70, Chaussée de Charleroi,
Brussels,

7th November, 1932.

Dear Sir,

The issues shortly to be taken with regard to India are of such tremendous importance to the Empire that I venture to send you for perusal a copy of a lecture which I delivered here in Brussels more than a year ago. It has since been brought more or less up to date.

In great part the paper is but the briefest précis of a book, which, no doubt, you have read, and my object in sending it to you is, partly, to refresh your memory on the facts of latter-day Indian politics, but chiefly to point out and to stress the inefficacy—the utter absurdity—of making "safeguards," which only befool Parliament and enable the chiefs in power to foist upon the public "very dangerous experiments" (to use Mr. E. Samuel-Montagu's own expression)—of which the vaunted "safeguards" are ignored when it is the will of those in power to ignore them.

The immediate cause of all the trouble in India since 1917 was the scheme jockeyed on to the Statute Roll by the then Secretary of State for India—Mr. Samuel-Montagu. It will be remembered that when he was engineering the coup by which his proposals became law he made a great deal of the "safeguards" he had provided. Where are they now? The present Prime Minister contemptuously ignored them when he ignored Sir John Simon and the report of his Commission; and in doing this he contemptuously and completely put on one side the Act of 1919 ! ! ! This action alone should make any one pause when he is asked to vote for a "very dangerous experiment" because it is "safeguarded." And if anything more is required, look at Ireland ! Of what good have been "safeguards" in the politics of that country? And in this connection consider the "indiscretions" of the Marquess of Lothian when he gave (of course quite "unofficially") to the people of India his ideas on the subject of the grotesque Franchise that he recommends. This is strangely reminiscent of the "indiscretion" (?) committed by Lord Irwin who (after a hurried visit to England to see the Prime Minister—Mr. MacDonald) told the people of India that Dominion Status would be granted to them.

It will be easy for Politicians to say when the time comes that Lord Lothian's "indiscretion" (though, of course, quite unintentional and "unofficial") binds the Government to bestow on the people of India a ludicrous and unwanted Franchise, because—as in the case of Lord Irwin's "Dominion Status," "in the view of the People of India the Honour of Parliament is involved and nothing should be done that would give any one the slightest cause to say that the People of India have been tricked" ! ! !

And so in the case of all "safeguards," a way can—and no doubt will—be found to make them nugatory if this should be the desire of our Politicians.

Here I would invite attention to the composition of the 3rd R.T. Conference and to the significant fact that it is packed with supporters of the Premier's policy while independent Conservative opinion has been carefully excluded. Whom do we find on this conference?

A Socialist Lord Chancellor quite ignorant of India, though quite prepared to draw up a Constitution for that unhappy country.

An ex-Conservative Party Organiser, whose only experience of India, I