, fertile soil, and unlimited reserve in men and material, there was no reason why India should not be as prosperous as any other part of the Empire. They looked to the rest of the Empire and particularly to England to find the remedy.

Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things. It was essentially necessary to take steps with regard to the constitution as a means of bringing about contentment and prosperity. What was wanted was democratic Government, and there was no reason why it should not work equally as well in India as in any other country. The object of the War was that every people should have the same chance and right of self-development.

On the cessation of hostilities between the Entente and the Central Empires, in November last, Mr. Sinha was for the third time called to England to attend the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and to help in the settlement of peace questions. Now he has been appointed the first Indian Under-Secretary. This position is not one of Cabinet rank, and as Mr. Sinha is not a member of the House of Commons, a peerage has been conferred on him to enable him to sit and represent the India office in the House of Lords.

Nation—April 1919

A Call to Young India

One of the biggest evils of an alien rule is the tendency for dependence that it creates in the subject people, which naturally leads to divisions and differences over the distribution of crumbs, which fall from the master's table. When Lord Morley introduced his reforms in 1909 he planned to crush the advanced nationalists by taking the moderates under his wings. He gave a few posts to the latter, and gave a few others the opportunity of prefixing "honorable" to their names. Now Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are playing the same game. Be it said to their credit, however, that they are doing it in a more masterly way than Lord Morley ever did. Morley was lacking in courage. Having been a theorist all his life he knew how to write, but had not the courage to put his principles into practice. Master of words, he was not quite a success as a doer of deeds. His statesmanship, if one may call it such, was devoid of faith as well as of imagination. Montagu, however, is, in certain respects, rising to the heights of statesmanship. But even then he has to go slow and haltingly. He cannot defy vested interests, nor ignore the Junker element in Parliament and the country. Yet, in twelve months he has done more in the way

of rallying the moderates than Morley did in five years. He has been giving appointment after appointment to the moderates and has completely won them over to his side. Perhaps the war created the occasion. Besides, he has the support of the Viceroy as well as the advantage of the world changes in his favour. Yet, making due allowance for these, one cannot but put him above Morley in his attempt to effect far-reaching reforms in the administration of India. This, however, is only by the way.

We had started by commencing on the fight for crumbs, which is the natural result of an alien rule. We find it fully illustrated in the present political struggle that is proceeding in India. In Lord Morley's time the Indian Nationalists were divided into two classes, the so-called Moderates and the so-called Extremist. Now it is said that there are four—Moderates and Ultra-Moderates, Extremists and Ultra-Extremists. We have been carefully studying the pronouncements of all and anxiously watching the developments. The splits and differences and recrimination do not frighten us. In fact, they add to our spirits. Heat indicates life. Friction is not "always" bad. Peace at any price is not always good. "Life is the real thing and not peace and quiet." We have been taught to love peace and quiet more than life, and that has brought about our downfall. The differences in the Nation-

alist camp indicate active thought, active life and struggle. We are happy over this indication. But we have to guard against their not being turned to destructive ends.

What makes us feel sorry is that so much feeling should be injected into matters which ought to be discussed on broad lines. We are more angry with the Moderates for the simple reason that they make such exaggerated claims for patience, experience, sobriety, statesmanship, past services and sacrifices, and yet are the loudest in denunciation and in shedding tears. We have many friends among them whom we revere and love and for whom we have the highest respect. We have absolutely no doubt of their sincerity, honesty and patriotism, but we cannot concede that they have the monopoly of these, or even of wisdom and sagacity. What perplexes us even more is that we cannot see any very radical differences between the respective political aspirations of the various parties. Of course, differences there are, but are they so material as to justify all the heat and passion that is being introduced into the discussion over the Reform Scheme? Do they deserve all the froth and foam that is being generated on both sides? Why have the Moderates seceded from the Congress? Why could they not stay in a minority, even for a year? This so-called Extremists have been in minority for years.

Reverting to the Reform Scheme, we notice a substantial agreement that the Government Scheme is not satisfactory, and that it lacks essentials. All parties contend that it concedes practically no power to the people in the Central Government, and in that respect is very defective. All insist that it must be modified on certain definite lines, giving almost the same power to the elected representatives of the people in the Central Government as is conceded in the provincial Governments. The quarrel is mainly over words and details. One party calls the scheme "unsatisfactory and disappointing." The Moderates object to the use of these words. They do not want a definite period being fixed for the grant of full Home Rule, while the other factor demands it. One party is satisfied with the scheme for the Provincial Governments, the other party demands full autonomy in all the provinces. Moderate legislators, in Bengal and Bombay and the United Provinces have in their official capacities, demanded full autonomy for their respective provinces. The so-called Extremists demand it for all.

The Moderates are afraid lest too much criticism of the scheme might endanger it altogether. The opposition in England has unbalanced them. They forget that what is conceded is not being given as a matter of favour but "because it is impossible to govern India on old lines and because it is a neces-

sity of the times," imposed by the progress of the world and the rapid strides that have taken place in the ideas of men and women about the functions of governments. They are still quoting the old, timeworn maxims about representative government and political democracy. They have not yet awakened to the consciousness that the old political masters are intellectually effete and dead. Their theories have been suppressed by newer ones which are holding the mind of the world in their grip. The world no longer swears by the words of Mill, Morley, Burke and Bryce or others of the old Liberal School. They are interesting land marks on the highway of human thought, but no more the dispensers of light and the givers of hope. The world has advanced beyond the points covered by their geniuses.

"The Montagu scheme cannot fail, because it is a necessity of the times." But even if it does fail, its failure will be no calamity. Its failure will leave two alternative courses open to the masters of India; either to introduce a better and more democratic scheme or to start an active policy of extended repression and suppression. We are not at all afraid of the latter, as there is nothing which gives vigor to a movement for liberty, as repression and suppression. Liberty delayed takes its vengeance on those who delay it. See Russia, Germany and Turkey. The British are too wise to indulge

in that. They will concede as well as repress. There is very little danger, then, of Mr. Montagu's scheme failing altogether. It is a policy of reform and repression. The Extremists again are childish in demanding a time-limit for the grant of full Home Rule, forgetting that the authority which fixes the time can cancel it later on. We shall get it when we deserve it.

Both parties forget that it is not in the nature of Governments to concede more than is absolutely necessary to be conceded in the interest of their own safety. In fact, Governments give the appearance of concession to what has really been won by the people. Judged in this light, the political leaders of India are fighting over crumbs. To us, sitting at a distance, they seem to be devoid of vision and lacking in firmness of principle. They are afraid of ghosts and what frightens them is not the strength of the Government but their own weakness. They have no faith in themselves. Some of them have been armchair politicians, writing mostly for profit and gain, occasionally giving a tiny fraction of their income in subscriptions; or practising law and making millions out of the wretched pittances which the vast bulk of their countrymen make, to remove their hunger. They have always felt for the masses and have expressed their feelings in touching, sincere language, but they have done precious little to share what they possess or have

possessed with the masses. Between them and the masses there is a gulf which they have never tried to bridge. They live in palaces while the masses have not even huts to live in. Most of them are Sirs or Rai Bahadurs, or Khan Bahadurs. They are proud of these titles. Their champions in the Press always give a string of "Sirs" in support of their political views. Too much authority, blind authority, mere authority, whether that of the Prince or the priest, of the Raja or the Nabob, of the oligarch or the official, of the wealthy and the prosperous is the bane of Indian life; yet these stalwarts of reform always take shelter behind big names. Their chief argument is to be found in Who's Who, and if the people who are with them are so many Sirs so many Honorables, so many Rajas and Nabobs, their argument is conclusive. They are mortally afraid of saying or doing things which may offend the Government officials. Even in the selection of their officers in the nominating of their leaders, they do not look to fitness and courage, but seek out the men who are more likely to be acceptable to the authorities. In their management of the Indian National Congress, they have never hesitated to resort to caucus methods, to underhand intrigues,* to canvassing, to filling meetings with their adherents, and so on.

* As an illustration of their methods we may refer to the Congresses of 1906, 1907, 1914.

They are well conversant with the so-called election methods of the Western democracies. Yet they get angry when the same methods are used by their rivals. Now that the Congress has fallen into the hands of the other party, they are calling to the Heavens to witness the calamity. They have wrecked the Congress, says the "Leader." The Congress was "wrecked" the minute the Moderates left it. The Delhi Session has only registered a "fait accompli." Their opponents they run down as "youngsters," "demagogues," "inexperienced," "rash," "firebrands," and so on. The people they call "mobocracy." Anything disagreeable to them is immoral. Anything distasteful to them is crass stupidity. All the epithets which their erstwhile enemies and their present admirers in the Anglo-Indian press once used against them they are employing against such of their countrymen as do not follow their lead and will not recognize their authority. In a minority, they desire to rule the majority, even more autocratically than they did when they had a majority.

The Moderate papers are making great fuss over the fact of some of the old and the most respected leaders being on their side. Time after time they recall the names of—filling columns with stories of their sacrifices. We have nothing but respect for these gentlemen, and admiration for their services. Nor do we deny that whatever they

say should be heard with respect and attention. They are among the makers and moulders of Modern India and the country owes them gratitude. But if, after giving them a full and respectful bearing the country thinks differently, it is fully entitled to disregard their advice and go its own way.

A leader is one whose leadership satisfies and is effective, one who is always ahead of those whom* he seeks to lead, who is fearless and courageous and, above all whose disinterestedness is above suspicion. He remains a leader so long as he maintains these qualities. "Once a leader is not always a leader. Leadership in a progressive community change with the times and circumstances." It does not depend on age or learning; * nor on titles and diplomas. Sometimes it is the duty of a leader to restrain, to check, and to warn, but the task becomes impossible if he allows his own thought to fall behind that of his erstwhile followers. In that case his warnings go unheeded and his attempt to restrain assumes the appearance of tyranny and leads to his fall. A leader who puts his own past services and sacrifices in the forefront of his arguments for a particular course of action puts himself in an awkward and somewhat ridiculous position, especially when his

* * Read the history of the various democratic movements in Europe and America. Read the biographies of Farnell and Redmond, Bryan and Roosevelt, Kropotkin and Madame Brashkovskaya.

followers find that, comparing his present and with the opinions expressed by him in the immediate past, he seems to have gone back on his own utterances, and for reasons not convincing. Then again a leader who begins to boast of his past services and sacrifices invites invidious comparison and odious criticism. Judged by the standard of sacrifices, tribulation and sufferings in the cause of the country, the Moderate leaders must appear very poor as compared with those who are leading the Extremists. Is there one man in the whole Moderate party whose sacrifices and sufferings amount to anything at all as compared with those of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, or Arambinda Ghose? With the loss of the Pandit Malaviya the Moderate camp has lost the last man whose sacrifices could be put to the test of critical analysis, excepting, of course, the Servants of India. The others with their palatial homes, with large bank accounts, with titles before and after their names, with big estates and mills to make their own lives comfortable, and the lives of their children secure and snug can hardly talk of sacrifices. Why, the very positions they occupy to-day they owe to their patriotism. It is ridiculous then, to claim an acceptance of their views on these grounds.

A few years ago the leading organs of the Moderate Party used to say that if anything, or any Indian, appeared to be good and acceptable

to the "Pioneer," that thing and that Indian should be shunned, or at least looked upon with suspicion. They have lived, however, to see their goodselves admired and praised and eulogized not only by "Pioneer," but even by the "London Times," the "Englishman," and the "Civil and Military Gazette." We remember the days when some of these Moderate leaders used to praise the once Sir George Clarke (now Lord Sydenham) to the skies. One of them once wrote that when Sir George speaks the whole country listens with stretched ears and bent heads. (We are not quoting the exact words.) Think of the change that has come in their attitude toward the then Sir George Clarke, the present Lord Sydenham. The truth is that all of us are liable to make mistakes. The Moderate leaders have been guilty of blunders in the past, their prudence, foresight, statesmanship and sobriety notwithstanding. Their blunders have been of both kinds, of commission as well as of omission. They have let opportunities for action and advance slip by for lack of courage and want of pluck, by too much prudence and too much expediency, by too much regard for personal safety, and personal welfare, by want of foresight and forethought, by ignorance of world conditions and world currents. All of us are more or less affected by self-interest. Who among us can boast of being absolutely selfless? It is no calumny, therefore, to

say that even Moderate leaders are and have been affected by personal considerations. There are few among men and women of all countries who are prepared to suffer for their convictions. Most of us are consciously or unconsciously affected in our opinions and judgments by personal, or family, or clannish, or party interests. In India certainly the number of such persons as are prepared to stand by their convictions even in the face of sufferings and death is very limited. If it were not so the Indians would not be where they are now. It is, in our judgment, extremely foolish, therefore, for any one to claim the acceptance of any views because they are held by Sir So and So or Honorable So and So. On the other hand, it is equally foolish to base any argument on false analogies or to indulge in catch words. Facts are facts and they must be faced.

We yield to none in our desire to see our country free, absolutely free. But our conception of freedom perhaps differs from that of both the Moderates and the Extremists. The Moderates want colonial self-government by steps, and so do the Extremists. They differ on steps. Both are prepared to agree to the overwhelming preponderance of power which the holders of property, the possessors of special privileges would maintain in their respective schemes over those that have nothing but their bodies and souls. Special repre-

sentation is being claimed for the landlord, the big merchant, the capitalist, the aristocrat as well as for the Mussalman, for the Sikh, for the native Christian, for the domiciled European. These claims are almost all backed up by the Moderate leaders. There are few among them (all honour to those who are) who can freely vote in a way that will displease the big Zemindar, the Taluqdar, and the millowner. The greatest democratic leader of Bengal is always anxious to keep on the side of the big property holders. He is very happy when they call him the Tribune of the people. His clarion voice gives utterance to beautiful phrases and thoughts framed in inspiring language, but when the time for lofty action comes he is always on the side of property, and privilege, and power. He has his prototypes in other provinces also. The truth is that the Nationalist leaders are and have been laying too much emphasis on expediency and prudence and what they call tact. They have read Morley's book on compromise and they quote it in season and out of season. Their political thought is old-fashioned and sterile. Everything is bound to become sterile which is hedged round by considerations of excessive prudence and expediency so as to bury the element of truth and nobility in it deep down under the debris of policy. We do not favour being rash nor do we want to be dogmatic, imprudent, or careless. A certain amount of prudence and

expediency and compromise are necessary in human affairs. One cannot always act on a truth the moment one begins to see it. But those who do and can so act deserve all honour. In the long run it is they who win. Nothing is so inspiring, so magnetic, so forceful in changing public opinion, and in transforming national character as readiness to suffer for truth, for principle, for right, for justice and for the cause. The moral effect of one such life on the development of a nation is equal to or perhaps exceeds that of one hundred well balanced, sober, prudent, calculating, compromising Moderates. Moderation is good so long as it does not become stale and sterile. Moderation in conduct is good so long as it is accompanied by an avowal of the truth. But immoderate, moderation or moderation run mad is as dangerous to national development and national welfare as avowed overboard extremism. We think the golden mean is reached when people are absolutely frank and truthful in thought and opinion, and in the expression of thought and opinion, but moderate in the application or enforcement of that truth for an orderly progress of humanity. Detestable is demagoguery, for the sake of damagogy, imprudence of speech and rashness of deed, to court martyrdom or even applause. There is nothing meaner far more despicable than that. There are some people for whom applause is the breath of life; whose private life is full of meanness.

Littleness, jealousy, greed-selfishness and an overwhelming hankering for popularity, but who thunder forth in imitation of Moses, Christ, Buddha and Govind Singh when they are on the platform. India in transition has both kinds of leaders. Every nation has. Even free nations like England, France, the United States and Japan have plenty of them. Our case becomes more palpable and attracts more attention because we are a subject people and, as such, every one has the presumption to lecture us and to hold up our faults for public exhibition in order to perpetuate or prolong their power over us. Let us not be down-hearted. It is a necessary phase through which we are passing. We are neither saints nor devils—only human beings subject to all the laws of change and growth.

Our patriotism is sometimes as trained as that of leaders in free countries. Really speaking, there are no free peoples in the world. The democracies of the United States, Great Britain and France are only democracies in name. The men in power, those who possess property, enjoy privileges, are as tyrannical towards their own common people as they are towards us. Only they fear the former more than they fear us. They never do things for the sake of justice and fair-play. They do things when they are afraid of the consequences of not doing them. So long as they are safe or believe their are safe, they oppress their own people and they

own countrymen almost as much as they do us. They exploit them mercilessly : they make them draw water and hew wood for them. No one need place much faith on their liberal or democratic professions. There are very few who are really liberal, who have the courage of their convictions, who act as they feel. Morleys and Bryces only differ in degree from Curzons and Milners. Do not pin your faith in any of them. At heart the Liberals and Conservatives are the same. The Liberals have killed Liberalism in Great Britain by their hypocritical, time serving Imperialism and Capitalism.

The people from whom Young India should draw inspiration are those who live or have lived by the sweat of their brow, who are or have been producers, who know or have known what property and ignorance and lack of opportunity and subservience to others mean. Even among them there are more talkers and writers who are professionals, who have big bank accounts and who have amassed wealth by saying good things and playing on the imagination and fancy of the common people. Even they are not the real people who should inspire us in our struggle. Young India should stand by Keir Hardies, Lansburys and Smillies.

To our extremist countrymen we beg to submit that in our judgment there is great force in the

statement that complete independence will not be to our advantage. As for full home-rule, so long as the masses do not show almost incontestably that they are with us, it is not likely to be granted, not because of the reasons that our national enemies advance, not for lack of intelligence or character; not because we are divided by cleavages of religion, race, language and culture; not because we have huge illiteracy; not even because we are too poor, but for different reasons. We are poor because others do not let us use what we have. Our illiteracy is no disgrace. Even in our illiteracy we are more sober, more thoughtful, more considerate than the literate millions of America and Europe. We are not lacking in character because we have more of self-control, more of plain honesty, more of simplicity, less of greed, and less of the desire to kill others than the Europeans and Americans have. Neither are the cleavages of religion, race and language any bar to Home Rule in India. They are to be found in other countries which are free. What we lack is firmness to stand by our rights, vigour and determination to resist oppression, tyranny and wrongdoing whether practised by our own countrymen or by foreigners; readiness to suffer for the cause and the country; willingness to stand by what is right and truthful even if we lose the whole world by such a stand. But the chief reason is that we have no power to enforce our demand for Home Rule.

The military argument, the argument of the "silver bullets," the argument of industrial strikes and Labour Unions are all lacking. So long as they are lacking, however much we may foam and fret we shall never get Home Rule.

We are neither Moderate nor Extremist, nor even "revolutionary", in the ordinary sense of the word. In our judgment both the Moderates and the Extremists have so far failed to give the right lead.

The Moderates have taught us ultra-moderate prudence, expediency, over-cautiousness, dread of democracy and an undue respect for authority. Yet the Moderates produced great souls like Gokhale and Malaviya.

Nor have the Extremists been free from the vices of demagogy, conceit and swelling of the head. They have produced great souls, like Arabinda and Tilak, to speak only of the Hindus. The Mussalmans have produced some really good men like the Ali brothers, Jinnah, Hasan Imam and Rasul.

The man, however, who is after our own heart, though we do not always agree with him in politics, is Gandhi.

The Revolutionaries have shown great courage and spirit of sacrifice but they have also taught us lying and deception, doubledealing and duplicity, beside assassination, robbery and dacoity. It is

hopeless to expect a country to be great by any of these methods.

What the country needs is a band of leaders pledged to absolute truthfulness, frankness, openness and, above all, fearlessness and simplicity. We want leaders who will live like the common people eating the food of the common people dressing as the common people, sometimes working with their hands for their living and sharing with the common people their thoughts, their anxieties and their troubles. We want leaders who will not make false or equivocal defence whenever the authorities chose to prosecute them. We want leaders who will not be afraid to attack and criticise the men of property, power and privilege among their countrymen as fearlessly and mercilessly as they do the foreign exploiter, who will realize and preach that what they want is real democracy, genuine democracy, and not the mere substitution of the rule of their own men of property and privilege in place of the foreign Imperialist and Capitalists. We do not mind if the real thing comes a little late. What we want is genuine gold and not counterfeit coin. We do not want to give our time and energy and life for the benefit of the native exploiter, be he prince or priest. We want to preach the gospel of social democracy.

