

December 17, 1939

HE IS OLD and toothless and weighs only 106 pounds. But the little shadow of Mohandas K. Gandhi, wrapped in his yard or two of white cotton, is big enough to fall menacingly across the huge empire of Great Britain. He even threatens the existence of that empire.

For behind Gandhi are many, many millions of the inhabitants of India, grown articulate at last to demand independence. Step by step they are forcing their will upon the empire. They can no longer be persuaded, by concessions that give the appearance of freedom and power while denying the substance, to cooperate with the British raj.

# The British Sun Sets on a Rumbling India!

Gandhi and his followers have been adroit enough to take advantage of the precarious situation of Britain at

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war. They will not listen to promises that their rulers will begin to consider India a candidate for dominion status when the struggle is over. Instead they are using their strongest weapon in an attempt to get independence now. That weapon is noncooperation.

The India Congress, as Gandhi's Nationalist party calls itself, controls the legislatures of eight British Indian provinces. From each of these legislatures is chosen a council to advise and assist the provincial governor in administrative affairs. Under the system official acts within the range of provincial authority have, at least on the surface, the approval of Indians as well as of Great Britain.

Within the last two months the eight Nationalist-controlled ministries have resigned. The governors must function without native support and in a manner plainly dictatorial; they must enforce their decrees with the police powers granted them by the crown. In effect the Nationalists have said: "We will not help longer to maintain a government that

refuses us what we want—self-government. The color of our authority will not be added to the reality of yours. Give us the right to rule ourselves first; then talk about the details."

Gandhi has hinted that there may be an extension of noncooperation; that his party may engage in a campaign for mass civil disobedience. It is an alarming threat. How can the British enforce their own law if the Indians of eight provinces, a total of 200,000,000 people, simply refuse to accept orders—to pay taxes, for example?

There is no ready answer, and therein lies the secret of Gandhi's power. The administrative units which his party controls politically (see map) are Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Central Provinces, the Northwest Frontier, and Assam. More than half the population of India is under the party sway.

The British empire, world's greatest landlord, has possessions and affiliates on all the continents. But it has none that needs and gets and deserves as much attention as India; it has none that is so truly an imperial possession.

So important is it in British economy and British tradition that the route leading to it thru the Mediterranean, the Suez canal, and the Red sea is known as the empire's life line. The British navy has but one duty paramount to guarding that line—the safety of the British Isles from invasion.

How did Britain acquire (Continued on page four.)



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