Now we do not want to be misunderstood. We know that we cannot fly the flag of Socialism.

We do not understand Socialism. We have never studied it. We do not go by dogmas and doctrines. We know this much—that the present constitution of society is wrong and unjust. It is cruel and barbaric—even more barbaric than it ever was in primitive time, before the dawn of civilization. Civilization has brought misery and hunger, death and disease to the masses of mankind. We do not want to go back to the primitive age. We cannot go back, even if we would. We want an era of equal opportunity and equal justice to all. In our judgment it is the first duty of every government to see:—

(1) That not a single member of the body politic suffers from lack of clean and nourishing food, from want of sanitary housing and decent clothing.

(2) That every child of a mother, whether it be of lawful or unlawful origin (every child is of lawful origin, in so far as he is the product of natural impulses and absolutely natural forces) shall get not only good food and good clothing, but ample opportunities for education and development on its own lines.

(3) That every adult must contribute to the sum total of a nation's living. That every adult must engage himself or herself, in some productive or creative work, whether physical or intellectual.

(4) That every member of society gets suffi-

cient leisure to devote himself to the cultivation of the finer side of himself.

(5) That no one kills another unless in self-defence or in defence of society.

(6) That every one has, according to the need of himself and his family, free access to land, air, water and other natural and artificial products, necessary to make a decent living and lead a decent life.

(7) That no one uses another against his or her will, by force or threat.

(8) That every one has an equal political status except when by common consent and for common purposes he or she is invested with a higher status for a temporary period.

(9) That every one is entitled to select his or her own habit and membership in local group, into which he or she likes to gain admittance, provided he or she does not thereby infringe on the liberties or rights of others.

(10) That men and women are treated alike with rights and obligations differentiated only by their physical constitutions.

Subject to these principles, if any member of a social group makes more wealth or comes into possession of it by the sweat of his brow he is welcome to have it and enjoy it if thereby he inflicts no wrong on others, jointly or severally.

These are our principles and we want a body of sincere men to preach them in India.

In our judgment the era of political revolutions is over. It is shortsighted to try to bring about revolutions by assassinations, murders, terrorism or dacoity, only to find that we have substituted one class of masters for another. What we need is none of these methods.

We want a body of Indian politicians to agitate and press the claim that every tiller of the soil gets sufficient land or such tenure as will enable him to earn a decent and comfortable living. The Government has no right to tax a man whose income is not sufficient for the elemental needs of himself and those who are dependent on him. Nor has the landlord any right to squeeze all he can out of starving cultivators, regardless of the fact that what is left is sufficient for him and his family or not. Down with the foolish doctrine of demand and supply. Down with competition. We insist that the Government of India, whether manned by the British or by the Indian, so change the land laws as to secure a sufficient holding to every tiller of the soil on terms which will enable him to live a decent life.

The inauguration of new industries is very good. We want industrial development, but even there we do not want it under conditions which will deny the wage-earner a decent living wage.

We insist upon the recognition of the right of every human being to a decent living is made out of land or from industries. We maintain that a body politic which does not recognize that duty is a lawless body existing on the exploitation of human beings. All other needs of a body politic the need of security from without and from within, —the need for public works, for highly paid Government servants, for national pleasures —must be subject to this elementary duty. We want the Indian political leaders to take up that question and to hammer it. It will have its effect on all legislation. It will create a political and economic consciousness among the masses which will, in time, become irresistible. Besides it will be an acid test of the sincerity of those Britishers who say that they are in India in the interest of and for the good of the masses and who oppose Home Rule because they believe that unless the masses are politically conscious of their rights their interest can be better looked after by the British officials than by their own educated and propertied countrymen.

We are sorry to see well intentioned, apparently honest, intelligent countrymen wasting their breath, time and energy on non-essential and ignoring essentials. By so doing they distract the public mind and prevent the focussing of public attention on matters which really count.

In all humiliation and earnestness we submit these lines for their consideration and attention, though we can anticipate the reply—' Unpractical, impossible, inexpedient.' To lawyers, landlords, big capitalists, and big officials, well-paid editors, and titled gentlemen a scheme like that must always appear impractical.

But what about the "Servants of India"? Why are they wasting away their lives to bolster up capitalism? Perhaps by force of habit—and for want of anything better to do. Why are they licking the boots of the bureaucracy, why are they cringing before Sirs, Justices, and Rajas? Why, we repeat and pause for a reply.

(* A reprint of the Pamphlet issued by the India Home Rule League, 1400, Broadway, New York City :—The " Young India," 1919.)

Suggestions to Indian Leaders

As a fellow-worker in the public life of the country for the last 35 years, I beg leave to approach you with the following lines on the common needs of our common country. However we may differ in our methods of work and immediate policy, however we may differ in our opinion of the Reform Scheme, we are all agreed on fundamentals and we all desire for our country an honourable place in the nations of the world. The world to-day has been so closely knit together by means of easy transportation and communication that no nation however isolated she might have been in the past, can afford to ignore the force of public opinion in the various civilised countries of the world.

A few years ago, the affairs of India mattered precious little to the people of the United States. The world was interested in our philosophy and in our views of religion, but no one cared much about the political and economic condition under which we lived. The chief economic interest of the manufacturing countries centred in the markets they could find in our country for the supply on favourable terms and in large quantities, to them, of our raw materials. Even to-day that is their chief in-

terest. But the War and the forces let loose by the War have forced their attention to our political institutions.

In the United States to-day, the daily, the weekly, and the monthly press of the country is constantly full of references to India. Several references have of late been made to India in the Federal Legislature. Attached to this letter, you will find an extract from a speech delivered by Senator Reed in the Senate of the United States. The opinions of Senator Reed and the misconceptions underlying them are typical of a large number of the United States publicists. They are more the result of ignorance than of prejudice, or say, prejudice born of ignorance. The civilised world's ignorance about India, her culture, her history, her politics and her economics is simply colossal. People hold very peculiar views about us. Our mysticism has sometimes amused and sometimes repelled them; our poetry and philosophy have at times been praised. Beyond this, the affairs of India have had little interest for the rest of mankind.

But of late there has been a slight change. This change has been brought about by the War, as also by the active efforts of those who have by word, written and spoken, tried in their own humble way and by their own resources, to disseminate knowledge about Indian conditions. They have had to work at great risk and under great

difficulty. Placed between two fires, that of their revolutionary countrymen on one side, and of the British Imperialists and their friends on the other, they have exposed themselves to dangers of which you can have no conception. But they have done their work. They have done it out of a sense of duty to their country and because of their faith in the justice and the righteousness of their cause. It may be that they have sometimes erred, as everyone of us is liable to. But considering everything they are confident that the work done by them will bear good fruit in the course of time.

So far I have spoken of this work in a plural sense. Now I wish to speak for myself. Not for a single moment during these five years have I let myself be deluded by any hope in foreign intervention. From the moment I landed in the United States, I made it clear to all concerned, Indians and non-Indians, that I had no faith in Germany's power or friendship. I said that to my countrymen in private conferences and repeated it in the press and on the platform. Here I will cite only one piece of evidence that has been authoritatively included in a volume recently issued by the Chief of the New York Bomb Squad, Thomas J. Tunney who gives a summary of his squad's achievements during the War. This officer conducted the preliminary investigation in the German Hindu plot, which led to the arrest of the Hindu leaders of the movement.

On page 89 is published a letter originally written in code by one of the Hindu leaders in the United States to another leader in Germany or Switzerland. Speaking of his own work in Japan he remarks: "Even Lajpat Rai, *who slights our work*, quite often admits in three months more solid work done there than any other part of the world outside India in number of years."

The words italicised are particularly significant, as in a slight degree they express my mental attitude towards the work of the Indian revolutionists in America—which has been one of contempt mixed with pity. In the pamphlets and books published by me during this period as well as in newspaper articles, I have spoken quite explicitly. But I attach more importance to this remark as it occurs in a confidential and secret communication which was not meant for publication and in which the writer indulged in a heart to heart exchange of views with one of the principal leaders of the movement in Germany. The truth or otherwise of the rest of the sentence is irrelevant for the purposes of this letter.

I do not believe and have never believed that our salvation will come from outside. On principle, I am opposed to relying on foreign, political or military help. Nor do I believe that foreign criticism of British policy is likely to affect the decisions of

the British Government relating to India, to any considerable extent. I have no delusions on that score. But I do believe that a favorable opinion towards Indian aspirations in countries other than Great Britain is a valuable asset in our struggle for freedom. We cannot afford to neglect world opinion except at our peril.

I must confess with shame that so far we have not paid sufficient attention to work in this connection even in Great Britain, Ireland and the other parts of the British Empire. Whatever we have done has been done half-heartedly. We have not used the modern methods of publicity. We have not made enough sacrifice in time and money. So far as the rest of the world is concerned, we have paid no heed to what it thinks about us and of us. We have behaved as if it did not exist for us. This has harmed us considerably. The world holds us in contempt, entertains wrong and peculiar views of our history, our lives, our institutions and our aspirations. We cannot blame them for this as we have made no attempt to educate them on right lines. We have let judgment go against us in default.

We have every reason to be grateful for the works done by Vivekanand and lately by Rabindranath Tagore and also by the Theosophical Society, in creating a certain respect for us in the learned circles of the world. Be it said to the credit of the

American Theosophists that under the influence of Mrs. Besant they have for the last three or four years been quite assiduous in voicing our aspirations and in educating American public opinion about India. For this our hearty thanks are due to them and chiefly to the great woman who has inspired their activities. But, after all, this is only little, very little. During the War all of us were handicapped by causes and circumstances beyond our control. The experience of the War has given us an insight into the exigencies of the situation. Henceforth, we should do more and on a better scale. In the following paragraphs I wish to lay before you the points that deserve your attention. I earnestly beg of you to give your best thought to them, and if possible to decide to take some concerted action relating thereto before you return home. Perhaps some of you may find time to visit the United States before going back. If so I assure you that your visit will be amply repaid by a substantial addition to your knowledge of world conditions. The India Home Rule League of America extends to you all, regardless of party, a warm invitation. We will do our best to make your visit pleasant and profitable. This country is in a way the epitome of the world. Here you can come in contact with the representatives of all countries, cultures and parties, and from them you can know about condi-

tions in other countries without going to those countries. Every nationality on the face of the earth has its national organisation and its information bureau here, each of which agitates, educates and watches. Every Government has its publicity bureau which educates, guides and watches public opinion in the interests of its Government. If mighty Governments do that, well may their example be followed in an humble way by private national agencies. Now to come to the points.

1. *Information Bureaus.*

We must have permanent Indian information bureaus at least in New York, Tokio and Paris. These bureaus should be officered and staffed by Indians who have lived in these countries and know them. But in every case the head should be an Indian publicist of judgment, tact and experience. It is important that the information given by these bureaus be exact and reliable, free from exaggeration and distortion.

These information bureaus can serve as centres of trade information also. The different Swadeshi Chambers of Commerce and the publishers and merchants of India ought to be made to take interest in their maintenance. If properly managed they can be made useful in enabling our export and import merchants to trade direct with foreign countries and thus save for themselves the

profits which at present the foreign manned commission agencies make. I am confident that if wisely managed and economically conducted, these bureaus will, in the course of time, pay their own way.

2. *Publicity Bureaus.*

Besides London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Canada, South Africa and Australia, we should have publicity bureaus in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokio, Shanghai and Paris. These bureaus should represent our political and economic aspirations. They should be organised on an educational basis. It should be their business to supply literature, lecturers on Indian topics, as well as to supply themes for cinema and the stage. Perhaps, the first and the second may be combined into one office, though in my judgment it will be prudent to keep the two apart. The business of the first should be to supply information. The business of the second should be propaganda. They will co-operate but both need not be one and the same.

3. *Books.*

It is absolutely necessary that more Indians should write books on Indian topics for the use of the other peoples of the world. These books should be published in Europe and America in different European languages. If printed in India and meant for foreign circulation they should be well printed

and on good paper. Active efforts should be made to interest the peoples of the other countries in our literature. Steps should be taken to place our periodical literature on the shelves of the big libraries of the world and to make them easily accessible to those who want to buy them. I have received of late several requests for such information, and have replied to more than one inquiry. I have recommended the *Modern Review*, the *Indian Review*, the *Hindusthan Review*, the *Leader*, *New India*, the *Tribune*, the *Times of India*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Bengalee*, *Hindu* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. I mention these names as typical of the spirit in which I wish this work to be carried on.

4. News-Agencies.

A purely Indian news-service between India and the principal civilised countries of the world is an absolute necessity which requires the immediate attention of the Indian leaders of thought and commerce. By news-service I mean telegraphic as well as otherwise.

I am strongly of the opinion that the time has come for our newspapers and journals to take concerted action to have their own correspondents in the different important centres of the world. It is even more necessary that they should depute special correspondents and investigators to study the problems of other countries,

particularly in their bearing on India and make their reports for the information of the Indian public. How long is the Indian public to be fed on the stories of other countries' affairs supplied by Anglo-Indians? There are certain things which can only be studied on the spot and which cannot be learnt by a perusal of the press of a country.

5. Exchange professors.

Steps should be taken to induce some foreign universities, especially American, to exchange teachers and professors with India, such as they do with Japan, and used to do before the War with Germany.

A word to my Muslim countrymen. Nothing has pained me so much during the course of my travels as the dense ignorance and prejudice that prevails in the United States about Islam and Islamic countries in the United States. You come across friends of China, Japan and India but during my 'five years' travels I have never come across a single person who spoke well of Islam and Islamic communities. With a Muslim friend, I once had the misfortune of attending a debate on the future of the Turkish Empire. The case for the Turks was stated by a Turk. But those who replied to him showed such gross ignorance and undisguised enmity and bias that it was difficult for me to listen to all that was said with equanimity. The spokes-

man for the Turks handled the situation badly and aroused a volume of prejudice against himself. The Turks have a horrible reputation and it required a great deal of tact, judgment and skill to put the case for the Mussalman communities in a way so as to excite the sympathy of the audience. In the end, at my suggestion, my companion spoke and did a little to soften the prejudice. But, after all, his was a solitary voice.

The Moslem leaders of India owe a duty to their faith, to their fellow-religionists, to themselves, to have a few competent spokesmen in all the important countries of the world. This is a duty which needs their immediate attention. It is the duty of all Indians, regardless of creed, to vindicate the good name of Islam and to claim the same justice and fairplay for Islamic communities as is being demanded for the peoples of other faiths, whenever they can do so with effect. But it goes without saying that the Moslems themselves have a responsibility which brooks no delay and no shirking. If they neglect it they will do so only at their peril.

There are other matters on which I would like to address the Indian leaders, but I am afraid this letter has already exceeded its intended size and moreover it contains all the essential points which I would bring to your notice. Whatever our differences at home, I feel that we must sink them to do

the work of educating world opinion about our country and our aspirations by concerted, judicious and effective methods. We cannot let ourselves be represented by the militant revolutionaries on the one hand and by the reactionary Imperialists on the other. I should like you to forget the personality of the writer of this letter and to consider his suggestions on their merits with due respect.

New York City, July 25, 1919.

Message to the Punjabees

DEAR FRIENDS:

How can I tell you what I feel at the present moment about the situation in the Punjab? My heart is full though my tongue is dumb. I wish I had wings to fly and reach the dear land I love above everything else. I have tried my very best to be with you but I have failed. I do not wish to be a martyr but I long to be of use to you in your troubles. The most that I can do is to advise you in the light of the knowledge that I have and the experience that I have gathered. Listen, weigh, decide and determine.

My heart is bitter, my soul is sore, I am filled with anger at the doings of the bureaucracy but even more so at the conduct and behaviour of my own countrymen. It is the latter whom I hold responsible for all the sufferings and the shame that you have been afflicted with. All honour to the leaders who stood by you and have suffered. They are not responsible for the excesses of the mob. The responsibility of the latter's deeds lies on the heads of those who have kept aloof, who always keep aloof where there is risk to be run, who provoke others to do deeds of violence but themselves keep behind the *purdah*, who are patriots when the sun

shines but cynics when there is an occasion to act. I can write pages and pages in their "honour" but I will not do so. If there ever was a time when there was need for restraint it is the present. I will therefore restrain myself and come to the point direct.

The first thing that I ask of you is to stand by the leaders who have suffered for you, regardless of caste, creed and party—Harikishan Lal, Duni Chand, Ram Bhaj Dutt, Satya Pal, Kichlu, Amar Nath, Mohan Lal, Mangal Sen, Labh Singh, Sarb Dyal, Mutiullah, Krishna and others whose names I do not at present know. You know that I have differed from them in the past, differed seriously about their policy, their work and their behaviour. But at the present time the only thing that I wish to remember is that they are the victims of the reactionary policy of the Punjab government: that their crime is patriotism. As such they are all dear to me and I pay to them the homage that is due to suffering and bleeding patriotism. I have forgotten all their personal weaknesses and faults. At the present moment the only thing that matters is their suffering. Henceforth I shall worship them. I do not wish to make any invidious distinction but there is one person among this group of whom I must speak separately—my dear friend Duni Chand. Where in the land of the five rivers is there a person nobler, truer, purer and bolder than

Duni Chand? Having neither wealth nor excessive talents, nor an extended practice at his back the man has fought single-handed for high principles and noble practices, for the rights of the poor against the rich, for pure democracy, against great odds. I have had the privilege of working with him in the Municipal Committee, in the Indian Association, and in the Congress and I can truthfully say that I never came across a more disinterested and high-minded public man than Duni Chand. To his children and to his wife my heart goes forth in full sympathy.

Young Punjabees, I wish you to stand by your suffering leaders, bravely, nobly and in pure spirit. In the past we have not always done that, and hence our misfortunes and troubles. Let me assure you that the source of mischief lies in our own chicken heartedness, in our timidity, in our selfishness and egotism, in our constancy and disloyalty to our friends and not in anything that our leaders have done: said. The Punjabees are generous people, they are brave, and noble-hearted but somewhat lacking in loyalty of love and comradeship. In the past we have often deserted our comrades and mingled our voice of denunciation, disapproval, and approbation with the voices of our enemies. Our enemies are very clever, astute, cunning, diplomatic and powerful. They know how to inoculate innocent

and inexperienced minds with the poison of distrust and suspicion; they know how to play on the instincts of self-preservation, self-interest and egotism; they know how to appeal to the desire of gain and safety inherent in every human being; they know how to divide and split. We have in the past played in their hands too much. Shall we not learn from bitter experience and avoid the mistakes of the past? We have amongst us many a person who speaks into your confidence, only to betray you, who beguiles you with offers of help and intercession, who appeals to you in the name of prudence and patriotism. Take note of these persons and keep clear of them. Then we have amongst us many a person truly noble and patriotic, *wedded to institutions*. Remember that institutions are only means to ends. They are for us and not we for them. A people morally high, alive to a sense of responsibility, self-sacrificing and ready to suffer for principle and for causes can raise institutions but a people morally degraded, dead to a sense of honour, devoid of a spirit of comradeship, of constancy and loyalty to friends and co-workers, always ready to compromise and temporize, ready to change their principles in every emergency cannot in the long run save institutions. Institutions cannot instil life, cannot be a source of inspiration, unless led by men of life and spirit. Stick to your institutions, keep them, save them, stand by them, in every way you can, but

never let your higher natures be drowned in the sea of anxiety to save them at the cost of everything else. Remember we are in a stage of transition. Actual success in figures whether in the field of social organization, in that of education or even in that of politics, does not matter so much as the spirit by which the nation is permeated and inspired. We were once the wealthiest people on earth, most learned, best educated, but the moment we became dispirited we lost everything. Do not then let yourself be deceived by figures and numbers. Do not let your *morale* and your *spirit* suffer for the sake of institutions and numbers and figures. Let your spirit stand high and undefiled and uncorrupted though lonely.

Pardon me for this sermon. In my judgment this was necessary. I am told that the Punjab is dead and demoralized. All public life has ceased to function and everybody is afraid. Lawyers have refused to defend "political offenders" and newspapers have ceased publication. Friendship, love, sympathy, comradeship and fellow-feeling have all disappeared. Every one is for himself and the devil for the rest. I can picture the conditions. I saw something of that kind in 1907 and then in 1910. But this time the blow has been the hardest and consequently the knock-out most complete. Our enemies are rejoicing and jubilant, our "friends" silent, and cynically apportioning blame on this or

that. Some find fault with Gandhi, others with others.

Young Punjabees, I appeal to you with all the earnestness which I can command, to throw off this demoralization, this spirit of fault-finding, this lowness of *morale*, this cynicism and this worship of self. Stand by your transported and imprisoned leaders, enshrine the names and qualities of those that have died or have to die; give them all the sympathy and help you can; honour and revere them. Your sympathy and appreciation strengthen their soul and help them in bearing their misfortunes but above all be up and doing. Re-build your public life, start your newspapers, revive your political associations, and educate and organize your people. I do not want you to do that in a spirit of revenge or hatred. Do not let your system be poisoned by hate. Avoid and eschew all kinds of violence—of intention, speech or deed. *We are neither fit nor ripe for a militant revolutionary struggle.* We want a revolution, but not of force or violence. *We want a change of heart and a transformation of brains.* What we need is not violence but *firmness*, not vacillation but *determination*, not expediency and time-serving but *principles and a resolution to stand by them*, come what may. Do not worry about your rich men. Let them do as they please. *Organize the middle class, the peasants and the workers.* Do not talk to them o

hatred and revenge, nor of force and violence, but of co-operation and consolidation, of their rights and their duties, of the necessity of organization and education, of the duty of taking a broader view of things and developing a comprehensive outlook, of the necessity of sacrificing the individual for the community and the community for the nation. Let your newspapers avoid violent language, at the same time keeping clear of sycophancy, flattery and praises of the authorities that be. We want solid truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Let your Hindu Sabhas and Moslem Leagues take care of themselves. *They are to a great extent responsible for all your troubles.* Avoid all such organizations. Their basis is false, their propaganda untrue, their example poisonous and their company demoralizing. Give up all religious, credal and communal controversies, at least for a time. Cultivate the spirit of fellowship on national, political and economic basis. Organize, educate and agitate. Form yourselves into self-denying groups. Fill your minds with sound knowledge and start newspapers and magazines, not for profit but for education.

In my judgment Mr. Gandhi is the best leader you have just now. Imbibe his spirit and follow his lead. Suffer patiently, firmly and manfully, when you have to suffer. Do not cry like children "that man did it, he told me, he misled me, he is at fault

and not I." Behave like men. Remember the Sikh Gurus who have left the most ennobling example you have in your history of suffering for principle. I am sorry I cannot help you directly, but I will do all that I can: with tongue, pen and money, even though I may not be with you in body. I will beg, borrow and steal for you. I will work for you and send you what I earn. Let it not be said of the Punjabees of the early twentieth century that they were so poor in spirit that one blow crushed them completely and demoralized them irretrievably.

ONE WITH YOU IN SORROW AND GRIEF.

New York City, August 15th, 1919.

Suffer in Pursuit of Freedom.

DEAR MAHATMAJI:

Circumstances beyond my control have prevented my taking part in the great movement that you are leading for the uplift of our common Motherland. I am, however, desirous of conveying to you my hearty admiration for your noble stand, and my unqualified appreciation of your highsouled patriotism.

During my absence from India, I have learnt and unlearnt a great deal. This is no place to make a full confession of faith. But I want to say that, although I do not fully agree with your line of thought, I am in substantial agreement with your conclusions as to what we should do. Never before have I been more convinced of the futility of attempts to bring about a forcible revolution in India. Terrorism, too, in my judgment, is not only futile but sinful. Secret propaganda and secret societies may have some justification in the Government's desire to prohibit and penalize all kinds of open work, but in the long run this ends in the demoralization of those who take part in them. I believe that no nation deserves or will win freedom which is not prepared to suffer for it.

When I say that, I mean the suffering in pursuit of freedom, and not for lack of it. In India we have plenty of the latter and not sufficient of the former. We have so far done precious little to deserve freedom and we have done still less to educate our people as to what constitutes real freedom. The sacrifices and sufferings we have so far undergone in our fight for freedom are too trivial to be crowned with success.

I am therefore in full sympathy with the general spirit of your propaganda. I may be unable to sign the full pledge of a Satyagrahi, but if and when I return to India I shall sign the "pure Swadeshi Vow."

You will be pleased to learn that most of the young Indians in this country have a deep sentiment of reverence for you. One of them, at one time a faithful follower of Hardyal, writes:—

"What we need now are the leaders of the type of Mahatma Gandhi. We do not want armed resistance. We do not want passive resistance. What we want is something super, and that is what Mahatma is advocating. I have concluded that the methods which Hardyal advocated are not wise and sane for any part of the world. We want to get a way from murder, assassination, conflagration and terrorism. The foundation in the past was laid upon bloodshed, and we have had enough of it, but now the foundation must be laid on justice and

freedom to individuals, so that the same be palpable in the future. Hardayal has, by giving these ideas degraded himself, and I am afraid it may affect some of the young men who always followed him blindly. It is our misfortune that our leaders instead of going up, are going down. The crying need of India is leaders of the type of Gandhij, staunch in their principles, which can be applied to almost every part of the world."

How I wish I had been in India to share in full the misfortunes of my countrymen. My heart bleeds for them, but more for myself in having been deprived of the opportunity to serve and suffer.

Letter to Mr. Gandhi, young India, Aug. 13, 1919.

The Greatest Need of the Country

The Indian publicists must recognise once for all that the country will not make any appreciable progress towards freedom if they must always counsel prudence and sitting on the fence. There is some risk in every enterprise. There are great risks in the enterprise of preparing a nation for the struggle for freedom. While no safeguard ought to be neglected for avoiding manifestations of lawlessness and recourse to violence, the movement for freedom must be accelerated by *personal risks and individual or group sufferings*. I am thus whole-heartedly in favour of your policy of passive resistance, and after giving my most careful consideration to what your critics have said, I have failed to find therein anything cogent to convince me to the contrary. I deplore the excesses at Amritsar, Kasur, Gujranwala and other places but judging from a distance, I am proud of the success you achieved in this first attempt at passive resistance in India. It is an achievement unique in our history, nay even in the history of the world. It has raised the political consciousness of the country by one big leap and also raised the country in the estimation of the world.

Passive resistance ought to be resorted to with great care and caution. It should not be allowed to

descend to the level of the ridiculous. But when after wise calculation it is decided to have recourse to it, everyone should be prepared for casualties. My heart bleeds for the sufferings of my countrymen of the Punjab and I am extremely sorry that certain things should have happened as they did at Amritsar, Gujranwala and Kasur, but otherwise I am proud of the success of the all-India *Hartal*. In matters like these success is not to be reckoned in rupees and annas or even in the actual attitude of the Government but in the spirit which is evoked by the undertaking. Mahatmaji, I for one, am proud of you, and of my country, even more than I ever was before.

The Congress has been trying to educate those who were already educated. The Congress leaders have looked to their rulers for the redress of their grievances, you look to the soul force of the country. It is the latter along with economic force, that will win in the end. If the salvation of the country has to depend on our English educated countrymen then it will never be achieved. Even the Government will not make any concessions unless they know that your demands are backed by the people. The people must be educated politically and they cannot be educated by the methods so far followed by the Congress leaders. Pardon me, Sir, (I have already earned a name for being tactless and indiscreet) for saying bluntly, that the old Congress leaders have always felt shy of the masses.

I have no faith in the sincerity of the Indo-British Association, nor do I believe in the propaganda started by the Dr. Nair School of Non-Brahmin politicians of the South, but are all their statements about the educated leaders having been rather cold towards the masses entirely devoid of truth? While we have felt that our own incomes, counted in hundreds and thousands and lacs, were small, we never felt *sufficiently* that the poor in India required at least tens. But for the efforts of a Digby and a Naoroji the statements of the Anglo-Indians about the prosperity of the masses might have remained unrefuted. How many of our leading publicists have even tried to understand the troubles of the masses by actual contact with them? They have made speeches, written loads of articles full of generalities and common platitudes, but how many of them can honestly say that they know of the condition of the masses by personal contact? The Servant of India, the Seva Samitis, the Volunteers in Bengal and in the Punjab have been doing a little, the leaders have given a few rupees in charity, now and then, but as to a real substantial effort to understand and realise their misery there has not been much of that. As to any of us serving to help them, why that has never entered our heads. We have been objecting to our rulers spending so much money on their annual trips to the hills. What have we been doing ourselves? The fact is that we have set up an

extravagant standard of importance to what we are pleased to call 'brain work' as against manual work. A successful lawyer making from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 5,000 a month is entitled to spend three months on the hills to take rest while a farmer or a trader or a clerk not making more than 100 or 200 or 300 or even 500 rupees a year must rot in the plains. Is really the work of a lawyer of more use to the nation than that of a farmer or a teacher or a miner? I am not saying this in a spirit of carping criticism. I have been one of them doing no better and no worse. But I am saying this because in my judgment the *spirit* of our political movement requires a *complete* change. The country will never be free, it will not deserve to be free, as long as it does not produce leaders, who will look to the people, rather than to the authorities, for inspiration, for guidance for light. Let me say in all sincerity that the people in India as elsewhere are much more honest, sincere and self-sacrificing than their so-called educated leaders. They are unlettered, unversed in the use of diplomatic lies, but even when they lie you can easily find out what is in their mind than you can in the case of the so-called educated leaders. Who among us does not lie? Some utter diplomatic lies, others unsophisticated, undiluted, bare lies. An ordinary labourer is much more honest and truthful than the greatest among the English statesmen. He

robs no one, he deceives none, he imposes on none. He works hard, and lives a life of truth. What is true of Great Britain is true of India. Let us give up camouflaging and fix our mind on the truth. What our masses need most are not sermons on the subtleties of Vedanta or Vairagya, nor lectures on Self-government, but right comradesly association, brotherly sympathy, and easy, unsophisticated, unfettered communication with their better educated and better situated countrymen. Give them that and you will sooner uplift the country, than by centuries of lectures and sermons and by yards of resolutions. Having seen some of the best parts of the world, I have come to the conclusion that the Indian masses are comparatively more intelligent, more sober, more amenable to reason than any other people similarly situated. We have to make them conscious of their great potentialities by working *with them* in a spirit of co-operation and not working *for them* in a spirit of patronage.

The greatest need of the country, as it appears to me, is the economic uplift of the masses accompanied by universal education of the right sort. If I had any influence over the Indian Press I would beg of them to carry the following captions in big capital letters over the first page of every newspaper, in every issue :

The greatest need of the Country.
Milk for babies,

Food for adults,
Education for all.

The government must supply these or let us rule ourselves. The nation must be made to realise that no one is entitled to any milk unless the babies first, the mothers, the sick and the invalid next have got it; that no one is entitled to luxuries, not even the officials, unless every man and woman in the nation has been well-fed. This is just by way of illustration.

An organisation should be started in every district to make a full and economic survey of the country as may be possible. These organisations should prepare charts of minimum average standards of food and clothing required for a wealthy and efficient life with figures and facts. We will then be in a position to give the lie to the oft-repeated statements of prosperity made by officials. Why do not these Non-Brahman organisations in the Deccan do this work? I think it is time that our political agitators instead of trading in phrases should uncover facts.

Please do not misunderstand me. I do not mean to say that mere figures will remove poverty. By no means. Figures will expose the poverty and the misery of the country as no general phrases can.

The thing to be immediately done is to organise the country for economic purposes starting with the peasants and the labourers. We must start from the bottom. The top people will take care of

themselves. I want more of economic action, not necessarily at the cost of political talk, but in addition to it and as a necessary fulcrum for it. The nation must be fed on truth and not on catchphrases.

(1) No nation which has *Imperial* ambition and the power to satisfy it can be said to have *any sense of justice* or can be admired as a *champion of freedom and democracy*. The two things are inconsistent. You may, if you like, admire the people thereof for power, strength, statesmanship or enlightened selfishness, but when you admire them for their '*sense of justice*' or for their '*love of freedom*' you say what is not true, never mind whether you do it *consciously* for the sake of expediency or *unconsciously* out of habit. In my judgment the Indian Leader, who constantly harp on the British sense of justice, and of the British love of freedom of all peoples, mislead their people and thereby cause a great deal of harm to the cause of political progress in their country. Instead of making the people realise the situation as it is, and letting them adapt themselves to it for the purposes of progress on right lines they cover the situation with a lot of camouflage and thereby do positive harm to the cause of their country. British Imperialism is as *selfish and autocratic* as any Imperialism in the history of the world ever was or could be. We may appeal to the British in the name of justice, if we

must, but we should not labour under any misapprehension that British justice is any way better than any other Imperial Justice. In the history of the British Empire 'justice' was never done to the claims of any dependency or colony, except under extreme pressure and for selfish reasons. Even in the case of South Africa it was more enlightened self-interest than pure unadulterated love of justice that led Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman to grant them Dominion status.

(2) I believe that *comparatively speaking* there is a larger percentage of true and honest Internationalists in Great Britain than in any other country in the world except perhaps in Russia and the United States. These English Internationalists do sincerely believe in *justice and liberty for all people*. But they are in a hopeless minority, and consequently their influence in British statesmanship is extremely limited.

(3) The only classes in Great Britain to whom it is any use appealing for International justice are the socialists or the laborites. The liberal party contains some very fine souls, but the bulk of them are rank Imperialists and their Imperialism is, in my judgment, more harmful to the world of dependencies than that of Tories. The Tories have little recourse to camouflage, they are brutally frank, blunt and outspoken in their aims and politics. A water and milk kind of Liberalism is a positive

danger to a nation striving for freedom. What the latter needs is the truth, so that she may know what to do. In their economic policy the Tories are more honest than the Liberals. Both are devoted Imperialists; but the Tories make no pretence of their love of democracy in the abstract. The Liberals talk a great deal of *justice and democracy and liberty*, but when the time for action comes they act even worse than the Tories.

(4) I think that the Indian leaders should tell their people the truth and nothing but the truth. The law will not perhaps allow of the whole truth being told. The people ought to know that it is foolish for them to appeal to the liberals, that the liberals will do nothing for them, and to take shelter under the hackneyed utterances of our old leaders about the British sense of justice and the British love for freedom, etc. is just deceiving themselves.

There is little justice even in Great Britain. Whenever there is a clash of interests, the ruling classes treat their poor compatriots as ruthlessly as they do in India. In England the poor classes have, by the power of vote and by organised action, economic and political, succeeded in bettering their condition. Their appeals to the sense of justice of the ruling classes are as fruitless as ours are and will be. Whatever they have gained they have won by the mere force of organised action. If the

Indians want to get their rights they have just to be conscious of their rights and organise. They will never get anything by appealing to the British sense of justice. They must use all the weapons that the governed classes in America and in Great Britain have used and are using for achieving the purpose. In these countries the bulk of the population is opposed to the use of violence or force, not on ethical grounds so much as practical. It is considered useless and demoralising to threaten violence, or to try to use force against organised government forces. If it is so in countries where everyone is free to keep and learn the use of fire arms it is even more so in India. Ethics aside, the policy of using violence or force to oust the British from India is foolish. Indian youths desirous of serving their country and of advancing the cause of freedom must learn to control their temper. I think that at times it is very difficult to do so and looks cowardly to take things lying down but then the outlet should be found in other ways. I am not in favour of taking insults, individual or national, in a spirit of meek submission, but I am strongly convinced of the futility of force for national purposes. I have nothing to add to what I have already said in my previous letter about terrorism and secret societies.

Letter to Mr. Gandhi, Young India, Nov. 13, 1919.

Modern and Ancient Ideals

MY DEAR MAHATMAJI :

Some days ago in response to your desire I sent you a rather lengthy letter, in which I developed some of my views, which had been briefly hinted at in the first letter I had written to you. Since the second letter was posted, I have been reflecting whether I had not been rather unduly critical of my educated countrymen in general, and the old leaders, in particular. Considering the education they received and the environments in which they were brought up could they have acted differently? Does not then the responsibility of their conduct lie on the system of education in vogue in India. I have expressed my views on education in a series of articles, some of which have been published in the *Modern Review*, and the others will be found in a book which will be shortly published* in England. I do not propose to repeat what I have said in those articles and in that book, but I am going to take advantage of this opportunity in giving expression to some thoughts, which have not been adequately dealt with in that series.

We have so far, I am afraid, paid too much attention to the machinery of education and only

*Since published.

little, very little to aims and ideals or even the right methods. In considering the latter, we may as well divide them into modern and ancient. Under the term modern, we include the ideas that have had the world in their grip since the advent of the Industrial Revolution. Under ancient we consider all the system of education that prevailed in the world before that.

The ancients paid much, too much attention to 'life after death' to the study of the 'scriptures', to the mastery of languages and to rituals and formulas. They professed to care more for soul than body, they tortured the latter and tried to live lives that to the moderns seem to be unnatural. In learning languages they devoted precious years to grammar, syntax and prosody and pronunciation, and what was left was mainly given to the rituals and formulas. Under that system religion was more or less identified with the latter. It depended more on form than spirit, more on dogma than character, more on beliefs than deeds. In trying to revive the ancient system we have so far failed to get rid of the superficialities. Even in reformed, religious seminaries, religion still continues to be buried in form and formulas, dogmas and creeds, books and shastras. Even when our teachers and professors and lecturers expound the Upanishads they care more for the letter of the text than for the spirit. Everyone uses them for the support of his own

creed. What we need is not a creed but Dharma. Creed does not help us, at least not much, to find our souls. Our souls we can find only by looking inward and adjusting our outward circumstances to it. No one can lead a life of Dharma unless his outward and inward beings are in harmony, unless he thinks rightly, feels rightly and acts rightly. No education which fails to help us to that end is worthy of being called religious. Religion does not consist of contemplation only, but contemplation and action. Religion cannot be taught. It is a thing which *grows*. It cannot grow in a soil which has not been cleared of the falsities of thought and life. People who have to sing songs of loyalty to order or to pass resolutions in which they do not believe, or to admire men whom they detest, or to conceal thoughts which should be expressed, make a caricature of religion when they start teaching it. No one should attempt to teach religion unless he is prepared to suffer for the whole truth. I believe that Dharma murdered or mutilated or strangled becomes very dangerous to those professing to follow it in a mutilated form. To attempt to divorce Dharma from life is a very very risky affair. Then for Dharma to justify the existing social structure on the basis of karma and upholding the prevailing ideas as to property, inheritance, marriage, law and government is perpetuating the *untruth*. The

'modern' system of education has a different kind of curse on its head. It is buried in textbooks, examinations and diplomas. It extols and holds for admiration all the prevailing ideas of property and marriage, government and law.

We have been educated and brought up under a system of life which gives property and wealth the position of God. We talk of an incorporeal, immaterial, just merciful, and allwise God, but all the time the education we receive and the impetus we get from our surroundings exhort us to believe that the real God to be worshipped, to be adored and to be sought, is gold and property. Even those who talk to us of spiritual things and want us to despise wealth show by their example that they adore and worship wealth. Some of our noblest teachers and leaders have set an admirable example by deliberate vows of poverty and by giving up the pursuit of wealth in favour of duty and Dharma. My respect for them is profound and genuine. But it pains me to see that in the practical elucidation and application of their plans they attach as much importance to wealth, property and capital as any one else does. The fact is that they cannot help it. For the successful operation of their schemes and programmes they need money. This they cannot get unless they go to those who have it. These latter then have to be flattered and propitiated. The moment a religious man does

this he degrades himself. Unconsciously he gives utterance to lies or half truths, straight or diplomatic, and lends the sanction of his approval to schemes and proceedings which are anything but honourable. He gains his immediate object, *viz.*, he gets money for his school, college, orphan asylum, club, society, library or anything of that kind, but he injects an insidious poison into the social body of his people. He praises and advertises men whose method of acquiring wealth he does not approve of, he gives them places of honour, he concedes to them the right of controlling the institution for which he gets their money and so on. He does it with the best of intentions, but what he does has the practical effect of enthroning ill-gotten wealth on the highest pedestal. He may say that it is no part of his business to trace back the sources of money that comes to his hands for good and useful purposes and that he need not go beyond its immediate use and that it is not his business to sit in judgment on those who give him wealth for admittedly fine and worthy objects. In my judgment this is pure sophistry. Our education leads us to look with approval, appreciation and respect on those who are clever though not honest and good who trample upon the rights of others to amass wealth and obtain position who use their trained intellect to get the better of those whose intellects are not trained, who make a perverted use of logic,

philosophy, law and language in order to make money and achieve positions of command and wealth. If you will examine the textbooks taught in our schools, if you will look into the souls of our teachers, if you will ascend a little higher and peep into the minds of the officers of the Educational Department, if you will look around you and examine the general atmosphere of respectability pervading society you will find everywhere and on all sides the supremacy of wealth, property and sophistry. You go through a court of justice and watch the questions and cross-questions put to witnesses and you will find that the respectability of a witness is made to depend upon his wealth and property. Even when we know that a certain wealthy person has made his pile by bribery, flattery, misappropriation, etc., we respect him and hold him up for respect because of the fact of his being wealthy. Now in this matter we are in the horns of a dilemma. We are being ruled by a nation whose God is wealth. In order to save ourselves we have (1) to dam the outgoing flood (2) to use the same methods of making money as have made them rich and (3) to adopt their philosophy of life. In order to win the respect of our rulers we have to adopt certain brands of respectability which they have introduced. Some have commended themselves to our judgment, others we follow and practise just to please them. We cannot

help doing so. In the long run there is one idea which haunts us day and night, there is only one test of right and wrong and that is the approval of our rulers. Even when we are not making a bid for their approval, we are dominated by the fear of incurring their displeasure. The springs of our conduct can be traced to (1) the desire of winning the approval and the favour of the rulers, (2) the desire of getting on well and of making money to be rich and respectable (which are practically one and the same thing), and (3) the desire of avoiding their displeasure. Anything that is left of our own nature and Dharma comes afterwards. At this stage I wish to guard against being misunderstood. I am not advocating Tyag (renunciation) or Vairag (Asceticism). I believe in producing and using wealth but I believe in producing for using (for individual and national purposes) and not for hoarding or profiteering or exploiting or domineering others. This is a subject into a discussion of which I cannot enter at this place.

So far I can see clearly but no further. How to get rid of the existing demoralisation, build up life and society on a true basis of Dharma with substantial justice, social, political and economic to all, I do not yet know. Of one thing, however, I am certain, *viz.*, that you cannot build up a society like that with competition as foundation. What we can do is to preach the gospel of co-operation to

try to put in practice as far as possible, to start to giving right ideas and organising for purposes of co-operation the poorer classes of our countrymen, the peasants and the workers. All classes of people must feel that salvation will come from within with co-operation, mutual help and mutual trust and not from without, by endless, heartless merciless and soulless competition nor by begging for favours and concessions. This will take us perhaps a very very long time to achieve anything tangible, but nations cannot be built in months. The world currents are directed in that way and they will help us in our cause onward and forward, if we only make up our mind to go ahead not blindly, passively and thoughtlessly, but intelligently, actively and thoughtfully. The problem before us is how to start the work under the existing political and economic organisation of society. What we want to do is to start to do work on these lines without in any way injuring or affecting the existing national activities, and without putting ourselves in conflict with them.

I have my own ideas on this subject which I will develop in another communication some other time.

Young India, December 17, 1919.

Towards Freedom

[Lala Lajpat Kai, who was accorded a hearty welcome at Bombay on his return from America in Feby. 1920, spoke as follows:—]

I cannot adequately thank you for the very affectionate and kind reception you have accorded me all this day. I cannot accept it as due to any of my merits, but as a manifestation of that great spirit which animates this country from one end to the other. I accept that manifestation as a great fingerprint from the heavens that we are destined to become great and that this country of ours will once more rise in the scale of Nations. As such I give the credit not to this man or that man but to the spirit in you my friends. Why? India was like a sleeping lion. Once it wakes, it wakes with a momentum that carries with it the force of its ancient greatness. We have never been in spite of many revolutions that we have undergone, we have never been a selfish people, we have never been an oppressive people. We have behind us the righteousness of scores of generations and hence though we may be fallen, though we may be down-trodden, though we may be weak, though we may be treated with humiliation, we have the potentialities to rise and be great once more. It is that potentiality that you are expressing, it is that potentiality which

is finding its expression, in this manifestation which I am seeing to-day.

This is not the time for me nor the occasion to give you my opinion of the present political situation in this country. I shall beg leave of you to give me time before I express myself on the subject. But there are some fundamental truths which I have learnt to my pleasure in my travels abroad, which I am going to place before you as my message to "Young India." My friends, I must tell you that henceforth we should recognise it as a fundamental doctrine that the unity of the Hindus and Mahomedans will be a great asset to our political future. In this unity we shall not be guided by the temporary benefit of this community or that. We shall not adopt it as a measure of political expediency. But we shall adopt it as a fundamental doctrine of our faith, to stick to our death-beds until we win our freedom. Not till then only, but thereafter too, we shall live in this country as brothers determined to work together, determined to resist together, and determined to win. That is one of the fundamental doctrines which we must adopt as a first article of our political faith.

Now to come to the second article. I must tell you, do not place any faith upon anybody but yourself. You can rise only by your own efforts. Remember "Nations are by themselves made." We shall welcome co-operation. We shall welcome

advice. We shall welcome guidance also in certain matters. But we shall resent patronage and dictation. We are not babies. We have behind us the grown wisdom of six thousand years back at least, not to say more.

Then I may tell you I have travelled now practically all over the world and I have seen three of the great self-ruling nations of the world at least the Japanese, the Americans and the Englishmen. And take it from me, that except perhaps in the requirements of modern knowledge, we are inferior to none on the face of the earth. I shall, if I have time, take you department by department and show to you that in no department of associated life, private life are we inferior to any nation of the world. What are we inferior in? We have been inferior in the capacity to unite, we have been inferior to a certain extent in adaptation to the modern requirements, we have been inferior in learning the lesson of modern diplomacy. Therein lies our inferiority. If we had learnt the art of telling lies on a broad scale, if we had swept away all our past and had entered into the great arena of violence, if we had done all these things, which at the present moment represent Power in the world, we might have been considered by the great nations of the world as worthy of self-government. But we have been lacking in these qualities.

And there is one of these qualities which I want you to learn. We have been a righteous nation in all our history and we shall continue to be righteous and to win on the basis of righteousness. I want you to be true to your civilisation. Seek truth, speak truth and act truth and I promise you shall win. The modern world is being managed, modern politics are being based upon the rights of the superior and the inferior. We recognise no superior and no inferior. We don't want for our country anything that we are not prepared to concede to other people of the Globe. What we want is the position of equality and nothing else.

There are some friends of ours who are often tempted by the term Imperialism. They want to be partners in the great Imperial system. I don't want it. Ladies and Gentlemen, there is no word coined by the genius of man, more vicious, more sinful, more criminal than Imperialism. And I may tell you that I for one don't want to be a partner in any Imperial system. All that I want for my country is a position of equality, first in the British Commonwealth and then in the nations of the world.

With our connection with Great Britain, we want to co-operate with those British statesmen and politicians, thinkers and workers who want to convert the British Empire into a British Common-

wealth. And I may tell you that the world movements foreshadow coming events, and unless the British Empire is soon converted into a British Commonwealth it will go to dogs as other Empires have gone. The safety of the British Empire lies in converting it into a British Commonwealth and we as Indians, as constitutional workers, as Indians believing in the destiny of the whole world, we are prepared to co-operate constitutionally with the whole of our thinking force, with the whole of our character at the back of it to convert that Empire into a Commonwealth of equal and free nations. There are some people who tell us that the opinion of other people does not count for much. They tell us that the opinion of the British people who are the present rulers of this country naturally matters for our progress. I do not accept that dictum.

The League of Nations which is at present a humbug, has been established as a fact. It is a fact, and we are a Member of that League of Nations. We want to be a Member of the League with a vengeance. We want to be a living Member of the League of Nations, and not a sleeping partner. Ladies and Gentlemen, if we become a living Member of the League of Nations, we have to work up the world opinion in our favour, and to show the world that the calumnies that are being circulated against us of our unfitness, of our divisions,

of our weakness of character, and all these things, that those calumnies are baseless and untrue. And how can we repudiate those calumnies unless by work in foreign countries in co-operation, those joyous world-spirits which in every country are trying to raise the world into a humanity from the hell that it is at the present moment. We must co-operate, we must mix our voice with them, we must put our soul-force with them side by side to enable them to push the world, from the world of unrighteousness into the world of righteousness and equality for every human being, be he of any continent or any colour, or of any castes or of any creed. My friends, I beg of you, my young friends, I entreat you with all the earnestness that I can command and with all the love that I bear you, that this is a most critical time in the history of our nation, not only in the history of our nation, but in the history of humanity.

This is a turningpoint—humanity is taking a turning point. Shall we or shall we not, take our legitimate part as one-fifth of the human race, as the descendants of the mighty ancient Aryans, as the followers of Mahomedan leaders, shall we or shall we not take our part in the making of the new world? And if we had to take our part in the making of the new world, we must make every effort to make a united stand, to make a truthful stand, to make a righteous stand, to make an

unrelenting stand, come what may. The Western world powers have lately in the last war shown you an example. What for did they fight? They said they fought for the democracy. They said they fought for the empire of the world. They said they fought for equal justice. Yet we know what they fought for. And if they won with all that they could die in millions, lose all their property, sacrifice their children, give up their women, why shall we not, when we stand for the cause of righteousness and truth only? There are people who speak from the mouth true words of great moment and when the occasion for action comes, they eat them up. Even the greatest men of the world have done that. We know what happened at Versailles, and Paris. We know how the world is now treated with peace of statesmanship.

My friends, do not aspire to be statesmen. Try to be honest men, try to be good men, and last but not least, try to be true to yourselves and to the country which gave you birth. We do not want politicians. We will leave them to America. We will leave them to England. Let them settle their differences. We will even leave them to France, my friends, we will also leave them to Japan. We do not want politicians. We want honest, plain-speaking, truth-speaking men and women. That is all. And if we secure that, our salvation is very near. The difficulty is how to convince you of

becoming plain-speaking truthful men. Now, I may tell you one thing. The world has been fighting for material goods. The world has been fighting for the control of capital. The world has been fighting for the control of land. The world has been fighting for the control of markets. The world has been fighting for the control of labour. Capital, wealth, labour, markets, where are they leading the world to? Do you hear the cry from Europe?—that nation is dying, that nation is starving, that nation has become bankrupt, that nation is selling its women, that nation is doing this, and that nation is doing that. We have been starving for a hundred years. Thank God we have not done any of these things. Don't be carried away by false ideals.

All the capital of the world cannot save you, cannot bring you freedom. Let me tell you from my experience. We think that these countries are very free. You from here think that England and America and Japan and France are the freest countries on the face of the globe. Well in certain respects, they are. But in certain other respects, let me tell you, take it from me that they are the most servile people on the face of the globe. Why? Few amongst them can speak the truth. Few amongst them have the spirit of abnegation for higher causes. Where in the world shall we find another man equal in spirit, self-

sacrifice and righteousness, equal to Mahatma Gandhi? We may or may not agree with his views. We may or may not follow him. But I challenge the whole world to produce another man like Mahatma Gandhi. Who has produced him? Twentieth century India. He is not alone. I can name several other names whose equals you will not find in any other land. Gentlemen, I have tried my very best to take the most generous view, to take the most liberal view of the other nation; but let me tell you honestly, absolutely honestly, that in the power of self-abnegation, in the power of sacrifice for higher causes and higher end there is no other country on the face of the globe which can beat us, only if we direct that spirit of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation to rightful purposes and rightful ends. That is the only thing that is wanted. We have been told here that our politics are corrupt; our politicians are divided; Hindus and Mahomedans are constantly fighting with each other; each caste is prepared to out the throat of another caste. We have been flouted with the picture of the depressed classes before us.

But let me tell you that this is all Imperial talk. Why? The two great Imperial assets are: first to change the psychology of the people whom they want to govern, and secondly, to change their own psychology. They want it to be believed that they are the choice of the world, and then want to

believe that you are the refuse of the world. Therein lies the whole Imperial psychology. You have unfortunately for the last 150 years been believing that you are really inferior to other people.

Rise up, Young India, you are inferior to none. (Hear, hear). In our common men in the men who till our fields and produce our food, in those men who do not get sufficient to eat twice a day, you have a wealth which no other country on the face of the globe possesses. There are souls ready to redeem themselves and to be redeemed by those men who are ready to redeem them. Even though they will die, even though they will starve they will never dare to steal one mouthful food from the house of the rich. Where on earth is that character to be found? If this state of things were to continue in any other country, I only admire the righteous phase of it, if in any other country the thing were to happen, you will find all the capitalists concealing themselves in the wine sellers to protect themselves and their property. That is actually happening in Europe at present. I, therefore, beg of you, young men of India, your Motherland is at the present moment lying prostrate, prostrate because of your lack of faith in yourselves, in your people and in your country; prostrate because of your weakness of mind and weakness of character. Raise up your minds, enthuse yourselves with the electricity of self-confidence and

self-reliance. And this race will rise sphinx like spread all over the world. Remember one-fifth of the human race possessing the intelligence of you, possessing the arms of you, these arms—(pointing out to his arms) not sword and pistols you must be careful in your language. Now our Masters tell us that we are wanting in practical intellect? That subtilty which makes two and two appear five. Well I may tell you that is a dangerous game. If they goad us to-day like that, who knows what Young India may not do? but at the same time I do not want you to make your intellects so subtle as that. I want you to be honest and say two and two make four.

I have told you two or three fundamental principles which I believe in. The unity of Hindus and Mahomedans, the belief in yourselves, faith in yourselves, as I call self-faith and the belief that you and you alone shall raise your country. Others can give you crumbs. But they shall not give you soul. What we want is not the crumbs, but the soul. We want the soul of the body politic. And what is the soul of the body politic? Perhaps I am treading on dangerous ground. The soul of the body politic is the power of the purse and the power to defend one's own country. Let me tell you that man is insane who tells you not to take advantage of every opportunity that is offered to you for the service of your country in whatever direction it

might lie handy. But let me tell them—they may take it from me that we shall never be contented unless we get Self-Government. Constant, unending, unrestrained, uncontrolled vigil, controlled only by self-discipline, controlled only by righteousness is the price of liberty. Young men of India, are you prepared to pay that price? Do you only say or do you mean it? Well, you shall have it. The moment you mean it, you shall get it. At present you only say 'yes' half-heartedly. I wish you mean it. (Loud cries of 'we do'). When you mean it, you will get it.

I am returning to my country with full faith in the righteousness of my cause. I want you, my countrymen, to work in the open with absolute frankness discarding all secret methods and all methods of violence. If you don't win by soul-force, if you don't win by the force of will and determination of three hundred and fifty millions of human beings, we don't deserve to win it by violence. If one-fifth of the humanity cannot win their liberty by the force of their will, by the power of their soul, by the power of their determination, they deserve to be swept off the face of the earth; and no power on earth can save it. Why think of your power? Think of your potentiality. Think of the force in your heart. We need not talk of violence, we need not talk of force. Only cowards do that, not the descendants of ancient Kshatriyas and the descend-

ants of ancient Moghuls. One who is working in the open need not be afraid. I may tell you that the moment I change my opinion, I will give notice to the Government that I have done so. I will never do a thing in the purdah. We want all women to come out of the purdah and not the men to go into the purdah. No, Sir, that won't do for us. We shall not bring a slur upon the names of our fore-fathers. But subject to that qualification, subject to that reservation, there is nothing on earth, which we shall leave undone, to win our rights and to gain what is ours. We don't want anything which belongs to anybody else. We are prepared to give whenever anybody is in need and wants it in a spirit of proper co-operation. But we shall not give by force. We shall not give by dictation. We will rather not work, we will die in the fields, than let others exploit and take from us what we do not want to give. That is a lesson which I want Young India to lay at heart. My friends, we have talked much, we have talked a lot. We have talked a great deal. There are orators in India, at almost every corner of the streets of Bombay or Calcutta. There are men who in the flow of oratory want to be imperial partners. There are men who are proud of things which ought to put them to shame. But there is an awakening.

There is a dawn of a new day, the dawn of a new spirit. The year 1919 shall be memorable in the

history of India not for the Reform Act, but for Jallianwallah Bagh. The reforms we shall utilise to the fullest extent. We do not intend to boycott them; as I have told you, it shall be vain to boycott them. We shall utilise every possible avenue, every possible opportunity left to us. To do otherwise would be unwise and insane. But at the same time the Shrine in our hearts which shall live for ever in golden letters shall be Jallianwallah Bagh and not the Reforms. That is the shrine we shall worship and that is the shrine we shall offer flowers at, until that wrong is righted and righted in the right.

As I told you in the beginning of my speech, I come to this country back after six years. I know that sometimes aspersions have been cast upon my work abroad. It is not my purpose to defend myself. I consider it to be beneath my dignity. No one has a right to ask me to give an account of my actions but my countrymen, and when the demand comes from them, I shall tell them everything. I shall conceal nothing because I have nothing to conceal. But in the meantime I may tell you that not a single pie of any public fund or from any fund taken from any supporters, has been utilised by me for my personal use. I had plenty of money sent to me by my son and I have lived a frugal life. I may tell you it is no secret—that I disdained

to do no work. I have cooked my food with my hands. I have washed my clothes with my hands. I have cleaned my room. I have at times gone with five cents of bread for the evening meal. Not that I had no money. There were thousands of public funds in my hands. But I would not spend one cent of it for myself. I say this not in vindication of my character, but because up to this time I have not heard a single countryman of mine questioning my character, in that direction; and as I told you, I owe no apology to anybody else. But I just want to give you this piece of information. In my life from the beginning to the end, I have been entrusted by you with numberless funds. I challenge my bitterest enemies to come forward and say that any action of mine has been affected by any considerations of money or property. I don't want to continue in this strain. It is painful and it is humiliating. But when a man is traduced unfairly, sometimes, he has to speak a word of truth in his own defence.

One last piece of advice that I want to give you is this. Learn to do your work with your hand. Do not depend upon servants. Do not depend upon property. Do not imitate other people. That will be extremely foolish and suicidal. The more you are free, the more you have the capacity for suffering, the more

you have the ability to live a simple life, the more you will be free. Freedom comes from want of independence. Freedom does not come by an act of Parliament. Remember that. If you continue to depend upon your means of livelihood upon this department or upon that department, upon this Honourable or that Honourable, upon this Excellency or that Excellency, you shall always be slaves. But the moment you take the kurhad and go and cut the tree, the moment you take the broom and go and sweep your room, without being tempted with offerings of money and service, you are free, free from all bondages with which you have been afflicted so far. Learn to be free.

What is progress? Progress is nothing but progress towards freedom. Your ancestors have taught to you the lesson that freedom is taken away, the moment you have the feeling of dependance. Give up your dependance. Lesson your dependance at any rate, if you cannot give it up. Cultivate the habit of self-dependance, self-reliance, not in a spirit of aggression or offensiveness but in a spirit of manliness. Manliness of which we have many examples in the History of India; and my friends I tell you, you will never require any speeches to emulate you. You will never require any measures by any body to free you. Freedom must come from within. Freedom must come

from within of the Mother of India. Freedom won't come from without. Freedom won't fall from the Heavens. Freedom will rise Goddess like from our Earth; and we shall rise and with our own hands, we shall offer flowers and we shall worship her.

Sympathy Abroad.

[Replying to the question of the representative of the "Bombay Chronicle," Lala Lajpat Rai said:—]

"I can assure you that there is a strong feeling in the States in Political as well as Commercial circles in India's favour." Mr. Lajpat Rai emphasised this point with great vigour and earnestness. The Americans, he said, all those Americans who are interested in world Politics, are inclined to put the case for Ireland, India and Egypt in the same category.

Q.—"How do they look upon India's struggle for self-determination asked the representative?"

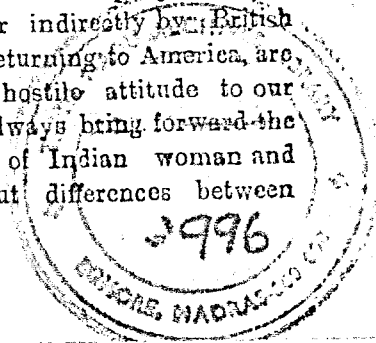
A.—"They are very keen about our work. They want to know more about India. They are prepared to give substantial support to any responsible body of Indians which will tell them what that situation in India really is. We must have a permanent organisation in America manned by some of our first class men—Indians having Political experience and a deep knowledge of our present difficulties and our struggles. The Americans are deeply interested. We have only to look at the recent speeches in the American Senate to be

assured of that. Twice the question of India has come up very prominently before the Senate.

Senator France in particular made that time a very important contribution to the debate in our favour."

Q.—"Which do you think is more important work, in England or in America and the Continent?"

A.—"We must spread knowledge about India everywhere. We must, of course, work in England, but I am strongly of opinion that we must supplement this work by an extensive propaganda elsewhere, particularly in America. What they want in America is a dissemination of the facts of the case by us. You must remember that there is a regular British propaganda in America expatiating upon the blessings of British rule. Persons English and American, helped by certain class of Indians one of their Agents, for example is a Parsee of the name of Rustomjee,—go about telling the Americans that agitation in India is confined to only a few intellectuals, the discontented lot. These people are evidently supported directly or indirectly by British Agencies. Missionaries, returning to America, are prominent in taking up a hostile attitude to our Political demands. They always bring forward the caste system, the condition of Indian woman and that usual argument about differences between



Hindus and Mahomedans as points against us in all their speeches and writings."

Q.—"Did you receive much help from the Indians at present in America in your work?"

A.—"To a very great extent yes, but one should not depend upon those who are merely students there sent out from this country. They are busy naturally with their immediate work and they do not have time to study the facts of the case. What we want is experienced men, Indians conversant with public life and movements in this country to go out to America and work there. The need for such work is very serious and very urgent. America is anxious to know more about India, to learn more about our demands and Americans sympathise with our case. That is why we must redouble our efforts."

I Shall Not Stand For Election.

[Under the above heading Lala Lajpat Rai wrote a thought-provoking article in his Urdu paper, "Vande Mataram," and the following is a translation that appeared in Young India:—]

At the publication of the M. C. Scheme of Reforms a hope dawned in my mind. I felt the day was perhaps nearing for my unfortunate country to achieve her long cherished freedom without bloodshed.....It pains me to say that this hope has gradually faded away. Whatever little there was has been destroyed by the Hunter Committee report and the Secretary of State's despatch. When the rumours were abroad as to what the report was likely to be, I felt it was difficult for me to stand for election for the new councils, under the circumstance. This feeling has been strengthened by the report and I have resolved after much deliberation that I shall not stand for election..... My reasons for this decision are these:—

(1) The decision of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the Hunter Committee report implies that the entire policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer was right, and except that a few officers here and there exceeded the bounds of propriety

individually, there was nothing wrong with it. This means that the grievances of the educated community of the Punjab against Sir Michael O'Dwyer were baseless and meaningless. In my opinion this decision negatives the possibility of the participation in the new scheme by the educated community of the Punjab with any appreciable enthusiasm or hope. Sir Michael looked upon the educated community of the Punjab with contempt. He cast his eye of favour only on those 'raises' and zamindars who to please him thought of the educated men of the Punjab as so many 'noisy frogs.' The rules framed by the Punjab Reforms Commissioner under the Act with the sanction of the Lieut.-Governor breathe the same spirit, which simply means that though Sir Edward Maclagan has, on account of his courteous nature, somewhat changed the outward appearance of Government policy, on principle the same old policy still continues without any change.

(2) Those officers who in the martial law regime took a prominent part in disgracing and dishonouring the educated community of the Punjab, are still adorning their thrones. Col. O'Brien who perpetrated unspeakable horrors on the pleaders of Gujranwala, Major Bosworth Smith who with his stick raised the veil of Indian ladies and addressed them in the most contemptuous of tones, are still occupying their offices. Mr. Thompson, the Chief

Secretary, is about to come. Similarly other officers who were the right hand men of Sir Michael O'Dwyer have either come to occupy their old offices or are about to do so. These officers will be the official members of the Punjab Council. I have no personal enmity against them, nor have I suffered any personal wrong at their hands. But any Indian member going into the Council will be in duty bound to meet these officers. He will have to deal with them every day and it would be improper for him to keep himself studiously aloof from them; because the very object of going into the council is to serve one's country and countrymen thereby and to co-operate as far as possible and work harmoniously with Government officials and to oppose them wherever necessary. But the wounds inflicted by martial law on the Punjab are so fresh that I am myself unfit for the task. My heart is utterly broken. I do not want to go into the Council with this wounded heart. Although I have personally sustained no wrong at their hands my self-respect does not permit me to cultivate friendship with those who harshly caned my brethren, who contemptuously laughed at and tainted them, and who otherwise disgraced them in many ways.

These new Councils can only prove beneficial to us when and if the Indian and official members work in amity and concord and together solve

problems of state by mutual consultation. Yet in the present circumstances of the Punjab there is no prospect of the fruition of this hope. If the *Civil and Military Gazette* correctly represents the views of Punjab officials (European), then I have no hesitation in saying that the time has not come for Indians and Europeans to work together for the good of the country. I heartily desire that the time should soon come, but to say that the time has come is to shut our eyes to facts. Until now they are the rulers and we are the ruled. The Punjab Publicity Committee which is a confidant of the Government also says the same thing. As long as that relation continues it is very difficult for us to work together. They suspect us and we suspect them. In my view therefore I cannot be useful to my country from inside the Council and it is better therefore that I should not go into it.

Non-Co-Operation.

Reply to the "Tribune," Lahore.

My present state of health forbids my entering into a long argument with you in reply to your criticism of my position in the matter of the Reformed Councils. I wish you had published a full translation of my article in which I had stated the reasons of my decision, as has been done by your contemporary the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta. Your informant did not quite correctly represent my point of view, though I think he was substantially correct. I am, however, going to state my position in a few paragraphs.

I have always believed that there can be no co-operation between a foreign government and the leaders of a subject race. The co-operation of a 'conquered race' in the work of administering a 'conquered' country is practically an admission of the right of the conquerors to rule the conquered territory. Such an admission is very damaging to the psychology of the conquered race. A conquered race may not be in a position to refuse to co-operate altogether. There are certain departments of administration in which co-operation is unavoidable. There are certain other departments, however, where the idea of co-operation should be repugnant to the sense of self-respect of the leaders of the subject

race. It is a duty of such leaders to keep the flame of liberty alive, by refusing to co-operate with the administration of the conquerors in such away as to identify themselves with the administration. Consequently I have held all my life that the best brains and the best minds of the Nation should not lend their co-operation to the Government by accepting its service, and that they should not serve on the legislatures of the country as long as there was a majority of foreigners in it and as long as they had not a determining voice in the legislation of the country.

I have always been of opinion that the presence of Indian members in the Legislative Councils has done more harm to the country than good. Mr. Gokhale co-operated in passing the Press Act, Pandit Malaviya co-operated in passing the Defence of India Act, the Nationalist members co-operated in sanctioning the gift of 100 million pounds towards the expenses of the great War. These and other similar measures have, in my opinion, done greater harm to the country than the combined services of the Indian members of the Legislative Councils for the last 12 years. So far the Indian members have failed to influence the legislatures of the country in the fundamentals of Government policy. The finance and the military are the two pivots of the Government. Under both heads the

Indian members have egregiously failed to influence Government policy. Their co-operation has been more harmful than their absence in the Councils could have been. The attitude of the Government in the matter of the Rowlatt Act throws what value Government has attached to their co-operation in spite of all what they had done for the Government during the War and in spite of the pronouncement of August, 1917. The fact is that there can be no co-operation between the members of a nation who has no voice in the selection of its government, and the latter. It is a part of statesmanship to clothe absolutism with the appearance of co-operation, but it is also part of true patriotism not to be misled by these appearances. In my judgment a member of a subject race who strengthens the hands of its absolute rulers, however pure his motive, is unconsciously guilty of betraying his people. Under certain circumstances, perhaps it is unavoidable, for example where the subject is called upon to make a choice between two evils, viz., the Government of the ruling race in power, and the Government of another race that threatens to supplant the former. That is one illustration, there may be others too. But when the leaders of a subject race start to co-operate voluntarily and willingly, in the maintenance of a system of Government which denies them their fundamental rights as human beings

such leaders thereby lay themselves open to the charge of being untrue to the best interests of the country.

Such was my position up to the announcement of August, 1917. The announcement brought a hopeful change in this attitude. I could honestly, without outraging my sense of patriotism, offer co-operation in working out a scheme which promised complete freedom to my country at no distant date. For the first time in the history of the British administration the people were given the right of administering certain departments of administration through popularly elected members, and I thought here was a promise which it was the duty of every Indian patriot to utilise in the best interest of his country. I was not enthusiastic over the Reforms Act, I could not be, I could not shut my eyes to the halting nature and its limitations, yet I resolved to honestly co-operate with the Government in the successful working out of the Reforms Scheme. I can never think of "co-operation with the object of non-co-operation." I never intended to co-operate with the object of defeating the Act. I believed that the Act gave us an opening and we should use it frankly and wholeheartedly. I was fully prepared for co-operation.

That was the frame of my mind until I began to feel that both the Government of India and the

Secretary of State were engaged in undoing what had been done, or what had been promised by the Reform Scheme. In my judgment the policy of the Secretary of State in adding to the strength of the European servants, in increasing enormously the expenditure on those servants, in adding to the military burdens of the country, has been throughout dishonest. In his anxiety to placate the Europeans, the Secretary of State has decreed the failure of the Scheme. The position of the European servants under the Scheme is much stronger, much more paying, and much more effective than it was before the Scheme. The policy of the Secretary of State has created a position which means constant friction between honest Indian politicians and the European servants of the Government. Whatever doubt was left in my mind has been completely shattered by the report of the Hunter Committee, and the orders of the Government of India and the Secretary of State thereupon. I do not charge the European members of the Hunter Committee with dishonesty. In my judgment that was the only view of the situation it was possible for them to take on the principle on which the Government of India has been run and is being run now. If you once concede that European supremacy is essential and must be maintained at any cost, and under any circumstances you are irresistibly led to the conclusion that any thing

or act which leads to undermine the prestige and authority of the handful of Europeans governing this country must be an act of open rebellion. Under such a conception of Government the fundamental rights of the people are nothing and at best only secondary. The first test to be applied, in judging a situation is, does the situation lead to the lowering of the prestige and the authority of the European minority? If it does, it is an act of "rebellion." What would ordinarily be rioting in England where the people have got fundamental rights, might be rebellion in India. Now the whole of this conception is based on the race superiority of the English, upon their right to rule this country even against the wishes of the people, and of their right to maintain their authority in defiance of the unanimously expressed wishes of the latter. Who can say that when the Government of India decided to pass the Rowlatt Bill in defiance of the wishes of the people, the continuation of the agitation against it on such a scale as to make it possible for the disorderly element of the nation to commit rioting, was not an "act of rebellion" according to the conception of the Hunter Committee majority? The minority has, on the other hand, judged the situation from the strict legal standard, and on the principle conceded by the Reforms Scheme. The acceptance of the Majority Report by the Government of India and the Secretary of State is a virtual

denial of the principle on which the Reforms Scheme is based. It is practically a confirmation ^{sup-} the continuation of the old *regime*. This is specially so, when we consider what is actually happening in the Punjab. The officers who committed atrocities are still occupying positions of trust and confidence in the Punjab administration. They influence Government policy in every department of life. They support only those of the Indians who side with them whatever their character, whatever their ability and whatever their moral standard. What is the result? Men who have been openly charged with corruption and bribery, whose conduct in the Martial Law administration has been openly challenged by specific allegations of their guilt, and of acts of bribery, have been promoted by the Punjab Government; complaints against them are hushed; no effort is being done to bring them to justice or to show any mark of disapproval of their conduct. It is true that the Government of Sir Edward Maclagan has given a fairly good latitude to the educated community in the matter of carrying on their agitation. The Lieutenant-Governor has kept his head on his shoulders and has not allowed himself to be dominated by hysteria, nay, he has made some laudable efforts towards conciliation. For all that, credit is due to him, but there is no fundamental change in the policy of the Government and in the mentality

or the bureaucracy. Look at any department of public administration and you will find defiance of public opinion written on its very portals. Even in the department of commerce and industries the administration does not care a pin for public sentiments, the comfort and convenience of Indians, and the interests of the Indian trade. Even the railways are being run in the interests of the European trade. Look at the police. Never was corruption so strongly entrenched in the police department as now. I do not want to advance a sweeping charge against a department which is so essential for the safety and convenience of the people. But I say it with all sincerity, that within the last 6 years, bribery and corruption, intimidation and extortion have established themselves to a much greater extent than before. I can say from personal observation that the police conduct of the political cases before 1914 was much purer (if any such thing could be said of it) than it has been since the advent of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. There was more fear of God and of Government and of public opinion in the mind of the subordinate police than there has been under the regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. I find that Sir Edward Maclagan has done nothing to purge the administration and until this is done there is no chance of the administration being purified and the Reforms Scheme having the least ghost of a chance of fulfilling its purpose.

The bureaucracy relies on honours and supports those who, they believe, stood by them during the last disturbances, never mind how corrupt and immoral they may be. The educated leaders are held in suspicion and ridicule is heaped on them whenever possible.

The members of the bureaucracy and their chief organ, the *C. and M.G.*, are not sorry even for the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. They justify and defend the ill-treatment of the leaders and the bomb throwing at Gujranwala. The Chief Secretary has returned to the field of operations and Col. O'Brien is still one of the pillars of the administration. How then is it possible for any honest Congressman to co-operate with the bureaucracy in the work of administration? The bureaucracy is determined to defeat the Reforms and the Secretary of State has placed them in a position to do so successfully. In my judgment it is absolute folly to make ourselves even partially responsible for this inevitable failure. The best thing is to keep away and share no responsibility.

I personally do not believe in entering the Legislative Council with the express object of defeating the Reform Scheme or of obstructing the Government or even of denying my co-operation in measures which are only incidental to the main springs of Government policy. It is not in my nature to be either obstructive or obstinate. In my judgment, the

task before the new Legislative Councils is almost impossible, there will be even greater temptation, in the way of members, of selling themselves and their conscience. A strong public opinion will be required to check if we do not intend that all our public men should be demoralised. Under the circumstances I think I can be more useful to my country from outside than from within the Council.

As for others, personally I would like that the best Congressmen should abstain. But if the Special Congress decides otherwise and my colleagues choose to go into the Councils I will not oppose them nor carry on any agitation against them. My suggestion as to the Defence Committee was conditional, in this sense that if the majority of the Congressmen fall in with my view the minority could be coerced in that way. But if the majority decide to go for the Council I cannot possibly agitate against them. That is, in short, my position and as soon as my health recovers, I intend to revert to the subject again. I have more material with me to show off the mentality of those with whom we are expected to co-operate in the Council Chamber.

* * * *

The position in the Punjab stands thus. The members of the Punjab Bureaucracy and the non-official Europeans in the Punjab who

are likely to get into the Council believe that there was a rebellion in the Punjab last year, that that rebellion was incited and set on foot by the leaders of the educated community (Messrs. Harkishen Lal, Rambhaji Dutt Chaudhry, Duni Chand, Doctors Kichlew and Satyapal, the lawyers of Gujranwala among others), that these persons were guilty of waging war against the king and well deserved all the humiliations and punishment to which they were subjected, that the shooting at Jallianwala, the throwing of bombs at Gujranwala, the floggings at Lahore, Kasur, Amritsar and Gujranwala were generally inflicted rightly and were necessary for the restoration of peace, that the conduct of General Dyer and Col. O'Brien, Captain Doveton, Major Bosworth Smith, Lala Siri Ram and others was not only commendable but such as entitles them to our gratitude, that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer between themselves saved not only the Punjab but India.

On all these points and many others the educated Indians and the Indian public hold diametrically opposite views. How these people of diametrically opposite views can co-operate to make the new scheme a success is a conundrum in psychology, which I will ask you to solve for us in continuation of the articles you have been writing for our benefit.

July, 1920.

Swaraj.

[The following is the full text of the speech delivered by Lala Lajpat Rai in seconding the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi on the change of the Congress creed, at the session of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in Decr., 1920:—]

Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen :—I have been commissioned to second this proposition in English and I will carry out that commission. I consider this resolution to be of the greatest importance not only at the present juncture but also for the future of my country. The creed of the Congress has a history of your own which with your permission I intend to relate in a few words. Most of you who have studied the history of the Indian National Congress know how the split at Surat took place in 1907. I took part in the proceedings of that Congress and I was one of the unfortunate causes that were at that time relied upon, at least superficially, at the bottom of that split and therefore I know somewhat how that split came about. One of the fundamental differences at that time between the two parties since then called the Moderates and

Extremists was that a few of the so-called Extremists, not all of them but a few of the so-called Extremists believed that it would only work for the complete independence of India and was not for its retention within the British Empire. That was one of the fears that underlay the proceedings that led to that split. After the Convention was created at Surat we met at Allahabad sometime early in 1908 to consider the draft of this creed and to pass the constitution. I was present at that time and I am prepared to tell you that even at that time I was opposed to the creed and to the requirement of its being signed before any body could attend a meeting of the Indian National Congress. My reason for that opposition was this : Not that I believed at that time that we had either the means or the will to work for complete independence or for taking out India from the British Empire, but I thought that none of us had the right to exclude from the deliberations of this Congress any body who pitched his ideal so high as the complete independence of his mother country (hear, hear) and I tell you that one chief point for consideration before me was that no assembly in India could be called "national" which precluded by virtue of this creed a man of the purity and of the ability and of the absolute disinterestedness and high patriotism of the nation as Aurobindo Ghose (hear, hear.) That was my reason because I knew there were some friends at that time

who were not prepared to sign that creed. However, at that time the public opinion of the country was not in favour of going so far and therefore the creed was passed and adopted. Now about 12 or 13 years have rolled by, and since many events have happened which practically makes it compulsory, almost obligatory, to change the creed and I am prepared here to say that it could not be changed in a better way than it has been done. I say it is only a development of the policy which was adopted at the last special session in passing the resolution of non-co-operation. After the passing of that resolution on non-co-operation, you could not certainly exclude from the deliberations of this Congress those people who were not prepared to sign the old creed. Even at the present moment I am not prepared to say that the majority of this assembly or the vast majority of thinking people in the country are prepared to say that we will at once go in for complete independence or that we are going to fight for it at once or that we shall not remain within the British Commonwealth, if that were possible for us to do. Gentlemen, I want here to take this opportunity of pointing out that we shall be lacking in frankness, we shall be lacking in patriotism, we shall be lacking in honesty and truth, if we are not to announce in the clearest possible terms the change of mentality that has come over the Country. We are here assembled

in this Congress not to express our individual views but, according to the old traditions of the country, to focuss public opinion of this country and to place in the form of a resolution (hear, hear). What does the change in the creed aim at? A notice to the British public and the British Government that although we do not at the present moment aim, directly aim, to go out of this British Empire or what we may call the British Commonwealth but if we remain in the British Commonwealth or the British Empire we shall not remain at the dictation of anybody. We shall remain there by our own free choice and free will, and that free choice and free will we can only exercise and express, when we are allowed to do so by the legitimate and peaceful means.

There are friends here from the British Isles for whom I have got the greatest respect and I want them to convey this message from this assembly to the British people that as a people dealing with another people we are in no way hostile to them. We are not actuated by any motives of enmity or hostility, but at the same time we want them to tell their Government that this country has absolutely no faith in the justice-loving instincts of Great Britain, not only that but I want it to be said from this platform that we have lost all faith even in the sanity of British statesmanship. I consider British statesmanship, when it sent that despatch on the

affairs of the Punjab in which they praised or took upon themselves to pay a tribute of praise to Sir Michael O'Dwyer (shame), by those sentences practically declared its bankruptcy. We want it to be taken from this platform that not only then but even previously we had lost faith in British statesmanship, but that was the chief sealing point which has sealed our opinion of British statesmanship and British justice.

The other day I read a telegram in which it was stated that in the House of Lords, Lord Selbourne expressed his resentment at the conduct of those Indians who were disseminating in this country that the British pledges and British words were not to be relied upon. Of course he wanted the Government of India to carry on a counteracting propaganda to meet those charges and to contradict those people who were making those charges. I in this open Congress, in this assembly of twenty thousand of my countrymen, containing some of the cream of this country, want to tell Lord Selbourne that we have absolutely no faith in British pledges or British word [hear, hear] [right you are]. I want him to open up the pages of Indian history, he will find that the British Rule in India is a continuous record of broken pledges and unfulfilled promises [shame]. Does he want us at the present moment to continue to delude ourselves into the good faith of British pledges and British promises?

We do not want to go into the past history or to open up the past record of British connection with India.

But I challenge any one that not a single decade of British Rule in India has gone about without a breach of faith and breach of promises and breach of pledges (hear). Pledges made most solemnly in the name of His Majesty, or Her Majesty, promises made clearly, unambiguously by the responsible Government of Great Britain, have not only remained, most of them, unfulfilled but they have been actually broken (shame). I will not go over past history of how Lord Dalhousie simply swept away those pledges and promises but the recent history is enough to furnish me with instances of those broken pledges. It will be fresh to the memory of my countrymen how Lord Curzon tried to sweep away practically the Queen's proclamation by saying that it was a piece of rhetoric (shame): Lord Curzon was not an irresponsible politician. He was the Viceroy of India and at the present moment Foreign Secretary of the British Empire. Then we come later on to His Most Excellent, to His Greatest Excellency the present Prime Minister of England, Mr. Lloyd George (shame). If Lord Selborne had been present here, I would have asked him to point out to me a single member of the present British Cabinet whose words carry greater weight than those of a grocer. (A voice, "a milkman" and another voice "not grocer but gambler"). Mr.

Lloyd George embodies in himself the chivalry, the nobility and the patriotism and power of the British Empire and we know how he deceived the Indian Musalmans and how he broke those pledges to the ear, still maintaining that he had never broken his pledges (shame). I can understand an honest man saying that those pledges were made under stress of necessity and that politics knows no law and therefore they can be broken with impunity, but what about the honesty of a man who says that he has stuck to those pledges while the whole world says that he has broken them to the ear.

Coming down from His Excellency the Prime Minister we shall examine a little the ethical frame of mind of His Excellency the War Minister. Are we going to place any faith in Mr. Winston Churchill who is spoken of as the future Viceroy of India (no, no)? Are we going to place faith in the words of Lord Curzon, Foreign Minister (no, no)? Are we going to place faith in the words of Mr. Balfour (no, no)? May I ask somebody to point out to me who among the British Cabinet is entitled to our confidence? (no, no) (a voice, Lord Milner). My friend suggests here Lord Milner (laughter). Mr. Satyamurti suggests Mr. Montagu, (no, no never) a voice. (O'Dwyer.) Under the circumstances it is absolutely futile for any British statesman to expect that India can place any more faith or

any confidence in the words and pledges of British statesmen (hear, hear, no, no).

Very well know, you are right in saying "no" but by this change of creed we want to give notice to the British public and British Government that it is our deliberate considered opinion (hear, hear). We are not even now averse to remain within British Commonwealth, if we are allowed to remain, on our terms by our free choice and by our free will we will decide that question, when the time comes, on its merits in the light of our own interests and not by coercion or fear. Ladies and gentlemen, that a kind of notice however innocent, however harmless, which we give to the British nation and the British Government and I tell you we should be false to our country, we should be absolutely failing in our duty, if at the present day we fail to give that clear notice.

To the British people and British Government, I want to say one word about the play on the words "Empire or Commonwealth". May I ask if there is any British Commonwealth? (no). (Mr. Holford Knight—"not yet." Mr. Holford Knight says "not yet." Very well.

Then where is that British Commonwealth in which we can remain on terms of equality (a voice: nowhere.) As to the British Empire I would rather be a slave than willingly consent to be a part of an empire which enslaves so many

millions of human beings. I do not want to share the rights and responsibilities of such an empire. There are many friends of mine for whom I have the greatest respect and who are very much revered in this country for their past services. They are not in Congress now, who are very fond of claiming to be the future partners of this Empire. If they want to be partners in an empire which is based and founded upon the blood and loss of liberty and rights of many millions of human beings, they may like it but I for one would not like to be in that. It is very flattering, it is very gratifying to some people, it is a high honour to be citizens of such an empire. First of all that empire denies to me the rights and the privilege of citizenship. But even if I have that citizenship I would be ashamed of it and never be proud of it. Therefore, I need not dilate very much upon this point. I want to tell you that it is absolutely necessary for us, in the present state of affairs in this country, to be absolutely frank.

Some of my friends say that is a dubious phrase, "swaraj." If they mean by this that the phrase has two meanings within or without the British Empire, without making it clear, I will say they are right because the word has been deliberately used for the purpose of enabling us to remain within this Commonwealth if we choose when that Commonwealth has been esta-

blished or go out of it when we like. In that sense that word may be construed to have a double meaning. It has no double meaning but it is a word which leaves the choice of the two conditions to us. That is the first part of the resolution "Attainment of Swaraj by the people of India."

The other part of the Resolution deals with the means. There are some friends here for whom I have great respect, who think that we might have very well omitted any mention of the means. I am afraid I cannot agree with them. The reason is this. I am one of those who believe that every Nation has, when the occasion arises, the inherent right of armed rebellion against a repressive, autocratic Government but I do not believe that we have either the means or even the will for such an armed rebellion at the present time. I will not discuss the future possibilities (hear, hear), but I want that my countrymen should not have any misconception or misgivings about the fact that the leaders of the National Congress do not want them to resort to violence for the attainment of any of the objects which have been laid before them. It is absolutely necessary in the present state of feeling in the country to lay emphasis on that point because passions have been roused, feelings have been excited and there is a very bitter resentment in the minds of the people against the doings of the British Government and therefore the more we emphasise

this point the greater the need of it and the greater the use of it. It cannot be too frequently and too sufficiently emphasised that we entirely abhor and dislike any kind of violence used against individuals or used rather in a fit of passion or anger or resentment.

I want to congratulate my countrymen in carrying on the very onerous duty in performing a very difficult task in connection with the recent elections there have been so few untoward events. Events have happened here and there which we deplore, which we condemn and repudiate but my wonder is that they have been so few and not more. The feeling and the excitement, the anger and the passion of the country have been so much roused of late that it would be very difficult to control it by any human being. Consider that the country has displayed, on the whole, (mark my words "on the whole") a sobriety and appreciation of the situation for which we may well congratulate ourselves. I want to express that at least in my province with the exception of a few of these untoward events we have within the last six months, within the last one year, in spite of the gravest possible provocation maintained peace which does great credit to the Punjabis. If ever therefore in the future there is any disturbance in the Punjab, there is any exhibition of violence, there is any recrudescence of disorder, it will not be we who shall be res-

possible for it but the British Government. (A voice: European Association.) I don't care anything for the European Association. I would not even mention their name. But I want to tell the Bureaucracy that if they continue in their policy of repression—cruel, uncalled for repression—absolutely unjustified in the face of the circumstances, they shall be responsible for the consequence and not any of us (hear, hear).

You will pardon me for this brief reference to the Punjab, particularly because I find that although the same kind of speeches are being delivered all over the country, the same kind of things happening all over the country, the same kind of feeling being exhibited and the same kind of language being used all over the country, well, it is the Punjab Government that decides to introduce the Seditious Meetings Act (shame). I believe and I want to say this from this platform that without making any reflection upon the personal character of the immediate rulers of the Punjab, I think that in the whole of British India there is no administration which is more stupid, which is absolutely more unstatesmanlike and lacks in the quality of statesmanship than the administration of the Punjab (a voice; Delhi). Delhi is only a corollary of the Punjab. We with the help of our friends, of our leaders and countrymen from the other provinces are determined to do our level best to maintain peace in the

provinces, to work on peaceful lines, to go on working as much as we can without giving any reason, any occasion for disturbance or disorders (a voice: you will not be allowed). But if the British Bureaucracy goes on making blunders after blunders, stupid and absolutely unreasonable, we do not know what might happen in that province. They say they want repression in that province because it is full of gun-powder. Who has made it into gun-powder? It is they who are responsible for it. We repudiate the charge unequivocally and unreservedly. I won't detain you, gentlemen, any more but I just want to point out to you that for those very reasons and those very circumstances it is absolutely necessary that we should stick to the language of the resolution that has been proposed before you by Mahatmaji that is "by peaceful and legitimate means" and having accepted that Resolution as he told you in his concluding address, our duty does not end there. Just I want to tell you one word. The path may be long and tedious. The goal may be distant though I hope it is not. The task may be difficult. But there is nothing impossible before a nation of three hundred and fifteen millions (hear, hear). If we decide to do our duty, to do our duty manfully, fearlessly, in a spirit of selfless devotion to the interest of the country, what we are aiming at, we shall achieve at no distant time and if any English men or if any English Party or if any

English public helps us in attaining that object the glory shall be theirs (hear). We are at perfect liberty and from our hearts we desire to work in co-operation with such people (hear, hear). But I may tell you that we may place every faith in the words of an English gentleman but we can no longer place any faith in the words of British statesman [loud and prolonged cheers and cries of Bande-mataram].

Swaraj

[The following is an English version of the speech delivered by Lala Rajpat Rai in Rawalpindi at the public meeting held on the 13th Novr. 1926 to hear Colonel Wedgewood and published in the "Bande Mataram:"—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—My present state of health does not allow me to make any lengthy speech, but I shall say just one or two things. The first thing is and I ask you to take note of it, that if we get Swaraj, it will not be as a gift of the British Government or due to the kind offices of Colonel Wedgewood. I have brought Colonel Wedgewood to this place only to enable him to see the great enthusiasm which the people here have got for Swaraj; so that he may tell his countrymen that, although we have been oppressed, we are now determined to get Swaraj. Other people can help you, can sympathise with you; but as long as you do not strive your best, you cannot get Swaraj. We in India should, one and all, take a vow that whether we have to lay down our life, whether we are mutilated or hanged, whether our women and children are maltreated, our desire for Swaraj will never grow a little any the less. Every child of

this land, whatever his religion or persuasion, should swear that, as long as there is life in his limbs or breath in his nostrils, he would strive for national liberty. Brothers, remember, we ourselves are responsible for whatever troubles and oppressions we have to suffer from. General Dyer did not fire a single shot himself. All the shots fired were by our own brothers. Our state will remain as it is as long as we do not decide not to be instrumental in letting any officer tyrannise over us, or tighten his hold on us. Hindus and Muhammadans! You have not been slaves since the crack of the doom. There was a time when you were great and prosperous. Where have fled that greatness and that prosperity? We ourselves have forged the fetters that bind our hands, we ourselves have lightened them. We alone can break them. No outsiders will do that. They can sympathise with us, can encourage us; but you shall have to do your work. The Colonel has told you that as the Labour Party is not in power these days, it cannot secure us liberty. I have to tell him that though we have no cause to suspect or gainsay that good intentions of Labour towards us, we are fully convinced that whenever we get Swaraj, it will be through our own efforts. He who trusts to another, not only does not get God, but does not get bread even. Trust yourself, do not depend upon the people of any other land. We are hostile to none; we bear no hatred to-

wards any one. We demand our own rights, not the dues of others. We want only that which is ours. Hindus and Mussalmans! Be united. I know that old memories keep you from uniting. But remember that though our religion is somewhat different, we live on the same earth and under the same sky. Our race and decent is the same. Forget the bitter memories of old for the sake of Swaraj.

The second thing that I want you to take note of is that the people who are profitting by ruling over us, be they Indians or Englishmen, cannot be expected to forego their profits easily. They will try to win you over to their side. The Indians, who have pawned their religion, their faith, the very honor of their children will try to make you swerve from your high resolves. But you should never think of co-operating with that Government which permitted Dyer to shoot us and O'Dwyer to tyrannise over us.

Do not give votes to people who want to go to mock councils. If you cannot do anything more practical at least refuse to vote for sycophants. We have serious complaint against those Indians who join with others in oppressing us. You should promise that you will never honor an Indian who is false to his country. A short while ago, a boy showed me his hand which a cruel headmaster has wounded. The boy's fault was that he joined the

procession. I shall not name the headmaster; you should make him feel that his action was very obnoxious and that he ought never to repeat it. If any headmaster, principal or teacher cannot instruct his pupils without resorting to punishment, he should choose another vocation. Beating is the mark of the tyrant or jailor. (At this stage were heard cries of shame.) I want that public opinion should be so potent that no evil-minded or sordid fellow should venture to go against it. Public opinion should be so strong as to make the greatest of leaders feel that he cannot afford to flout it. If that becomes possible, rest assured all oppression would be swept away. We shall be able to achieve our end, only when that becomes possible. We are proud of friends like Colonel Wedgewood, and we are grateful to them. But we feel certain that though their encouragement is a consolation to us and their sympathy a cause of our deepest gratitude, we and we alone must help ourselves.

Indian Situation—1920.

[The following is the text of Lala Lajpat Rai's open letter to Sir E. MacLagan in reply to his speech :—]

YOUR HONOUR,—Permit me to begin with sincere assurances of my regard and respect for your person and character. We Punjabees expected such a lot from you that your policy and administration has really disappointed us and we have reasons to feel confirmed in our belief that however highminded, gentle and good an individual may be, the exigencies of bureaucratic rule make it impossible for him to rise above his surroundings and do anything striking in the way of leaving the people, who are in charge of the different branches of the administrative work to look at things from a new angle.

The speech, delivered by you at an informal meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council held at Government House on the 13th of November at 11 A. M., has completely disillusioned those of us who had formed some expectation of you. I have absolutely nothing to say against the tone and the language of your speech. It is the utterance of a gentleman, one deserving the best consideration of

those who differ from him. There are statements in the speech, however, which, though made in good faith and in full belief of their accuracy, are not exactly correct, but my disappointment is mainly due to the fact that the speech entirely ignores the real point at issue between the people and the Government.

In that part of your speech, in which you address the Muslims and Sikhs, you have betrayed the same weakness and the same misapprehension of the duties of the Government which characterises the talk and the tone of an average European Civilian in this country. Are you, Sir, right in assuming that what the Government has done for the Muslims and the Sikhs was by way of favour? When civilians talk of the Government having done this or that to deserve the gratitude of the people, he assumes that the Government did more than its duty. The whole assumption is fundamentally wrong and is really the root cause of the misunderstanding that exists between the Government and the people. The spokesmen of the Government think that they are doing more than their duty while the people think just the contrary. The former betray the consciousness that the Government of the country is not representative of the people and is, therefore, under no obligation to do even as much as it is doing. The people have, therefore, come to the conclusion that unless

they make Government truly representative, they cannot possibly expect or force the Government to do even its duty.

Your Honour's remarks about the disturbance of 1919 betray the same consciousness and are a complete refutation of the statement: "The idea, indeed that, there is at present in the Province a bureaucracy on the one side ranged against the public on the other is a popular delusion." The public has spoken in no uncertain terms about the Government's failure to do its duty in the matter of the Punjab disturbances. The huge mass meeting that have been held in the different parts of the Punjab have their own tale to tell. Within the last nine months I have been in province I have come in contact with hundreds of thousands of Punjabees of all classes. I have travelled from Hazro, the north-Western boundary of the province, to Rohtak the south-Eastern, and also to Multan and have, in every place, met literally thousands of Punjabees of all classes and of all religions. They have with one voice declared that the Government has failed to do its duty in the matter of the disturbances. They have condemned as inadequate what the Government has done. They have called for definite action, and they have expressed their disappointment and dissatisfaction at the Government's persistent refusal to take such action. You admit that the action taken has, as might be expected, failed to satisfy those who

feel most strongly on either side. Who are the people ranged on the two sides—the Indian community on the one and the European community on the other? The former consists of the whole Indian community of the province, with such exceptions as write for the columns of the "Civil and Military Gazette" and have not the courage of signing what they write. The latter is represented by the European servants of the Crown (ordinarily called the bureaucracy) plus a very limited number of merchants and planters scattered over the province with the exception of a few among them who condemn the action of General Dyer, disapprove of the acts of Major Bosworth Smith and justify the rest. It is thus clear that the whole province is divided into two classes. The Indian public minus "the thinking and the moderate elements" known only to the Anglo-Indian Press, and the Bureaucracy that rules the province minus a few who think but never expressly say so that General Dyer outdid himself and Major Bosworth Smith was "mad." The rest of India is also similarly divided. Indian India is unanimous in condemning the Government's action or inaction and Anglo-India India is almost unanimous in praising General Dyer. There is no use, Sir, in refusing to see these things and in assuming that there exists the best of feelings between the two communities. Do you believe, Sir, that if the people

had the power to change the Administration, they would have hesitated for one moment to send off most of the Punjab Bureaucrats to their homes. If then the Government has failed to dispense with the services of even a few of the guilty it is because of the Government's confidence in their military strength, and of their belief in the impotence of the people.

You have referred, Sir, to certain "misstatements and exaggerations" in connection with the charges which people have brought against Government officials, but you have made no reference to the falsehoods, which Government officials and the Anglo-Indian Press are and have been circulating about the Indians. The Indians challenge an enquiry, they make definite statements, giving names, time and place of the alleged outrages, while the Anglo-Indian only indulges in vague slander and appeals for letting bygones be bygones. No one can have anything but admiration for your real desire to stop "the resuscitation of old animosities," but, Sir, let me respectfully point out that there is not the least chance of end being attained by the methods your administration is following. Am I to assume, Sir, that you are ignorant of the fact that some of your high officers are still engaged in the old game, *viz.*, that of creating a prejudice in the minds of the people against their leaders creating a breach between

hem and playing one community against the others. The fact remains that the province is divided into two parties. On one side are those who want to perpetuate or prolong the existing system of government and on the other, those who want Swaraj at once, or at a very early date. The first is represented by the bureaucracy and their proteges among the Indians, and the second by general mass of the people.

It cannot be denied by any honest official that the prevailing sentiment of the official mind is to stand by those who are supposed to have stood by the bureaucracy in the days of the disturbances. The whole policy of shirking an enquiry into individual cases is based on that desire. There are lots and lots of people in Government service, who are taking advantage of that feeling and creating such a state of things in different districts as was never heard of before. They are unconsciously and unwittingly strengthening the hands of those who demand immediate Swaraj, but their existence cannot be doubted. You are perhaps, aware, Sir, that there are some amongst the Punjab Non-Co-operator, who, in July last, before Mr. Gandhi had started Non-Co-operation, were anxious to come to an understanding with the Government as regards officers whose prosecution, punishment or removal was demanded by public opinion. Their advances were repulsed and they

ound themselves practically driven to Non-co-operation.

Now, I can well appreciate the feeling of the official mind. It is perfectly natural and human that one should refuse to give away one's friends and supporters, even if they were guilty, but then it should be frankly confessed and an air of justice and impartiality should not be put on. It is equally natural and human for the other side to refuse to place any faith in those who had not only humiliated and outraged them, but who justify their conduct and are free to say that they would do the same if opportunity and occasion demanded it. Under the circumstances there can be no understanding between the two, and each must follow its own course.

That the bureaucracy is following its course is clear from the policy of repression your Government has inaugurated. The champions of Swaraj expect no mercy from the bureaucracy and they are following their course with eyes open and with no misapprehension as to the risks they are running thereby.

In the last paragraph of your speech in which you recount the things which, in your judgment, the people, the Punjab want, you have again unconsciously betrayed the bureaucratic mind. With due deference, I beg to submit that the things

that separate us are of far greater importance than those that unite us. It is true "we all want in the production of wealth, in the province, province." It is equally true that "we all want a decrease in the production of crime;" as well as "the spread of health." But do "we all want education among men and among women?" If so, why was the Primary Education Society of Roper so vigorously opposed by the District authorities of Umballa? You have not mentioned the things that separate us. Let me mention a few of them. We want a free India which the bureaucracy does not. We want a national army which the bureaucracy does not. We want lesser salaries for the I. C. S., the I. M. S. and the other Imperial Services which these Services are opposed to. We want higher salaries for the subordinate ranks in Government Service, which the Heads of Departments are not prepared to concede. We want a United India, which few, if at all, among the Europeans would like to see. We want fewer Europeans in the services, which you are not prepared to grant. We want the stoppage of Industrial monopolies which the Government in British India and the Native States are giving to Europeans. We want to nationalize Education which your official Universities prevent. We want a recognition for independent Trade Unions which your Railway Administration is not prepared to give. We want the repeal of

the Arms Act and of the coercive laws which you are keeping on the Statute Book.

The fact is, Sir Edward, that we are poles asunder. Yet, we do not want "hatred or disunion" nor violence. We are determined to prevent violence, so long as our influence can prevent it, but we are equally determined to continue and push on our propaganda for Swaraj, be the consequences what they may. If the Government is really anxious for "good will and peace" there is only one way and one way, to secure it. Let us know definitely what the Government is prepared to do:—

(a) towards getting a modification of the Turkish Peace Treaty.

(b) to give us responsible Self-Government at once or within the shortest possible time,

(c) to put us on the road, to organizing national defence.

(d) to heal the wounds made by the Punjab atrocities.

It is only then we may talk of "good will and peace."

Begging to be excused for having ventured to encroach on your time.

[The second of two remarkable Open Letters addressed by Lala Lajpat Rai to Sir Edward Maclagan, Governor of the Punjab.]

YOUR HONOUR,

There are one or two more points in your address on which I should like to take the liberty of expressing my views. The first relates to the constitution of the "Reformed Council." Your Honour seems to be under the impression that the Non-Cooperation propaganda notwithstanding, the new Councils are likely to be representative of all the interests. There could be no greater mistake than this. To anyone who knows the province as your Honour certainly does, it should be clear that there are very few amongst the gentlemen who are standing for the Council election who represent the views of any respectable portion of the various communities whom they propose to represent. If your Honour will analyse the various nominations made (at least those made by the Non-Mahomedan and the Sikh communities), you will find that the bulk of the nominees are there only because better and really representative men have left the field for them. The bureaucracy and the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE are perhaps rightly happy over it, but the statesmen who devised the Reforms Scheme have no reason to be so. Their object has failed. The class whose co-operation they wanted has stood

aloof and the feeling of the country is with them. Under the circumstances the reformed Council can only be a magnified edition of the old one.

As a public worker of more than 35 years' standing I can honestly say that never did a movement succeed so well and with so little propaganda as the movement to boycott the Councils. We have not yet given up all hope of winning over the few good men who are still standing for the Councils, but even if they refuse to listen to us, we are hoping to carry the electorates with us, and, in the course of time, not necessarily before the elections, to prove by documentary evidence that the majority is with us. The work will take some time, but we are in no hurry. The bureaucracy has the power under the law to effectively check our work and to make it impossible for us to carry on our propaganda, but that itself will be our victory. The application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the Districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura is conclusive proof of the fact that public sentiment is with the Non-Co-operators and the only way to check our propaganda is repression. We will obey the law so long as there are some districts left where we can meet and preach. We will take counsel what to do when the whole province is covered by the Seditious Meetings Act. We will do nothing secret, and as already said, we will use all our influence to prevent violence. We

hope our people will be sensible enough to remain calm and cool. Our cause is just and righteous. We hate no one. We simply want our rights and we are only to educate and organise our people to get our rights. We know that any exhibition of violence or temper will injure our cause and retard its progress. Under the circumstances, I am confident that our people will listen to our appeal to be absolutely and unreservedly peaceful in all their propaganda. But in case repression does bring any sort of disturbance in its train, the responsibility for it will rest with the Government as it did in 1919.

Your Honour may not agree with this view and, as the head of the party which is supreme in its strength, you can justify any view you take, but the mere fact of the necessity of not only keeping the coercive laws on the Statute Book but of using them vigorously will unequivocally prove the failure of the Reforms Scheme and the failure of British statesmanship.

So far there has been no breach of peace anywhere in the Punjab; the people, though excited and irritated, have behaved wonderfully well; they have met in their thousands and thousands without seeking the help of one policeman to keep order and peace. You have prosecuted and convicted some, yet the movement is going on in full force and your punishments have

no deterrent effect. It is a new phenomenon in judicial history of the province that persons accused of crime should refuse to defend themselves, and go to gaol rather defiantly. As a reader of human nature, your Honour cannot fail to realise what a great moral effect this attitude is likely to have on the younger generation of the Punjabees. It is most probable that the phenomenon will become pretty common before we proceed to the next step in our programme of non-co-operation. The experiences of the last Martial Law administration are still fresh in this province and if these memories have not been able to crush the spirit out of us, even your Honour will admit that you cannot conceive of more deterrent methods of repression. Repression has failed to repress and it is a weapon which might as well be "consigned to the record room."

I cannot believe that your Honour, with all your gentleness, has any faith in repression, but some of your advisers evidently have. I hope they will soon find out that repression has failed in its purpose and there is not much use in reviving it. Your Honour is in a position to do lasting service to the province of our birth, to India in general and last but not the least to your own beloved country, by pointing out to the Home authorities that India can no longer be governed on the old system and that the Reforms Scheme is inadequate to satisfy the natural and legitimate aspirations of the people,

and that it is the duty of great Britain to concede Home Rule to India without any further delay. I am not unaware that some of the most esteemed and fair-minded of Anglo-Indians think that "Non-Co-operation" is a gamble for immediate Home Rule. I beg to assure them that it is not so. It is a well-considered scheme, logically and financially as sound as any commercial transaction can be, and I am certain that if the country perseveres in it, it will gain what it wants without a drop of bloodshed. Any way, the only alternative is secret revolutionary propaganda which must eventually result in bloodshed. We are all agreed that it is neither desirable nor expedient. I, for one, am not prepared to recommend it even if Non-Co-operation fails for a time, because eventually succeed it must. Experience will show us the weak points of the present programme. We will eliminate them and go on with the rest, adding new items to it, when we find that the time is ripe for them and the people are ready.

Message to Young India.

[In presiding over the All-India students Conference held at Nagpur in Decr. 1920, Lala Lajpat Rai said :—]

From the very early days of my boyhood, I have been under the impression that no education under the ægis of a foreign Government, would be solely for the benefit of the country or the governed. As a general doctrine, we know that all governments first look to their own interests and they establish educational institutions in order to strengthen themselves. That is why educational thinkers of the world have questioned the wisdom of letting the State control, the education of the children of the community. The object of a foreign government in starting educational institutions is not so much as the welfare of the country governed, but the welfare of their own Government and the strengthening of its hold upon the country governed. Leaving aside the ethics of the question it is only natural that an Imperial Government should be dominated by imperial principles. We find the same principles dominating the educational policies of the different Governments, e.g., the monarchical form of Government in Japan. Even

under national governments, governments for the time being dominate the educational policy of the country for strengthening their own hold upon the people and a foreign government is bound to do it to a greater extent and hence the duty of the people to guard against the insidious poison.

It was under that impression that we found 40 years ago that the education we were receiving was not likely to further the interests of nationalism, but was bound to hamper it, that it was emasculating, denationalising and creating a gulf between the educated and the non-educated classes which went to the root of the welfare of the nation and we thought that it was an attempt to uproot the foundation by which the nation has stood from time immemorial and without which the nation could not exist as an individual nation. Being unable and practically being impotent politically to start another system of our own, we decided to counteract the influences of that system by combining the two systems and establishing institutions which although prepared students for the University examination might, to a certain extent, remove defects which we complained of. It was under that impression that we started the D. A. V. College. Later on, as a result of discussion among our councillors some of the original founders came to the conclusion that they

must cut away from University courses. I must say that those and similar institutions founded by other great patriots have failed in their objects ; for somehow or other, Government and the University imposed conditions and restrictions upon them by which the object of the original founder was negated and could not be fulfilled.

I hold the opinion that the educational system at present followed in Government schools and colleges, aided and unaided, or controlled by official Universities, is a denationalising system. It is meant more to enslave us than to free us. (Hear, hear). You cannot expect the jailor to prepare his own death warrant. We have been trying for the last 30 years to counteract the evil influences of that system and maintain the independence of those institutions and we have to a certain extent succeeded in counteracting the evil influences, though not fully. There was a time in the history of our country when under the influence of education imparted in our schools, we were being taught and encouraged to look down upon everything that was indigenous. Everything Indian was held up to ridicule and we indulged in many an antic in order to show that we were just being civilised. We were taught that everything Indian was barbaric and deserved contempt. Fortunately for us we have passed through that stage.

Here I must sound a note of warning against going to the other extreme. We are standing the danger of going to the other extreme and considering everything Indian as absolutely perfect. Discussions on the value of civilisations are being carried on in a very narrow spirit and authorities are quoted for propositions which on the whole do not justify the conclusions. I wish to warn against the danger of being carried off our feet by too much or excessive enthusiasm for everything we may consider national. I must warn you, and so far as I am concerned, truth is truth, knowledge is knowledge and science is science. It is neither Eastern nor Western, neither Indian nor European. We have to maintain our national continuity. That is absolutely necessary and we have therefore in all educational schemes that we evolve, to copy all that is Indian. We do not want to be either European or an American nation and we want to remain an Indian nation but quite up-to-date, absolutely up-to-date. (Hear, hear). We do not want to be a mere copy of our past but we want to build our future upon the historical structure of the past by making it stronger. That should be the policy underlying all schemes of education we may evolve. I want the younger generation to guard against the danger of a narrow cramping nationalism which will not unite India itself. You must remember that in India we have various com-

munities following various religions and to a certain extent each has contributed its own quota of civilisation and culture to our country. In order to make strong the Indian nationality composed of these various communities and cultures we shall have to look at these cultures with the eyes of freedom, absolutely free to absorb all that is good in each culture, and contribute it to the joint culture of whole nation. True nationalism must be above religious and sectarian influences.

We are living in a world which is throwing away every day new ideas. Nobody knows and understands the evil influences, the slave tendencies and the immoral nature of a great many institutions of modern civilisation. I have said in my book that modern civilisation is dying and die it must, and it is clear that it is suffering from a disease from which it cannot be cured. You might dislike the moderners, abhor their social systems and institutions. You might not follow them. In fact they should not be followed particularly in the social and economic system, but at the same time you cannot shut your eyes to the fact that science and knowledge have made wonderful progress during the past 200 years. We shall be cutting our noses to spite our faces if we deprive ourselves of that stock of knowledge which the moderners have accumulated to the benefit of humanity at large. We should be sufficiently strong in our moral culture,

strong in our own indigenous culture, strong in our national sense, to assimilate all that and to use it for our own system rather than shun it. We ought to pursue science and knowledge from whatever culture it comes and use it with an open mind fully determined to assimilate it to our own system and make the fullest use of it for the purposes of freeing our country, getting it free for ever and maintain our freedom and individuality at any cost.

The object of this organisation as I understood it, was to create as a permanent organisation of college students those who have passed beyond the matric standard, to look after their interests and to advise the general body of students in the country. I am not one of those who believe that students, particularly University students, ought not to meddle in politics. I think it is a most stupid theory and an impossible theory too. (Hear, hear). It is the creation not of confused brains but of dishonest brains. (Hear, hear). You cannot prevent a man from forming political opinions on the burning questions of the day. If I were an administrator, I would rather let the students express themselves and be done with it, as sometimes we do, than create a situation as was created in Bengal 10 years ago by the Risley and other circulars. I do not care what the policy of Government is on this subject. I find that there are good many among us who believe that students ought not to have to do anything

with politics. I do not subscribe to that proposition at all. My conception of the need of an All-India Students' organisation is that while students ought to be free to study politics, have opinions on political questions and express them at times whenever there is need through their organisation, they ought to steer clear of politics. (Hear, hear). Otherwise this organisation might be turned into a political organisation and the division among political parties will be carried into the students camp. That does not bind on you the duty to keep silence. You may express your opinions as a body whenever necessary on political questions. You may agree with some political organisation and disagree with others. I do not want you not to do it. But at the same time, if you really want to create and improve an organisation which should carry weight with the whole student community of India, you should aim at representative institutions. If you arrive at decisions which require certain action and conduct on your part you will follow that conduct which is expected of you by the resolutions. Even if some of you do not agree to follow, I hope that you would not give your decisions that mandatory character which will exclude others. Your constitution at the present stage should be possessed of sufficient elasticity to enable you to expand it on national lines, to make it really a representative organisation.

I shall state my position as it has evolved. So far I do not know how it is going to evolve in future (laughter). In my concluding address at the Special Congress at Calcutta I said I was opposed to that item in the Non-Cooperation programme which relates to boys in schools. Speaking on a later occasion, I have been expressing views which to some might seem inconsistent with that position, but which I never considered to be so (laughter). At Lahore I addressed a public meeting when I told students and others that I would welcome practically the abolition of the Arts Colleges and also Law Colleges (hear hear). After that, whenever students approached me for advice, it was given under the following heads—Law Colleges, leave it at once. Medical, engineering, and technical schools, I said, “do not leave.” Arts Colleges I said, “consider the situation well and if you really feel the call of duty, leave the Arts Colleges but under no delusion that some one is going to make provision in national schools established by the leaders of the National Congress.”

Differences of opinion there has been to a very great extent, not as to the spirit of the resolution, but as to working and the way in which it is to be carried out. We are agreed that we should do nothing on earth or heaven which will strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy. It is a positive sin

to do anything to strengthen or continue this rule under the present or in any form. We are agreed that the present system of education does strengthen that object and we are also agreed that we should do what little we can considering our present political responsibilities in the way of establishing institutions which must be free from official control both on the side of finance and education. I do not know whether we are agreed that national schools and colleges now established will be included to carry on the more important work of political propaganda in the country (hear, hear). We cannot afford to do that as we are out for proclaiming Swaraj in the shortest possible time and we cannot give our time and energy to a solution of the problem which requires both time and money. I have therefore been saying to my friends that we shall not incur any responsibilities and we shall not undertake any duties which will in any way militate against the great work which we have in hand. If we do that, we shall be frittering away our energies in enterprises, the result of which might not be further achieved very soon.

We cannot devise a national system of education in this country without a national Government (cheers) and unless we achieve a national Government we shall not be able to solve the problem of nationality. That does not prevent us from making attempts at the solution of the problem

in our own humble way making experiments. Therefore I am of opinion that all energy, time and resources we have at our disposal ought to be concentrated in achieving Swaraj, self-government and freedom and emancipating ourselves from this Government. I am perfectly willing to ask and encourage every student in any arts or law college to leave off the College, if he feels the call of duty (cheers) provided he is under no delusion (mind that, because I have seen that in my own place a provision is going to be provincially made for his education either locally or imperially).

There is a great field for propaganda work for organising the nation for reviving industries and there is work to make an honourable living without being traitors to our country (hear, hear). Put your hand to any work you find handy. I know that sometime back the sentence of Gandhi was ridiculed, *viz.*, that people ought to go and construct roadside work, in factories. My student friends, "You ought to remember that one of the greatest defects of the present educational system is that it enables you neither to think independently or act independently." Real education should aim to make you men, fit to think and act independently, in finding an independent work. Don't find yourselves in an embarrassing position by your white cloths. Go into the country, find out any work, you can lay your hand upon, make yourselves useful to

the society and learn honesty. In my eyes, honest patriotic work in road-repairing is infinitely superior to a Deputy Collector's post (cheers). I want the youth of the nation to go forth into the villages and the factories, work with their hands in the spirit of comradeship along with the villagers who are waiting for inspiration from you. So long as the educated community keeps itself aloof from the actual tillers of the soil and workers in factories, it shall never attain Swaraj. Swaraj will not be attained by the efforts of a few educated people, but by the whole nation which lives in workshops and on the soil. Therefore, it should be your duty, if you really feel the call of duty, not to question what shall be our career in the future.

This bogey of career, coupled with the bogey of academic careers, has spoiled the whole point of view of educational discussions. It is not the principal object of life to seek a career or to be an academic animal. The object of life is to be efficient as a citizen and member of society. It is a vicious ideal which places excellence and fashions on a high pedestal. Anybody who can speak English well considers himself to be an enlightened and great man. I have found many a fool among those who can read and speak excellent English. It is an entirely false standard of education to desire to go down as stylist. It is a good piece of art, but it is not the main purpose of life. We ought to see the

main purpose of life in education rather than see it in the fashion which places us on a false pedestal. I earnestly appeal to those of you who take to Non-Co-operation to go forth into the country, to leave the cities and central places of which you are so fond, to go into the villages, workshops and factories, live there and then give them the inspiration which you have derived from your education. Unless you do that, you are merely passing resolutions which would be mere sham. Infinitely slavish as we are, we will be adopting another vice, that is, of passing resolutions without putting them into operation. If you pass resolutions it is your duty to act up to it (hear, hear). Do not pass resolutions in the hurry of enthusiasm or to please someone. If you do that you will bring discredit on the whole movement and on the men whom you revere and you will also demoralise your nation if you pass resolutions only to advise others, for God's sake, we have had enough of them and we do not want the students' aid to add to that burden.

You must also consider before passing your resolutions whether you are prepared to withstand the beatings of your parents and all the nice arguments that they may put forward of career, of honours, emoluments and other things. Are you prepared to suffer and give up your fashionable habits? In that case go forth in the name of God and

elevate your country (cheers). The country needs as many workers in the field as it can find. Workers are very few. All of you can be absorbed in the great work that lies before us. As regards medical and engineering colleges, I am thinking over that problem. I do want that education for my country. At present the Medical and the Engineering colleges are the two great strengths of the Indian Army and I have come to the conclusion whether it will not be advisable to follow the same course for these two departments too. I have not formed my own definite opinions and so I cannot advise you now. But that is the trend of my thought lately.

It will be my duty to help you, I do not say guide you, in coming to a conclusion. Be absolutely tolerant of any differences of opinion that may exist. To me it matters little which way you decide. As I said already the decision of this Non-Co-operation Resolution lies with others i.e. the Congress and you will be simply following the Congress.

India's Economic Bondage

[The following is the full text of the Presidential Address of Lala Lajpat Rai to the first All-India Trade Union Congress, held at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, in November, 1920:—]

MR. BAPTISTA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—
Permit me to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this first session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. It is a unique occasion, the first of its kind even in the history of this ancient country of ours. In her long history extending over thousands of years, India has surely seen many a great gathering in which parts of this vast sub-continent and all classes of its population were represented, gatherings at which were discussed and settled important and nice questions of religion, philosophy, grammar, law and politics, gatherings at which crowns were bestowed, gatherings in which foreign scholars and foreign ambassadors and foreign diplomats took part. But history records no instance of an assemblage that was convened solely to consider the interests and welfare of workers not of this city or that, not of this province or that, but of Bharat Varsha as a whole.

Even under British Rule we have had All-India gatherings of various kinds, political, religious, social, literary, scientific, etcetra, but never, an All-India meeting of the workers of the country, or one where people assembled to consider the interests and the present and future welfare of the workers as such. This by itself should show, if there was nothing else to remind us of the fact that India of to-day is very different from India of ancient and medieval times, nay even from India of yesterday. We are living in an age quite different from any thing that the world has seen or known before. That being so, the problems that face and the questions that confront us are, from the very nature of things, of a different kind from those that confronted our immediate and remote ancestors. This fact whether we like it or not, has to be recognised.

2. Then there is another fact also which receives scant attention from those who profess to guide the destinies of this great nation *viz.* that we are living in times, in which no nation can live an isolated life of its own. Whatever happens in the world outside of our shores affects us in our daily life very closely and intimately. It makes our food dearer, our clothing more costly, our possession more or less valuable and similarly affects other relations of life very deeply. In the same way whatever happens in our country affects the outside world also, equally deeply and intimately. This is

not limited to any single sphere of life but is virtually true of almost all spheres but particularly so of the political and economic. So, whether we like it or not, we are a part and parcel of the modern world. This modern world is characteristically a world of machinery of steam, gas and electricity. This is a world of mass production, of organised capital, organised industry and organised labour. Organised mass production involves the organisation of capital, and the organisation of labour on a scale never heard of before. So far organised capital has had its way. It has ruled the World for the last 150 years, and the world to-day is groaning under its burden. It has destroyed many an old civilisation, enslaved religion, chained science and placed in bondage, all the forces of Nature and human intellect. Humanity is its bond slave. Old China with its four to five hundred millions of industrious, hard working and art-loving people, with its ancient culture, science and art has been broken on the wheel and thrown to the wolves. India with its hoary civilisation, its mighty spiritualism, its great philosophy, and its beautiful art, with a family consisting of one-fifth of the whole human race, has also been bled white by the forces of organised capital and is to-day lying prostrate at its feet. Militarism and Imperialism are the twin-children of capitalism; they are one in three and three in one. Their shadow, their fruit and their

bark—all are poisonous. It is only lately that an antidote has been discovered and that antidote is organised labour.

We in India have been rather slow to find and apply this antidote. The reasons are obvious. We were politically impotent and economically helpless. Our political impotence has made us a nation of Pariahs in relation to the rest of the world. Our masters used us to conquer and police the world for their benefit, and glorification. They also used us to develop their colonies, cultivate their fields, operate their mines, man their industries and increase their wealth. By way of adding insult to injury they maligned our religion, caricatured our culture, and painted us so black as to be considered unfit for being accepted as equals or even as men by the so-called civilised races of the world. In the eyes of the latter, we are a nation of coolies, inferior in everything that distinguishes a mere animal from men. This was a trick by which organised British capital managed to create a prejudice against us in the minds of the white workers of Europe, America and Africa. It was necessary for their purpose. Any bond of brotherhood, or of mutual interest between the workers of Europe and America, on the one hand, and those of Asia on the other would have destroyed the spell by the force of which they exploited and sweated both. To the

workers of Manchester, was always presented the bug bear of the cheap labour of India. We in India, were kept in fear of the competition of Manchester. The war however has broken the spell. The workers of Europe and America have now discovered that the cause of the workers is one and the same all the world over, and that there can be no salvation for them, unless and until the workers of Asia were organised, and internationally affiliated. Labour in Europe threatens to turn the tables over their masters, the employers and they recognise that the success of their movement demands a close association of European workers with the workers of Asia. So long as there is cheap labour in China and India, and so long as India is helpless to keep out foreign capital, and to prevent the latter using Indian and Chinese Labour to the detriment of the European workers, the cause of the European proletariat is neither safe nor secure. The movement we are inaugurating to-day is thus of more than national importance. It is a matter of international significance. The workers of India are joining hands and brains not only to solidify the interests of Indian labour, but also to forge a link in the chain of international brotherhood. The future is on the lips of Gods and prophecy is unsafe, but it may be safely predicted that the success of the movement to which we are giving birth to-day may eventually turn out to be an event of world importance.

The Trade Union Movement in this country is yet in its infancy and it may be said that an All-India Trade Union Congress is rather premature. In my humble judgment, it has not come a day too soon. Labour in India suffers from very many drawbacks and the prejudices against it are too many and varied in nature. Depressed by religious-social ideals of bygone ages, looked down upon by prevailing standards of literary education, deprived even of elementary knowledge by the extravagant wastefulness and jealousy of a foreign bureaucracy, placed in a condition of abject dependence by the military exigencies of a capitalistic autocracy, kept apart by the artfulness of resourceful despotism, labour in this country is in greater need of joint action, and of freedom from provincial and district rivalries than anywhere else. District organisations cannot be effective unless they are protected from the rivalry of men from the other districts. For this purpose are needed provincial organisations, but even provincial organisations will not do unless we have an All-India organisation to protect labour from provincial rivalries.

The two employers of labour in our country are, the Government and the private capitalist. The Government also is in its own way a big capitalist. The Department of Railways, Post Office, Telegraph and Channels and others are capitalistic and more or less commercial concerns. Both these

classes of employers have All-India resources at their disposal. Handicapped as labour is in many other respects, labour also must have an All-India organisation and an All-India propaganda to meet its opponent on equal ground.

The Government of this country is wasteful and extravagant in the salaries and allowances it allows to its higher service. It would be bankrupt if it met the demands of the subordinate services and lowest rank of its employees also in the same spirit. Consequently to avoid bankruptcy, it sweats its lowest service in a way as perhaps no other Government on the face of the earth does. There is no country in the world which pays its higher civil and military service anything like the salaries the Government of India does. In the whole of the United States there is only one man who gets more than 35,000 Rupees per annum, and that is the President of the United States. In Japan, even the Prime Minister, does not get that amount. In India, there are dozens, mostly Englishmen, who get more than that amount. Compare the salaries post by post, and you will find the standard extravagantly higher in India while the living even now is comparatively cheaper. Yet within the last two or three years the Government has sanctioned enormous increases in these salaries. The worst feature of this situation however is the extreme disparity that exists between the salaries of the lower

services and those of the highest. The difference between maximum and minimum salaries in the United States and Great Britain on the one hand, and India on the other is simply startling. In the United States, the lowest salary allowed to a clerk or a porter in Government Office is from about 1,000 to 1,200 dollars a year, and the highest allowed to a cabinet minister is 12,000. In India, a Cabinet Minister gets Rs. 80,000 a year besides allowances while his orderly gets only 120 a year or at the most 180. In calculating the needs of a Civil Servant, the Government of India shows a great deal of generosity, provides for the education of his children, for the luxury of travelling to and from Europe, and secures him a high standard of comfort in India. But when it enters into calculation for ascertaining the proper salary of a postman, or a telegraph peon, or an orderly, or a Railway porter, or signaller, it not only disregards all these considerations, but is mean enough to bring into account the earnings of his wife and his minor children. Such is the difference between man and man in the eyes of this Christian Government. That there is difference between work and work, between mere manual work and skilled work, between skilled work and higher brain work, may be assumed, but is the difference so great as to justify this disparity between the economic needs of one from the other. To fight against such a system of

inhuman inequalities the workers of India, whether in Government or in private employ, require an All-India organisation to help each other by mutual sympathy, counsel and aid.

Again, there is another danger ahead against which workers in India must provide. We are often told that in order successfully to compete with Manchester and Japan, Capital in India should be allowed a high rate of profit and cheap labour is a necessity for the purpose. The interests of Indian industries they say require that labour in this country should be plentiful and cheap. There may be something in that argument, but the way in which it is represented in season and out of season, carries it too far. We are not prepared to admit the validity of this plea. Under the shelter of nationalism European capitalists have created sufficient havoc in the world, and we are not prepared to listen with equanimity to that cry being overdue in India. An appeal to patriotism must affect the rich and the poor alike, in fact, the rich more than the poor. If the development of the Indian industries requires the organisation of Indian capital, it still more requires the organisation of Indian labour. Labour and capital must meet on equal ground and join hands to develop Indian industries. As at present, neither the Government nor the capitalist is disposed to treat the worker fairly and equally. The former sacrifices him at the

altar of princely salaries for higher ranks of the European and Indian services and also for the exigencies of militarism. The capitalist wants to sweat him for his hundred or two hundred per cent. profit. Surely, that is not the way to develop Indian industries if it is to be done at the expense of labour alone. I maintain, therefore, that it has become absolutely necessary for Indian labour to organise itself on national lines in order to be able to negotiate with their employers on equal terms and with due regard to national interests. I refuse to admit that the interests of Indian industries must, in every case, override the human needs of the workers. In all discussions about the demands and rights of labour in India, labour is still treated as a commodity to be sold and purchased in open market. In every discussion it is the interests of industry that are held supreme. The question asked is "will the industry bear it." The proper question in my judgment should be "how can the industry be made to bear it consistently with the minimum human requirements of the worker and his family, on the standard of a moderately comfortable healthy life for him and his children, a provision for the education of the latter and for the rainy day." The Indian capitalists must meet labour half way and must come to an understanding with it on the basis of sharing the profits in a reasonable and just proportion. It must be made worth the while of

labour to co-operate with the capitalist to advance and develop Indian industries. If, however, Indian capital wants to ignore the needs of labour and can think only of its huge profits, it should expect no response from labour and no sympathy from the general public. If labour must remain half-starved, ill-clothed, badly housed, and destitute of education, it can possibly have no interest in the development of Indian industries, and all appeals in the name of patriotism must fail. On these grounds and several others it is desirable that Indian labour should lose no time to organise itself on a national scale. "Capital is organised on a world-wide basis; it is backed up by a financial and political strength beyond conception; its weapons are less perishable than those employed by labour, it presents dangers which apply universally." In order to meet these dangers, Indian labour will have to join hands with labour outside India also, but its first duty is to organise itself at home. The most important business then, before this Congress is to bring into existence a central organisation which would protect the interests of labour all over India. The organisation cannot be perfected without bringing all the Unions in India into its orbit of influence. But a beginning can certainly be made with as many organisations as are willing to join hands at once. Those who are pioneers must exercise patience, tolerate criticism, and show readiness to subordi-

nate their individual opinions and predilections to the interests of the general body of workers in such a way as to convince those that are hesitating and faltering of their sincerity and earnestness. It is easy to criticise, it is sometimes convenient to stay out, till the pioneers have cleared the field and borne the brunt of opposition. It is even prudent to take no risks involved in going ahead with a movement of this kind. But it is neither manly nor patriotic to do so. Anyway the pioneers must proceed in a spirit of brotherhood, working for all, in the interests of all, and always willing to share the gains with all.

The other important business before the Congress will be to consider the resolutions of the International Labour Conference, created by the League of Nations, which held its first sittings at Washington D. C. in November, 1919, and to express its considered opinion relating thereto. The Congress will also have to select its accredited representatives to represent them in the coming conference, and to place its views before that body. Our past experience is that the Government of India, however well-intentioned some of its individual officers and statesman may be, because of its constitution is capitalistic in its sympathies and outlook. It protects further the interests of British capital in the first instance, and then proceeds to help Indian capital, so far as the latter

does not encroach on the preserves of the former. Its professed concern for labour and for the poor is rarely translated into deeds. It is well illustrated to-day by its attitude towards the lowest among its servants, by its continued and unashamed tolerance, of forced labour, by its half-hearted sympathy for India, labour in colonies and by its indifference towards the education of the labourer and his children. The Government of India will do nothing substantial for the Indian people, the vast bulk of whom are labourers in the field and factory, unless and until it is compelled to do so by the force of circumstances. In bringing about these circumstances, Indian labour must play its part and secure the sympathy of international labour. It is therefore of vital importance that Indian labour should cultivate the most friendly relations with European labour without necessarily adopting all the items in the plank of the latter.

While it is true that the interests of labour are the same all the world over, it is equally true that the power of labour in each country is limited by local national circumstances. Labour in Europe is in a position to dictate. European workmen have found out, that to depend for the enforcement of his right and the amelioration of his condition on the political action of persons who owe their

legislative power and position, to the vote of the men of property, is absurd and unnatural. In order to protect the interests of himself and his class, the workmen must have a vote and, and he must give it to a man of his class or to a man pledged to his interests. So every workmen in Europe is a political unit. Over and above this European labour has found another weapon in direct action. On the top comes the Russian worker, who aims to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. We in India, have not yet reached even the first stage. The Government have not yet given us votes and as at present situated, they will oppose us at every step. They will not even hesitate to use all the forces of militarism at their command, to crush our efforts towards united action, and to keep us disunited, disorganised and out of touch with world affairs. They have illustrated this by their action in the matter of the Lahore Railway strike, the Government Press strike at Calcutta and Simla and the Postal and Telegraph strike, Bombay. Their recent action in prohibiting the importation of "Soviet Russia" and the "Daily Herald" of London is also an illustration to the point. While the Anglo-Indian Press is engaged day and night in disseminating palpable lies about Soviet Russia, the Government of India steps in, to prevent the people of India from knowing the other side of the story. Truth in Europe is of two kinds :—

(a) Capitalistic and Governmental truth represented by men like Mr. Winston Churchill, and papers like the "London Times" and the "Morning Post."

(b) Socialistic and Labour truth represented by labour organs of the type of "Justice," "Daily Herald" and "Soviet Russia." The Government of India wants us to swallow the first kind of truth without knowing the other side. Unfortunately for us truth is no longer truth. It is qualified by capitalism and imperialism on the one hand and socialism on the other. It is either capitalistic or bourgeois or socialistic. In order to know the whole truth one has to know all the three brands and then use his judgment. My own experience of Europe and America leads me to think that socialistic, even Bolshevik truth is any day better, more reliable and more humane than the capitalistic and imperialistic truth. The Anglo-Indian Press takes its cue from the latter, now-a-days it divides its attention between Bolshevism and Gandhism. It stoops to nothing, when it sits to misrepresent, malign and discredit. It is helped in that nefarious work by the action of the Government. Whatever may be the case of the Government against "Soviet Russia" its action against "Justice" and "Daily Herald," both British publications, is absolutely arbitrary, unjust, and provoking. People of India are not babies who require protection against this

kind of mental and moral food supplied by the Labour publications of Great Britain. The experience of the few strikes, we have had in Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Calcutta, proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that our workers are much more disciplined and self-controlled, than the corresponding ranks of labour in Great Britain, United States, France or Germany. In Lahore 50,000 Railway men kept up a strike for about 7 weeks without having one case of violence, or injury to the property, against them. Even the capitalists admired their manner and method. The people of India are probably the most law-abiding people on earth, and if any Government uses repression against them it only betrays its own weakness. What makes the people of India law abiding is not the existence of fear of coercive laws, but their own innate and inborn gentleness and goodness. There must be something rotten in the constitution and nature of a Government which needs Martial Law and military terrorism to keep such people in hand and to preserve order among them. The action of the Government of India in preventing access to the people of India to the socialistic and labour thought of the world is the least justifiable of all its repressive actions and should be unreservedly condemned.

There is no one in India who believes that the European and Russian standards of labour can be

applied to India of to-day. If there were any, I would remind him or them of the message of Lenin to Bela Kun wherein the former warned the latter against the danger of applying Russian standard to Hungary prematurely. For the present our greatest need in this country is to organise, agitate and educate. We must organise our workers, make them class conscious, and educate them in the ways and interests of commonweal. I do not believe in freedom by steps or by stages, but at the same time I do not believe in denying the facts of life and shutting our eyes to the circumstances under which we live. If one is both chained and hand-cuffed, one can break his hand-cuffs and yet not be free. Labour in this country has many fetters to break through. They will require time and energy, application and organisation, self-discipline and self-control to do so. But they will not be free unless all the fetters are broken and thrown asunder. For this purpose all concerned in the welfare of labour will have to work hard and in a spirit of sacrifice and co-operation. This spirit of sacrifice should particularly characterise the efforts of such brain workers in the ranks of the labour, who are educated enough to lead the movement. Those who are not strictly wage-earners but who feel for labour will have to give their time talent, and money for the improvement of the wage-earners' lot. The Government

and the Capitalist will both try to discredit them, but they must stand by the faith in them, and ungrudgingly give the best in them to the cause of labour which is the cause of humanity. Pretending to protect the interests of labour the Government does not like the interference of those who are not actually wage-earners themselves in the organisation of the labour, because they know that unorganised, illiterate, and unskilled labour is incompetent to fight its own battles and can easily be made to yield in negotiations between them and their educated resourceful and wide-awake opponents. The workmen should not fall into this trap. For some time to come they need all the help and guidance and co-operation they can get from such among the intellectuals as are prepared to espouse their cause. Eventually labour shall find its leaders from among its own ranks.

I do not think I should detain you, Ladies and Gentlemen, more than a minute. In this minute I want to explain our attitude towards Government. It is neither one of support nor that of opposition. We will welcome every effort by Government to improve the cause of labour and help to organise and establish themselves on a basis of self-support, and self-reliance. I have already explained that we cannot expect much from the Government as constituted at present, and I fear that we cannot place much reliance upon it. But there may be

individual statesmen to whom we may appeal in emergencies for mediation between the Capitalist and Labour. But the question is who is going to mediate between the Government and its own servants where the question of the improvement of the latter's lot is involved and the Government is unwilling to do so, on a proper scale. The situation becomes very different under these circumstances. We will have to find a *modus operandi* to relieve it. With these words I will again thank you for the honour you have done me and for the patience with which you have heard me.

APPENDIX

The Tilak School of Politics, Lahore.

FOUNDED BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

Constitution.

(1) The school shall be called "The Tilak, School of Politics."

(2) Its objects are :—

(a) To provide facilities for education in politics, economics, sociology, social psychology, journalism etc., independent of any official University.

(b) To train political workers.

(c) To provide facilities for research in social sciences.

(d) To prepare and publish books on these subjects in the vernaculars of India.

(e) To establish and maintain a well equipped library in connection with the institution, to be called the " Dwarka Dass Library."

(3) The school shall not be affiliated to any University controlled wholly or partially by Government.

(4) Education shall be given by means of lectures of the type delivered by University extension lectures in Great Britain or by Public School lecturers in New York.

(5) The affairs of the school shall be managed by a Board of Trustees.

(6) The first Trustees shall be :—

Lala Lajpat Rai, Bhai Parmanand, Lala Ram Prasad, Lala Duni Chand, and Lala Jaswant Rai. Lala Lajpat Rai shall have the power to nominate five more Trustees within the first year, after the expiration of which period the power, if not exercised, will lapse and shall vest in the Board.

(7) The school shall have such staff and shall admit students and conduct classes on such terms and conditions as to the payment of salaries, fees, etc., as the Director of the School, in consultation with the Board may fix and determine.

(8) The Board may and would provide special scholarships and fellowships for specially selected students with a view to encourage the scientific study of Politics and Political methods, economics and other social sciences and for research work in connection with Indian problems.

(9) These scholarships and fellowships will be held on such terms and conditions as the Board of trustees may fix and determine. The selection of scholarship-holders and fellows shall rest with the Board, but for the first 3 years Lala Lajpat Rai shall have the right of veto.

(10) The Trustees shall have no pecuniary interests in the funds of the school unless one or

more of them join the permanent staff of the institution and work as such, in which case he or they will get such remuneration as is fixed by the Board of Trustees.

(11) Out of the funds collected for the school 25 per cent. will be reserved for emergencies and the rest will be spent—(a) in accordance with a Budget framed in the beginning of the school year by the Board, or (b) in obedience of a special resolution of the Board, or (c) in exercise of the emergency powers of the Director.

(12) Besides the salaries of the staff and amounts spent in scholarships and fellowships, etc., the Board will have full power to spend money in erecting or hiring buildings, in maintaining office and in the travelling expenses of the trustees and the staff when travelling for the benefit of the institution and in furtherance of its objects.

(13) After two years the Board shall start selecting their new trustees from among the students of the school, specially from among the fellows and the scholarship-holders.

(14) In case of difference of opinion among the trustees, the decision shall be by majority of votes, provided no changes in the constitution will be made except with the consent of Lala Lajpat Rai.

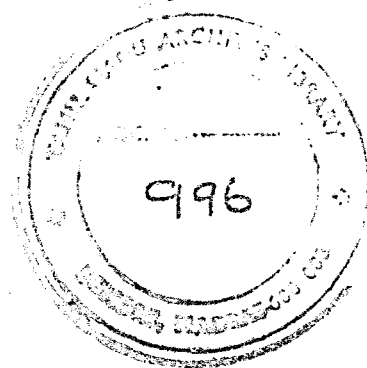
(15) The school year will be from January to January.

(16) The Board shall have the power to make bye-laws and rules of business for conducting the institution and managing its affairs.

(17) The school shall be formally started from the first of January or such other date as may be fixed by the Director.

(18) Lala Lajpat Rai shall be the Director of the school and he shall preside at all meetings of the Board.

(19) All funds shall be invested or deposited in the name of Lala Lajpat Rai or one or more of the trustees to be nominated by the Board.



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